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from an original Picture in the British Museum.

THOMAS CRANMER, D.D.

Archbishop of Canterbury.

Eccl.H.
C.

University of Toronto Library

MEMORIALS

OF THE

Most Reverend Father in God

THOMAS CRANMER,

SOMETIME LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

WHEREIN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH,

AND

THE REFORMATION OF IT, DURING THE PRIMACY OF THE SAID
ARCHBISHOP, ARE GREATLY ILLUSTRATED; AND MANY
SINGULAR MATTERS RELATING THEREUNTO, NOW
FIRST PUBLISHED (1694.) IN THREE BOOKS.

COLLECTED CHIEFLY FROM RECORDS, REGISTERS, AUTHENTIC
LETTERS, AND OTHER ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

BY

JOHN STRYPE, M.A.

A NEW EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS.

VOL. I.

OXFORD,
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.
M.DCCC.XL.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

IN this Edition of the "Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer," such of the Documents in the Appendix as were printed by Mr. Strype from papers in the Cotton Library have been carefully corrected from the original MSS. in the British Museum. This useful service was undertaken by Mr. Henry Ellis, who supplied an entire copy of No. VIII. distinguishing the corrections and additions which appear in the original Proclamation in the handwriting of King Henry the Eighth; together with a transcript of a considerable portion of "Cardinal Pole's "Instructions for his Messenger to the Queen," No. LXXV, the conclusion of which was omitted in the first Edition, but is now printed among the Addenda.

For the other Additions which the reader will find at the end of the second volume, the public is indebted to the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth. A list of all the Articles in that valuable Collection relating to Abp. Cranmer was in a most obliging manner supplied, for the use of the present publication, from the Catalogue of the Archiepiscopal MSS. prepared for the Press by direction of the Archbishop of Canterbury; and, with His Grace's permission, it is here subjoined, under the title of Addenda No. I, for the information of future inquirers.

To the publication also of the very curious Document which forms No. II. of the Addenda, His Grace most liberally consented. Of the history of this MS. and its particular value, as an addition to Mr. Strype's Memorials, the Reader will be best informed from the account transmitted by the Rev. Mr. Todd, Keeper of the Archiepiscopal Manuscripts, who is not more distinguished by his extensive erudition, than by his readiness at all times to assist the researches of others.

" The MS. is marked in the Catalogue of the Lambeth MSS. " 1136. (vid. Addenda No. I.) and entitled " Processus contra " Cranmerum Cantuar. Archiepiscopum. A. D. 1555." It is " written on thirty-six pages of parchment of a folio size, with " many contractions, and was presented to the Library by " Mr. George Perry, F.S.A. July 23, 1766. It contains a copy " of the official dispatch of * Dr. Brokes, Bishop of Gloucester, " to the Cardinal de Puteo at Rome, to whom the Bishop was " Subdelegate in the proceedings against Abp. Cranmer, (the " care of which had been consigned to the Cardinal by the " Pope,) and is authenticated in the usual manner by notarial " attestation. The Document fortunately supplies also what has " hitherto been a chasm in our ecclesiastical history. For " Mr. Strype, after noticing that witnesses were sworn to deliver " their testimony against the Archbishop, adds, ' I know not " what the depositions of these witnesses were, given in against " him the next day; for Fox relates nothing of them, nor any " other as I know of.' Memorials of Abp. Cranmer, book iii. " chap. xix. These depositions are found in this Processus."

To the same learned person great acknowledgments are also due for his further assistance in bringing this Document to light, not only by furnishing a transcript for the press, but by comparing with the Lambeth Manuscript the printed sheets of the " Processus," as well as the Fac-Simile engraving which is given as a specimen of the writing.

JANUARY 2, 1812.

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* James Brokes, born in Hampshire May 1512, was Scholar and Fellow of C.C.C. Oxford, afterward Master of Balliol College, Chaplain or Almoner to Bp. Gardner, and Bishop of Gloucester, 1554. He died Feb. $15\frac{59}{60}$. *Wood's Athenæ*, vol. i. p. 134.

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TO THE
MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,
JOHN,
BY THE DIVINE PROVIDENCE,
LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,
PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND, AND METROPOLITAN;
AND
ONE OF THEIR MAJESTIES MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

TO pardon the presumption of the obscure person that dedicates this book to your Grace, for the sake of the renowned man it treats of, viz. one of your illustrious predecessors, an Archbishop of Canterbury, that hath deserved so eminently of that see, nay, and of the whole British Church; I may say, that deserved best of any Archbishop before him, that wore that mitre: to whose solid learning, deliberation, and indefatigable pains, both the Kings and people of this realm owe their deliverance from the long and cruel bondage of Rome. For it is true what the Romanists say in obloquy of this Archbishop, and we Protestants say it to his eternal fame, that he was the first of all the Archbishops of Canterbury that made a defection from the Papal chair; thereby vindicating this crown from a base dependence upon a foreign jurisdiction. But whereas Parsons saith, that "this was the first change of religion "in any Archbishop of Canterbury from the beginning unto his days;" this is not so true; for sundry of Archbishop Cranmer's predecessors (to look no further than two or three hundred years backward) were of different judgments from the church of Rome in some points. His immediate predecessor, Warham, approved of the King's title of Supreme Head of the Church under Christ, in his own kingdom, against the doctrine of the Pope's universal authority. And, a century of years before him, Archbishop Chichely, though he were made the Pope's legate, refused to exercise his power legantine, further than he should be authorized thereunto by the King. And Archbishop Islip, as long before him, disliked of dissolving those marriages that were contracted by such as had before vowed the single life. For though he laid a punishment upon a Countess of Kent, who, being a widow, and then professed, afterwards secretly married to a certain knight, named Abrincourt; yet he divorced them not, but permitted them to live together. And the judgment of Archbishop Arundel, who lived in King Richard the Second's reign, was for the translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, and for the laity's use thereof. For he, preaching the funeral sermon of Queen Anne, the beloved wife of that King, after she deceased at Sheen, in the year 1392, commended her, as for her other virtuous accomplishments, so particularly for her study of the holy Scriptures, and of the sense of them; and for having them in the vulgar tongue; as I find by an ancient MS. frag-

In his Three Conversions.

E Foxii MSS.

ment, writ near three hundred years ago, formerly belonging to the church of Worcester, in these words following:

ALSO THE BUSHOP OF Caunterbury, Thomas OF Arundel, THAT NOW IS, SEY A SERMON AT Westminster, THEREAS WAS MANY AN HUNDRED OF PEOPLE, AT THE BURYENG OF QUENE Anne, (OF WHOSE SOWLE GOD HAVE MERCY.) AND IN HIS COMMENDATION OF HER HE SEYD, THAT IT WAS MORE JOY OF HER, THAN OF ANY WOMAN, THAT EVER HE KNEW. FOR NOTWITHSTANDING THAT SHE WAS ALIEN BORN, [BEING THE DAUGHTER OF THE EMPEROR Charles IV.] SHE HAD ON English AL THE iiij GOSPELS, WITH THE DOCTORS UPON HEM. AND HE SEYD, THAT SHE SENT THEM UNTO HIM. AND HE SEYD, THAT THEY WERE GOOD AND TRUE, AND COMMENDED HER, IN THAT SHE WAS SO GREAT A LADY, AND ALSO AN ALYAN, AND WOLDE STUDY SO HOLY, SO VERTUOUSE BOKES. AND HE BLAMED IN HIS SERMON SHARPLY THE NEGLIGENCE OF THE PRELATES, AND OTHER MEN, &c.

So that it is not true what Parsons saith, if he mean, that no Archbishops of Canterbury, before Cranmer, varied from the church of Rome in any of her doctrines. But true it is, though not so much to their credits, that none of them, however sensible they were of the Roman errors and superstitions, did in good earnest bestir themselves to set this church free of them, before our above-named Archbishop (being the sixty-eighth from Augustine the monk) resolutely and bravely undertook and effected it. Indeed they spent not their zeal, their treasure, and their interest this way so much, as in contending about superiority and their prerogatives, in exempting their clergy from the cognizance of the temporal magistrate, in applications to, and courting of, the Bishops of Rome, in persecuting those they called hereticks, in eternizing their own names, by founding religious houses, and building stately palaces, and shrines, and in exhibiting themselves in great worldly pomp and appearance.

But blessed be God for Archbishop Cranmer ; by means of whose reformation succeeded a series of better, though not so splendid, Archbishops. Who made conscience of minding things more suitable to their high vocation, and the spiritual trust committed to them : men that regarded little or nothing the vain shows of exterior grandeur and glory, nor sought great things for themselves ; but, with their great predecessor St. Paul, (on whom lay the care of all the churches,) spent and wore out themselves in the restoration of the kingdom of Christ, so happily begun by the said Archbishop Cranmer in this island. Such were Parker, Grindal, Whitgift, the three first Protestant Archbishops next after him ; what he planted they watered, and God gave a blessed increase to. Whose most excellent lives and conducts in the government of this church, as well as in their own more private and domestic conversation ; their rare piety, prudence, patience, courage, and activity; I can scarcely temper my pen from making excursions into. Of which I could fill even volumes (had I leisure, favour, and countenance) from those large collections which I have for divers years been storing up with great delight, partly out of their own original letters, and partly from other MSS. in their times.

But, besides these first Archbishops during the long reign of Queen Elizabeth, who by their care and diligence established and settled that reformation, of which Archbishop Cranmer laid the first stones, we are beholden unto the same Archbishop for all the rest of the worthy and painful prelates of that metropolitical see, who have taken care of this excellently reformed church, even unto your Grace: whose deserts towards this church and the reformation have raised you to sit in Archbishop Cranmer's chair; though with as much reluctancy in you, as was in him. Of your Grace's endowments to qualify you for this most eminent station, I will be wholly silent; knowing how abhorrent your generous nature is from reading or hearing your own commendations.

Nor, my Lord, is this my end in this my Dedication: but this it is, that you would so far encourage these my weak and imperfect labours, (done out of a good intent,) as to cast a favourable eye upon them, for the sake of your glorious predecessor, the subject of this book; and to repute me among the number,

May it please your Grace,
Of your most humble,
and most obedient servants,

JOHN STRYPE.

THE

PREFACE.

I THINK it fit, by way of preface to these Memorials, to admonish the reader of a few things preparatory to the perusal thereof: as, what it was put me at first upon making these collections concerning Archbishop Cranmer, and the state of the church in his time: what induced me to make them public: and, what credit may be given to them; with some other occasional matters.

I. As to the first, I have been for a long time not a little addicted to read whatsoever I could of the reformation of this famous church; that I might truly understand, for what reasons it was at first attempted; in what methods it proceeded; by what men it was chiefly managed and carried on; and how it stood in truth as to its doctrine, discipline, and government, reputation, learning, piety, and such like, in its first establishment, and the earlier times of it. For which purpose I did not only read over what we have in print of these matters, but, for more satisfaction, I was carried on to look into MSS. whether registers, records, letters, instruments, and such like: a great sort of which by providence fell into my hands. And, besides them, I have turned over many more in libraries and elsewhere; from whence I made transcriptions, extracts, and collections, for my own use and satisfaction: which swelled to no little bulk. And, while I was doing this, I took always a more curious view into the lives, manners, and doings, learning, virtues, and abilities, of the chief leading men, whether archbishops and bishops, or other churchmen; of whom we have but little account extant, though many of them very great and good men; little more remaining of some of them than their names.

The reverence I bore in my mind to Archbishop Cranmer, the father of the reformation here in England, and the first of that ancient metropolitan see that so bravely shook off the Pope and his appendages, inclined me especially to gather up what notices I could of him. Afterwards, as my leisure served me, out of my indigested mass of notes, I compiled into some order memorials of him, and of the affairs of the church during his primacy; in which he for the most part was concerned, and bore a great share with King Henry, and the Lord Crumwel, his Vicegerent in spirituals. After some years, these memorials lying by me, I enlarged considerably, and digested them into annals, and had thoughts of making them public, being excited and encouraged thereunto by my friends, who were privy to these my doings.

II. And indeed many considerations induced me hereunto: as, in general, the great benefit of reading histories of former times; which what that is, take in the words of John Fox; "For the things which be first are to be preferred before those which be later: and then is the reading of histories much necessary in the church, to know what went before, and what followed after. And therefore, not without cause, history in old authors is called, The witness of times, the light of verity, the life of memory, the teacher of life, and shewer of antiquity. Without the knowledge whereof, man's life is blind, and soon may fall into any kind of error, as by manifest experience we have to see in these desolate later times of the church, whenas the Bishops of Rome, under colour of antiquity, have turned truth into heresy, and brought in such new-found devices of strange doctrine and religion, as in the former ages of the church were never heard of: and all through ignorance of times, and for lack of true history." And therefore the use of history being so considerable, historians in some kingdoms have been maintained by public

In his Protestation to the whole Church of England.

encouragement. And so the writer of the Epistle to King Edward, before Erasmus's Paraphrase Englished, propounded once to that King, " That there should be a " public salary allotted to some able persons, to translate " good books, and to write chronicles, for bestowing so " great a benefit on the commonwealth."

But particularly the history of the church, and matters relating to religion, have a more special benefit, as being conversant about spiritual things, which are weightier by far, and concern us more a great deal, than temporal. But, the more is the pity, in this sort of history there is a greater defect than in the other; I speak of our own nation; for though the history of the state, in the last age, was excellently done by the pens of the Lord Herbert, and Mr. Cambden; yet the matters of the church they professedly declined, or did but touch at; the former saying expressly, " His intention was not in an history to " discuss theological matters, as holding it sufficient to " have pointed at the places where they are controverted." Pag. 418. Edit. 1672. And the latter in his history, as often as he came to matters of the church, tells us, that he left his readers to the ecclesiastical historian: which hath made me wonder at, and apt to accuse the slothfulness of that age, that, during all the time of King Henry, King Edward, and Queen Mary, wherein religion was so tossed about, and took up so much of those reigns, there is no one ecclesiastical history thereof written, except that of the diligent and learned Mr. Fox; and, during the long reign of Queen Elizabeth and King James, I think none at all. Till of late years, when, by length of time, and destruction of many original MSS. by the civil wars, divers remarkable transactions were buried and lost, some few learned men employed themselves in collecting and publishing what memorials of religion and the church they could retrieve; as namely, Dr. Fuller, Dr. Heylin, and especially Dr. Burnet, now the right reverend Bishop of Sarum: to whom the English church must be ever beholden for his great and happy pains contributed hereunto. But yet there be good gleanings after these writers; and many things of remark there are, relating to the church in those three busy reigns of Henry, Edward, and Mary, whereof these historians are either wholly silent, or speak imperfectly, or erroneously: some whereof in my searches I have met with; which I have disposed in these Memorials.

But besides the general benefit of history, especially ecclesiastical, this particular history now recommended unto the English nation may produce this good effect, to make us value and esteem, as we ought, our reformed religion, when we see by what just and fair ways it went on, and how it prevailed, like Christianity at first, notwithstanding the great opposition it met with; and what sort of men they were, such as Gardiner and Boner, who especially set themselves to stop it.

Moreover, reading the lives of exemplary men, and such as were famous in their generation, hath a great virtue in it to influence the manners of men. Their wise sayings, their discreet behaviour, their just management of matters committed to their trust; their zeal, their charity, their awe of God, their contempt of the world, and such like, are not only delightful to read or hear, but do insensibly instil into men's minds a secret approbation thereof, and draw them on to an imitation. This land hath produced many admirable men; the knowledge of whom, and the benefit of whose examples, is utterly lost, for want of some writers to leave their memory unto the world. It was a thing complained of in the last age, "that as that age "abounded more in writers than any age before it, so "there were very few that set themselves to pen the lives "of excellent men; as Samuel, the learned and worthy "son of John Fox, spake: but he ever thought it, as he "said, most unjust, notwithstanding, to deprive the world "of the memory of matters done by them, by whose "labours and worthy deeds the common state of the "country was so much bettered." And if the use of history, as the same author saith, is to form the lives and manners of men, that being the chief end of history; then, I add, no part of history doth more promote this than the history of the deeds of famous men.

Life of John Fox.

It was another great inducement to me to let this work see the light, to be grateful to the memory of this holy

Prelate, that hath so well deserved of this church; and to whom, under God, she oweth that excellent constitution, and reformed state, in which she is; which cost him so dear, so many pensive thoughts, so many long hours study, so many consultations and debates with learned men, so much correspondence abroad, so many speeches, arguments, and strugglings in the parliament, in the convocation, before the King, the clergy, the people; so much danger, and trouble, and envy, and reproach, and at last his dearest blood. Posterity would be highly injurious to such a person as this, if he should not be recorded with all due respect and honour. It was a commendable practice of the ancient Persians, to write in records the names and good deeds of such as had deserved well of the King and kingdom, to remain for ever. And these records Kings themselves did sometimes use to read. The King Ahasuerus called one night for them to be read to him, to entertain his waking hours, (Esther vi.) And Xerxes, in an Epistle of his to Pausanias, extant in Thucydides, told him, that "his good deed was upon record in his palace "for ever." For these records were esteemed so precious, that they were kept within the walls of the palace. And this custom of writing up the remembrance of men of merit seemed also to be among the Jews. Thus it is said of Judas Macchabeus, that "the remembrance of him "was for a blessing for ever." To which does, I suppose, ספר זכרון that "book of remembrance," or record, allude, (in Mal. iii. 16.) "that was written for those that feared "God, and thought on his name." And surely it is agreeable to God's will that this piece of gratitude should be shewn to men of singular virtue deceased, to keep their names and good deeds upon record, for posterity to know, and to thank God for.

Κείσεταί σοι εὐεργεσία ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ οἴκῳ εἰς ἀεὶ ἀνάγραπτος.

Ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτοῦ εἰς εὐλογίαν. 1 Mac. iii. 7.

And this office of love and duty seems highly convenient to be done towards Archbishop Cranmer, that something might appear in the world for his vindication, under those many base aspersions, and lying insinuations, that are and have been printed by Papists, to defame and blacken him to posterity. One of them hath these words, (which shew that he cared not what he said, so he might but throw his

Parson's Three Conversions, Part iii. p. 84.

dirt upon the chief lights of the reformation,) " The very " pillars of this rank, [which he names to be] Luther, " Bucer, Peter Martyr, Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, " Rogers, Farrar, Taylor, Tyndal, all married priests and " friars, [but some of them were never friars, and others " never married,] were men given to their sensualities, " both of women, and other like their commodities, after " the fashion of other ordinary men. Neither is there " recounted any one eminent action in all their lives, that " I have read, either of chastening their bodies, mortifying " their appetites, contemning the world and the pleasures " thereof, while they might have and use the same; or " finally, any more excellent spirit in them above the rest, " or of any supernatural concurrence of God with their " actions in any one thing." But did he converse so much in Fox, as to undertake in one or two books to answer and confute him and his martyrs; and yet doth he meet with nothing there of none of these men in that Martyrology but what was " ordinary to other men," and that shewed not some " more excellent spirit" to be in them? It is a sign he read but little there, or read with a cankered mind. This ensuing book shall effectually confute these misreports and slanders of Cranmer, one of these pillars, as he calls them; and shall abundantly make it appear, that he was no sensualist, nor addicted (notwithstanding his high place) to the pleasures and commodities of this world; and that his life shone bright by his many eminent actions of piety, mortification, contempt of the world; and that he was of a " more excellent spirit" than that of the ordinary rank of men; and that for some ages there scarce arose his fellow; and, finally, that he must needs have some " supernatural " concurrence" and mighty aid of God's grace with him, in many of the affairs that passed through his hands.

III. The third thing remains, (which is indeed the main matter that makes an history of any account,) and that is, what credit may be given to what I have writ: for if it stand not upon the foot of truth, it is not history, but a romance, a legend, a mere tale. And here I remember what John Fox said to Alan Cope, concerning an history-controuler, which is as true of an history-writer: "If you "will be a controuler in story-matters, diligence is required, "and great searching out of books and authors, not only "of our time, but of all ages, and especially where matters "of religion are touched, pertaining to the church; it is "not sufficient to say what Fabian or what Hall saith, but "records must be sought, and registers must be turned "over: letters also and ancient instruments ought to be "perused, and authors with the same compared; finally, "the writers among themselves one to be compared with "another; and so with judgment to be weighed, with diligence to be laboured, and with simplicity, pure from all "addiction and partiality, to be uttered."

Acts and Mon. vol. i. p. 532. Edit. 1610.

Now to measure myself with this: diligence and faithfulness, I trust, hath not been wanting in me: I have been governed by a hearty desire and love of truth; I have read over such printed books as are of the best credit and vogue, and I have often compared them with good MSS. especially when I have had occasion to make use of them; which I have done but sparingly and briefly, that I might not cumber the book with what hath been known and written afore. But the collections I have here made, and do publish to the world, are chiefly from manuscript records, registers, letters, orders of council, original and authentic. For, besides Archbishop Cranmer's register, in a great folio, in which I have bestowed some considerable time, I have had the perusal of several rare papers (volumes I may say) of Sir. John Cotton, preserved in his invaluable library; and of Archbishop Parker, that great antiquarian, collected by him, and now remaining in the private library of Benet College in Cambridge; among which there is a writing, intituled, "A declaration concerning the progeny, with the "manners and trade of life, and bringing up, of the most "reverend father in God, Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury; and by what order and means he "came to his preferments and dignities." Which I perceive was drawn up by Cranmer's Secretary, at the desire of Archbishop Parker, and for his use. I have been conversant in what remaineth of the papers of John Fox, communicated to me by the favour of my good friend William

Willys, of Hackney, Esquire. Among which there is a MS. life of Cranmer; Annals, writ by an Augustine Monk of Canterbury, from the year 1532, to 1538: many letters of Fox, and other learned men, to him, relating to the affairs or afflictions of the church in those times; and abundance more, too long here to be inserted. I have consulted also many MSS. of great worth, originally belonging to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh's secretary, imparted to me by Sir William Hickes, of Low-Leyton in Essex, Knight and Baronet: wherein are divers of Archbishop Cranmer's letters, written by his own pen. By the kindness of the reverend Mr. Nicolas Battely of Kent, and his great readiness and zeal to forward my design, I have received a great many material *excerpta* out of the registers and records of the cathedral church of Canterbury, and out of other books and MSS. William Petyt of the Inner-Temple, Esquire, and keeper of the Tower-records, did with great humanity communicate unto me his collection of excellent papers, contained in two large volumes: which though in these Memorials I have made but little use of, yet may be admirably subservient to me, or whosoever's lot else it may happen to fall to, to give the world some account of Queen Elizabeth's Archbishops, and the church affairs in their times. In this catalogue of friends and assistants, I must mention also the reverend Dr. Thomas Smith, and Mr. Henry Wharton; Mr. Laughton, keeper of the public library in Cambridge, and Mr. Harrison, fellow of Sidney College in that university. Unto all these gentleman now named, I do here (as I ought in gratitude) publicly acknowledge myself beholden.

I did also consult the MS. library at Lambeth, by the favourable permission of the last, and the present, Archbishop of Canterbury. But though there be divers shelves of very choice MSS. yet I found little or nothing there serviceable to my purpose; unless it should please God to lengthen my life and health, to write in this method concerning Archbishop Whitgift. Neither was I successful in inquiries, which I procured friends to make, from such as were relations of the Archbishop, in any matters or notices concerning him. There is one Mr. Cartwright of

Nottinghamshire, that is an heir of that ancient family of the Cranmers, a worthy gentleman, and now, or late, justice of the peace for that county; who, being made acquainted with my design, and moved to impart any letters or writings that might be of use thereunto, answered a friend, that he was plundered in the late civil wars of abundance of papers, and not a few to that effect; but that now he had not any thing left to contribute but his own good wishes to the undertaker.

But still further, for the better satisfying the readers in the truth of what I write, I have, according to a good practice first begun by Mr. Sumner of Canterbury, cast the most material records and original letters together by themselves in an Appendix, that those that please may read them there, rather than in the body of the story, where it might too much interrupt the thread of the discourse, and make the reading more tedious. Which Appendix will serve both as a proof of the history, and moreover as a repository for many choice monuments of antiquity; which otherwise, being in loose papers, and private studies, might in time be utterly extinguished, and irrecoverably lost.

In his Antiq. of Canterbury.

And I do here protest once for all, that I have not inserted into this book any one single historical passage out of mine own head, but such as I have either found in some credible published history, or in some old book printed in those times, or the prefaces and epistles to them; or, lastly, in some good MS. or other.

I have digested these Memorials into Annals, and have laid matters under their respective years, and months, and days, as near as I could: sometimes indeed I have been left to conjecture at the true time; which I have done with as much care and exactness as, by considering all circumstances, I could. Yet herein I am not so confident, but that I may sometimes perhaps make a mistake: and if I do so, it will, I hope, be excused to me, considering that I was fain oftentimes to go by guess, (grounded however upon the best probability I could make,) the papers I used being not seldom without date, sometimes of the year, sometimes of the month, and sometimes of both.

I thought it not amiss (though I have not observed it done in any other history) to set down under every year what bishops diocesan and suffragan were consecrated in the province of Canterbury, and by whom. And I am jealous some of the suffragans may be omitted by me; which defect must be attributed to the registers rather than to me. I have taken particular heed to the convocations, and to what was done in them. And, because the affairs of the English church have such a near relation unto the archbishops of the church, so as their histories are but maimed and imperfect without some respect had to those affairs, I have diligently interwoven many ecclesiastical emergencies into this History; and a great many more I have been forced to omit, though well worthy the public, lest the volume might swell too much.

If any might perhaps deem this a needless work, the life of this Archbishop having been writ already in the Book of Martyrs, and the British Antiquities; I answer such, that I have therefore been short, and it may be silent, in some things more fully and largely treated of elsewhere: but here are numberless notices given concerning the Archbishop, some which are no where else, others very imperfectly, observed; besides the narrations of the state, and history of the church, (which are every where interposed,) in most of which the Archbishop bore a part.

The cathedral church of Canterbury, now called Christ Church, I have in some places styled Trinity Church, because I so find it named in those particular records I make use of in those places; and, it seems, in some of the first years of our Archbishop, it ordinarily went by that old name.

My style may seem rough and unpolished, and the phrases here and there uncouth; the reason of which is, because, I confess, I have often taken the very expressions and words of the papers I have used; and so may fall sometimes into obsolete terms, and a style not so acceptable to the present age, whose language is refined from what it was an hundred and fifty or forty years ago. But I have chosen to do this that I might keep the nearer truth, and lest that, by varying of the language, I might perhaps sometimes vary from the true meaning of my writer. And, in truth, he that is a lover of antiquity loves the very language and phrases of antiquity.

The reader will find some few things here which are already published in the late Specimen put forth by Anthony Harmer; he and I, it seems, lighting unwittingly upon the same records, to wit, King Edward's Council-Book, and the Register of Christ Church, Cant. Nor could I strike out of my book what I found published in the said Specimen, having fully finished it, and the copy being under the press some weeks before that book came forth, and the matters there related interwoven into the contexture of my history.

And now, after all this pains that I have taken in fulfilling this task, (which I assure the readers have not been small, nor of a few years,) let me not for every little slip fall under their censure and reproach, but rather let them use me with gentleness and charity; considering how few, though much abler, will trouble themselves to labour and drudge, and take journeys, and be at expenses, in making such collections for the public good. It calls to mind what happened upon the death of the laborious antiquary John Stow, who had been a collector of matters for the English history seven and forty years, and died 1605, and had all the collections of Reiner Wolf, (another historian, and a printer in King Edward the Sixth's days;) and, if he had lived but one year longer, intended to have published his long labours: but, after his death, there was not a man to be found to take the small pains to review his papers, and fit them for the press. Many indeed were talked of to do it, both persons of quality among the laity and clergy, (for the world had great and earnest expectation to see Stow in print,) but, when they were spoke to to take the good work in hand, some of them said, that they thought the giving out of their names was rather done by secret enemies, on purpose to draw them into capital displeasure, and to bring their names and lives into a general question. Others said, that they who did such a work must flatter, which they could not; neither wilfully would they leave a scandal unto their posterity. Another said, he could not see how in any civil action a man should spend his travel, time, and money worse, than in that which acquires no regard or reward, except backbiting and detraction. And one among the rest swore an oath, and said, he thanked God that he was not yet mad, to waste his time, spend two hundred pounds a year, (which it seems Stow had done,) trouble himself and all his friends, only to gain assurance of endless reproach, loss of liberty, and bring all his days in question. Yet at last one Edward Howes undertook it, and effected it: but it happened just so to him, having been intolerably abused and scandalized for his labour. So slothful and backward are most to take pains in works of this nature, and so apt to censure those that do. I hope I shall meet (if not with thanks, at least) with more candid men, and better usage.

But whatever happens, I shall arm myself with patience to undergo it, since I intend nothing hereby but to be serviceable unto my country, and God's church, and to justify the excellent reformation of it in these kingdoms; and, finally, to do right unto the memory of that truly great and good Archbishop of Canterbury. And thus, recommending the success of this work unto God's blessing, I here make an end.

J. STRYPE.

Sept. 29. 1693.
Low-Leyton.

I desire the reader to take notice, that, when I quote Fox's Acts and Monuments, it is the edition in the year 1610. And when the Life of King Henry VIII. by the Lord Herbert, it is the edition of 1672. And when the History of the Reformation by Bishop Burnet, it is that of the year 1681. Farewell.

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The King's book revised by the Archbishop. Divers discourses of the Archbishop. The goodly Primer. The Archbishop instrumental to the reformation of Scotland. An act procured by the Archbishop. Paul Bush consecrated. Anno 1542.

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A black Cloud over the Archbishop.

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A royal Visitation.

Anno 1547. A royal visitation on foot. The visitors. The method of this visitation. The Homilies, and Erasmus's Paraphrase.

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Homilies, and Erasmus's Paraphrase.

Anno 1547. The Archbishop to Winchester concerning the Homilies. The Archbishop, &c. compose homilies. Winchester in the Fleet. The Bishop of Winchester's censure of the homily of Salvation: and of the Archbishop for it. Winchester's censure of Erasmus's Paraphrase. His account of his commitment. Erasmus vindicated. Winchester's letter to Somerset concerning these things. The Archbishop appoints a thanksgiving for a victory. The Archbishop to the Bishop of London.

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The Archbishop's Catechism.

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The Archbishop's Care of the University.

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Dr. Smith recants at Paul's Cross. His books. Gardiner offended with this recantation. Other university-men recant. Smith affronts the Archbishop. His inconstancy. The Archbishop's admonition to the Vicar of Stepney. The Archbishop licenseth an eminent preacher. Who preacheth against the errors and superstitions of the church. Is bound to answer for his sermon at the assizes. How far the reformation had proceeded. Ridley consecrated bishop. Anno 1547.

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The Church's Goods embezzled. New Opinions broached.

Churches profaned. Church ornaments embezzled. The council's letter to the Archbishop thereupon. A form of prayer sent to the Archbishop; with the council's letter. New opinions broached. Champneys revokes six articles; and abjures. Other heresies vented. Asheton's recantation. Other errors still. Joan Bocher's heresy. Latimer's censure of her. George van Paris. Anno 1548.

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The Archbishop visits his diocese. His articles for the clergy, and for the laity. An exchange made between the Archbishop and the Lord Windsor. Farrar Bishop of St. David's consecrated. Some account of this Bishop. The Archbishop swayed by Farrar's enemies. Anno 1548.

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The Archbishop answers the Rebels' Articles.

Anno 1549. Rebellion in Devon. The Archbishop answers the rebels' articles. Some account thereof. Crispin, Moreman, Cardinal Pole. The Archbishop procures sermons to be made against the rebellion. Peter Martyr's sermon upon this occasion. The French take occasion at this rebellion. Bucer's discourse against the sedition. The Archbishop's prayer, composed for this occasion.

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Duke of Somerset's Troubles. The Common Prayer ratified.

Anno 1549. The Archbishop writes to the Lords at Ely-house. Their answer. The Archbishop gets the Common Prayer-Book confirmed.

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Peter Martyr disputes in Oxford, being challenged thereunto.

Anno 1549. Peter Martyr challenged publicly to a disputation. His answer hereunto. Declines it at present; and why. They agree upon the conditions of a disputation. They dispute. Martyr sends the sum of the disputation to the Archbishop. The disputation published by Martyr: and by Tresham. Smith writes to the Archbishop from Scotland. Disputations at Cambridge before the commissioners. Bucer disputes. His judgment of the sacrament.

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Ridley made Bishop of London. The Communion-Book reviewed.

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Hoper's Troubles.

Hoper nominated for Bishop of Glocester. He and Ridley confer about the habits. The Archbishop writes to Bucer for his judgment in this matter. The questions. Martyr writes to Hoper. Hoper's two objections: considered. Another objection of Hoper considered. Other things urged by him. Hoper confined to his house, and silenced. Committed to the Archbishop's custody. Sent to the Fleet. Hoper conforms. Martyr to Gualter concerning Hoper's conformity. **Anno 1550.**

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Bishop Hoper visits his Diocese.

Hoper visits his diocese. His articles of religion. His injunctions and interrogatories. Holds Worcester *in commendam:* **Anno 1550.**

and visits that church and see. Goes over both his dioceses again. The council's order concerning the two canons. License for the Bishop of Glocester to attend upon the Duchess of Somerset in the Tower. Other matters relating to this Bishop.

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Troubles of Bishop Gardiner.

Anno 1550. Divers great Lords repair to Gardiner. The council's proceedings with him. Articles propounded to him to subscribe. Winchester sequestered for three months. The sequestration expires. The commissioners sit to examine him. A letter of some noblemen, whom he had belied. Gardiner offers his book against Cranmer to the commissioners. He is deprived. The council's order for his strait confinement. Poynet made Bishop of Winton.

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Bishop Hethe and Bishop Day, their Deprivations.

Anno 1550. Other popish Bishops dealt with. Bishop Hethe's troubles. Sent for before the council. Day, Bishop of Chichester, his troubles. Bishop Day will not pull down altars. Appears before the council. The Archbishop and Bishop of Ely reason with him. The council give him time to confer. Before the council again. Before the council the third time. And the fourth time, when he was sent to the Fleet. Commissioners appointed for Worcester and Chichester. They are deprived. Placed, the one with the Lord Chancellor, and the other with the Bishop of London. Day writes to King's College for leaving off masses. His unnatural carriage towards his brother. Preaches against transubstantiation. His change charged on him.

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Papists grow bold. Loose Professors restrained.

Anno 1550. The Papists write libels. Several Papists now taken up. Chedsey, Morgan, Sir Anthony Brown, White. Other professors restrained.

CHAP. XXII.

Foreigners allowed Churches. A Lasco.

Anno 1550. The Archbishop's care of the souls of strangers residing here. The Dutch congregation under John a Lasco. The occasion of his coming into England. His business here. From Embden he wrote to the Archbishop: and to Cecyl. The sad condition of the Protestants there. Latimer mentions A Lasco to the King. Contest among A Lasco's people. The care of A Lasco over his church, and its privileges. Favourably received by the Lord Chancellor Goodrich. Labours with the Secretary to procure letters from the council in behalf of his church. The extent of his superintendency. Melancthon thought to shelter himself under him. His great abilities for government. Erasmus's praise of him. Purchased Erasmus's library. A Lasco a married man. His influence in the reformation under Queen Elizabeth. Blamed for meddling in our controversies. A church of Italians constituted in London. Michael Angelo their minister. The service the Archbishop did for this church: and for the minister. Divers of this church fall out with their minister, and go to mass again. A conjecture at the cause thereof. Their minister sends their names to the Secretary, and accuses them. The morals of this man tainted. Writes a penitent letter to the Secretary. A French church also in London.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Church at Glastenbury.

Anno 1550. Another church of strangers at Glastenbury. Their trade weaving. Valerandus Pollanus their preacher and superintendent. How they came to fix here. Conditions of trade between them and Somerset. Their trade obstructed by the troubles of Somerset. Apply themselves again to the council, and to the Secretary Cecyl. The council become their patrons, and assist them. Orders from the Lords to set this manufacture forwards. Pollanus very serviceable to them. An apology for the largeness of the former relation. After the King's death they remove to Frankford. Prove friends to the English exiles there. A Spanish church. Cassiodorus and Corranus their preachers. Many of King Philip's Spaniards become Protestants. Great numbers of Protestants in Spain and Italy.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Archbishop's Care of the Revenues of the Church. Bucer dies.

Anno 1550. The Archbishop labours to preserve the revenues of the church. The detaining the church revenues a scandal to the reformation. Calvin to the Archbishop upon this matter: and to the Duke of Somerset. Bucer publicly disputeth at Cambridge. Dieth. The University wrote up concerning his death. Bucer's library. His widow retires to Germany. The correspondence between him and Martyr. A plot of the Papists at Oxon against Martyr, at an Act. Martyr's judgment of the Communion-Book. Bucer's great dangers. Poynet consecrated, and Hoper.

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The Archbishop publisheth his Book against Gardiner.

Anno 1551. Cranmer publisheth his book of the Sacrament. His first book of that subject. Wrote against by Gardiner and Smith. Vindicated in another book by the Archbishop. The method of the Archbishop's reply. The judgments made of this book. How the Archbishop came off from the opinion of the corporal presence. The Archbishop's great skill in controversy. Peter Martyr enlightened by Cranmer. Fox's conjecture of the Archbishop. A second book of Gardiner against the Archbishop. The Archbishop begins a third book. Martyr takes up the quarrel. Cranmer puts out his book of the Sacrament in Latin. Printed again at Embden. Cranmer's second book intended to be put into Latin. Some notes of Cranmer concerning the sacrament. Martyr succeeds Cranmer in this province. Writes against Gardiner, and Smith.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Duke of Somerset's Death.

Anno 1551. The Duke of Somerset's death. Winchester supposed to be in the plot. Articles against the Duke. What he is blamed for. The new book of Common Prayer established. Coverdale made Bishop of Exon. Scory Bishop elect of Rochester. The Archbishop appoints a guardian of the spiritualties of Lincoln; and of Wigorn; and of Chichester; and of Hereford; and of Bangor. Hoper visits his diocese. Two disputations concerning the sacrament. Dr. Redman dies. The Archbishop and others appointed to reform ecclesiastical laws. The method they observed. Scory, Coverdale, consecrated.

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The Articles of Religion.

The Articles of Religion framed and published. The Archbishop's diligence in them. The Archbishop retires to Ford. Anno 1552.

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Persons nominated for Irish Bishopricks.

Consulted with for fit persons to fill the Irish sees. Some account of the four divines nominated by him for the archbishoprick of Armagh. Mr. Whithead; Mr. Turner; Thomas Rosse, or Rose; Robert Wisdome. The character the Archbishop gave of the two former. Turner designed for Armagh: but declines it. Goodacre made Archbishop of Armagh. Letters from the council to Ireland, recommending the Irish bishops. Anno 1552.

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The Archbishop charged with covetousness.

A rumour given out of the Archbishop's covetousness and wealth: which Cecyl sends him word of. The Archbishop's answer for himself and the other bishops. This very slander raised upon him to King Henry. King Henry promised him lands. This promise performed by King Edward. His purchases. The Archbishoprick fleeced by King Henry. Lands passed away to the crown by exchange. Lands made over to the Archbishop. The Archbishop parted also with Knol and Otford to the King. What moved him to make these exchanges. His cares and fears for the King. Anno 1552.

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Anno 1552. His kindness for Germany. His correspondence with Germany; and with Herman Archbishop of Colen. The suitableness of both these Archbishops' dispositions. Their diligence in reforming.

CHAP. XXXII.

Troubles of Bishop Tonstal.

Anno 1552. The troubles of Bishop Tonstal. The causes of this Bishop's punishment. A bill in parliament to attaint Tonstal. The care of the diocese committed to the Dean.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The new Common Prayer. The Archbishop in Kent.

Anno 1552. The new Common Prayer began to be used. This book put into French for the King's French subjects. The age still vicious. A new sect in Kent. The Archbishop's business in Kent. A letter for installing Bishop Hoper. The vicar of Beden. Sampson and Knox. The council favour Knox. John Taylor consecrated.

CHAP. XXXIV.

A Catechism. The Archbishop opposeth the exclusion of the Lady Mary.

Anno 1553. Great use made of the Archbishop at council. The Articles of Religion enjoined by the King's authority. The Catechism for schools. A Catechism set forth by the synod. The Archbishop opposeth the new settlement of the crown. Denieth before the council to subscribe to the exclusion of the Lady Mary. Sets his hand. The Archbishop ungratefully dealt with. The council subscribe and swear to the limited succession.

CHAP. XXXV.

The King dies.

Anno 1553. The King dies. His character. The Archbishop delights in this Prince's proficiency. King Edward's writings. The King's memorial for religion. The Archbishop frequent at council. His presence in the council in the year 1550. In the year 1551. In the year 1552. And 1553. John Harley consecrated Bishop.

BOOK III.

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Queen Mary soon recognised. The Archbishop slandered and imprisoned.

The Archbishop's and counsellors' concern with the Lady Jane. They declare for Queen Mary: and write to Northumberland to lay down his arms. The Queen owned by the ambassadors. The Archbishop misreported to have said mass at Canterbury. Which he makes a public declaration against. The declaration. Appears before the commissioners at Paul's: and before the council. The Archbishop of York committed to the Tower; and his goods seized: at Battersea, at Cawood. Gardiner's passage of the two Archbishops. Anno 1553.

CHAP. II.

Protestant Bishops and Clergy cast into Prisons, and deprived.

This reign begins with rigour. The protestant bishops deprived. The hard usage of the inferior clergy. Professors cast into the Marshalsea. Winchester's alms. Peter Martyr writes of this to Calvin. The state of the church now. The Queen leaves all matters to Winchester. The Queen crowned. The service still said. The Queen's proclamation of her religion. Signs of a change of religion. Anno 1553.

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The Archbishop adviseth Professors to fly.

The Archbishop adviseth to flight. Cranmer will not fly. Whither the professors fly: and who. Duke of Northumberland put to death. His speech. Sir John Gates his speech; and Palmer's. The Duke labours to get his life. Whether he was always a Papist. Anno 1553.

CHAP. IV.

Peter Martyr departs. A Parliament.

Anno 1553. Peter Martyr departs. Malice towards him. A scandal of the Queen. A parliament. The parliament repeal Queen Katherine's divorce; and Cranmer taxed for it.

CHAP. V.

The Archbishop attainted.

Anno 1553. The Archbishop attainted of treason. The Dean of Canterbury acts in the vacancy. The Archbishop sues for pardon of treason. Obtains it. He desires to open his mind to the Queen concerning religion.

CHAP. VI.

A Convocation.

Anno 1553. A convocation. How it opened. The Archbishop and three more crowded together in the Tower.

CHAP. VII.

The Queen sends to Cardinal Pole.

Anno 1553. The Queen sends to Pole. The contents of her letters. Concerning the supremacy. Concerning the new bishops. Pole's advice to the Queen. Instructions to Goldwel. Disgusts his stop. Sends to Rome about this his stop: and to the Emperor. His judgment of two late acts of Parliament.

CHAP. VIII.

The Dealings with the married Clergy.

Anno 1553. The married clergy deprived and divorced. Married priests in London cited to appear. Interrogatories for the married clergy. Turnor's confession. Boner deprives the married clergy in London without order. Married prebendaries in Canterbury proceeded against. Edmund Cranmer deprived of all. The injustice of these proceedings. Martin's book against priests' marriage. Wherein Winchester had the greatest hand. Answered by Poynet. The confessions of the married priests. Married priests that did their penance, hardly dealt with.

CHAP. IX.

Evils in this Change. A Parliament.

Anno 1553. A twofold evil upon this turn of religion. The dissimulation of the priests. A parliament restore the Pope. A design to revive the six Articles.

CHAP. X.

Archbishop Cranmer disputes at Oxon.

Anno 1554. A convocation appoint a dispute with Cranmer at Oxford. The questions. Sent to Cambridge. The disputants of Oxford and Cambridge. Cranmer brought before them. His behaviour. Ridley brought: and Latimer. Cranmer brought to his disputation. His notaries. Cranmer's demands. Cranmer disputes again. The Papists' indecent management of the disputation. The Protestants glad of this disputation. Dr. Taylor to the three fathers after their disputations. Ridley pens the relation of his disputation. The University sends the disputations up to the Convocation. Various copies of these disputations.

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Cranmer condemned for an Heretick.

Anno 1554. Cranmer condemned for heresy. Cranmer writes to the council. Disputation intended at Cambridge. Their condition after condemnation. Their employment in prison. Other works of Ridley in prison.

CHAP. XII.

A Parliament. Pole reconciles the Realm.

Anno 1554. The Queen's letters, directing the elections of parliament-men. Pole comes over. The Cardinal absolves parliament and convocation. The clergy again wait upon the Legate. A commission granted by him against hereticks. His commissions to all the bishops to reconcile their dioceses. The commission to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury. The Legate's instructions to the bishops. Pole a severe persecutor.

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A Convocation. Articles framed therein.

Anno 1544. A convocation. Articles presented to the Upper House. Cranmer's book to be burnt. Men burnt to death without law.

CHAP. XIV.

The Condition of the Protestants in prison. Free-willers.

Anno 1554. Popery fully established. Protestants. The pastors in prison. Free-willers. Bradford's concern with them. His kindness to them. Bradford gaineth some of them. Careless's pains with them. Philpot's counsel. Careless draws up a confession of faith. Some few Arians. The prisoners offer to justify King Edward's proceedings. And again offer it.

CHAP. XV.

The Exiles, and their Condition.

Anno 1554. The exiles. The Lutherans refuse to give harbour to them. The English at Wesel. The Lutherans' heat against Sacramentaries. At Zurick and other places well received. Their employments. Contentions at Frankford. Some children of the exiles baptized by Lutherans. Pieces of Ridley's writings conveyed to Frankford. Exiles at Basil. Divers of the exiles writers. Scory, Old, Sampson, Turner, Juel, Becon, Humfrey, Traheron. Fox: his Acts and Monuments. Books by him published in exile. Translates Cranmer's book of the Sacrament into Latin. Letter to Fox. Bale, Knox. How the exiles subsisted.

CHAP. XVI.

Many recant. Some go to Mass.

Anno 1554. Many recant. The persecution hot. Gospellers go to mass. Bradford labours to hinder it. Ann Hartipol goes to mass. The Lady Vane puts certain cases concerning the mass.

CHAP. XVII.

A Bloody Time. The Queen's great Belly. A Convocation.

Anno 1555.

Many burned. Instructions to the justices. Orders sent into Norfolk against the professors. The effect thereof. The Earl of Sussex receiveth information against some. Popish spies set every where. The Protestants frequently assemble. Confidently reported that a male heir to the crown was born. The Queen's great belly. Like a design. The Queen's zeal. A convocation.

CHAP. XVIII.

Ridley and Latimer burnt.

Anno 1555.

Some petition the Queen for Cranmer. He seeth Ridley and Latimer going to their burning. Latimer's character. Cranmer's employment in prison. Report of the Queen's death.

CHAP. XIX.

The last proceedings with Cranmer.

Anno 1555.

Proceedings against Cranmer. Martin acts as the Queen's proctor. Cranmer's greatest trouble at this time. Interrogatories put to him; with his answers. Witnesses sworn against him. Cited to Rome. The Pope's letters against him. The process against him at Rome. The Pope's letters read. They degrade him. He appeals. He is ill dealt with in his process. The reasons of his appeal. He presseth his appeal.

CHAP. XX.

Cranmer writes to the Queen.

Anno 1555.

Writes two letters to the Queen. The contents of the first. The contents of his second letter. The Bailiff of Oxford carries his letters. Cardinal Pole answereth them. Some account of the Cardinal's letter to Cranmer. Another letter of the Cardinal to Cranmer.

CHAP. XXI.

He recants, repents, and is burnt.

Anno 1555. He recants. Notwithstanding his burning is ordered. A letter from Oxford concerning Cranmer's death. Cranmer brought to St. Mary's. Cole's sermon. Turns his speech to Cranmer. After sermon all pray for him. His penitent behaviour. Speaks to the auditory. He prayeth. His words before his death. Confesseth his dissembling. His reply to my Lord Williams. Goes to the place of his burning. His talk and behaviour at the stake. He burneth his right hand. Two remarks upon his martyrdom. Who instigated the Queen to put him to death. No monument for him but his martyrdom. His heart unconsumed. The Bailiffs' expenses about these three martyrs. The Bailiffs not repaid. Humfrey to Archbishop Parker in their behalf.

CHAP. XXII.

Cranmer's Books and Writings.

His books and writings. His first book. Other of his writings. His book of the doctrine of the Sacrament. Other writings mentioned by Bishop Burnet. More of his writings still. Archbishop Parker was in pursuit of certain MSS. of Cranmer, concealed. What the subject of his numerous writings were.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Archbishop's Regard to learned Men.

Paul Fagius and Martin Bucer placed at Cambridge by his means. Procures them honorary stipends from the King. Allowances to Peter Martyr and Ochin. Dr. Mowse, Master of Trinity Hall, favoured by Cranmer. His inconstancy; and ingratitude. Becomes Reader of the Civil Law at Oxon. The Archbishop a patron to learned foreigners. To Erasmus, allowing him an honorary pension. To Alexander Aless, a Scotchman. By him Melancthon sends a book to the Archbishop; and to the King. Aless brought by Crumwel into the convocation: where he asserts two sacraments only. Writes a book to clear Protestants of the charge of schism. Translated a book of Bucer's about the English ministry. Received into Crumwel's family. Aless Professor of divinity at Leipzig. Four others recommended by Melancthon to the Archbishop: viz. Gualter, Dryander. Dryander placed at Oxon. Eusebius Menius. Justus Jonas.

CHAP. XXIV.

Melancthon and the Archbishop great Friends.

Divers memorable passages between Melancthon and our Archbishop. Sends Melancthon certain public disputations in Oxford and Cambridge. Melancthon's reflections thereupon. Sends the Archbishop his Enarration upon the Nicene Creed. The beginning of their acquaintance. The Archbishop propounds a weighty matter to Melancthon for the union of all Protestant churches. The diligence of the Archbishop in forwarding this design. Melancthon's judgment and approbation thereof. His caveat of avoiding ambiguous expressions. Renews the same caution in another letter. Peter Martyr of this judgment. What Melancthon thought of the doctrine of fate.

CHAP. XXV.

The Archbishop corresponds with Calvin.

The Archbishop breaks his purpose also to Calvin. Calvin's approbation thereof, and commendation of the Archbishop. Offers his service. Excites the Archbishop to proceed. This excellent purpose frustrated. Thinks of drawing up articles of religion for the English church. Which he communicates to Calvin. And Calvin's reply and exhortation. Blames him for having not made more progress in the reformation. But not justly. The clergy preach against sacrilege. The University-men declaim against it in the schools. And the redress urged upon some at court. Calvin sends letters, and certain of his books, to the King. Well taken by the King and council. What the Archbishop told the messenger hereupon.

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MEMORIALS

OF

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Cranmer's Birth, Education, and Rise.

A worthy work to revive his memory. THE name of this most reverend prelate deserves to stand upon eternal record; having been the first protestant Archbishop of this kingdom, and the greatest instrument, under God, of the happy Reformation of this Church of England: in whose piety, learning, wisdom, conduct, and blood, the foundation of it was laid. And therefore it will be no unworthy work to revive his memory now, though after an hundred and thirty years and upwards. I pretend not to write a complete narrative of his life and death, that being scarce possible at such a distance of time, and in the want of full intelligence and information of the various matters that passed through his hands, and the events that befel him. All that I attempt by this present undertaking is, to retrieve and bring to light as many historical passages as I can, concerning this holy prelate; by a careful and long search, not only into printed books of history, but the best archives, and many most precious and inestimable manuscripts that have fallen into my hands.

His family. I shall pass over, in a few words, his earlier days, because I have so much to say of him in his riper years. Aslacton, a town in the county of Nottingham, was the place of his birth; and the second day of July, in the year 1489, was the day

Anno 1489.

of it. He was the son of Thomas Cranmer, Esq. a gentleman of a right ancient family; whose ancestor came in with the Conqueror: and for a long series of time the stock continued in good wealth and quality; as it did in France; for there were extant of his name and family there, in the reign of Henry the Eighth. One whereof came then into England, in company with the French ambassador: to whom, for relation sake, our bishop gave a noble entertainment.

Account of his younger years.

Our youth was put to learn his grammar of a rude parish-clerk in that barbarous age: under whom he learned little, and endured much from the harsh and curst disposition of his schoolmaster. Though his father were minded to have his son educated in learning, yet he would not he should be ignorant of civil and gentleman-like exercises: insomuch that he used himself to shoot. And many times his father permitted him to hunt and hawk, and to ride rough horses: so that when he was bishop, he feared not to ride the roughest horses that came into his stables; which he would do very comely. As otherwise at all times there was not any in his house that would become an horse better. And after his studies, when it was time for recreation, he would both hawk and hunt, the game being prepared for him. And sometimes he would shoot in the long-bow, and many times kill the deer with his cross-bow, though his sight was not perfect; for he was poreblind.

Life of Cranmer in the MSS. C.C.C.C.

But to return to his younger days. He lost his father early; but his mother, at the age of fourteen years, anno 1503, sent him to study at Cambridge: where he was nursled in the grossest kind of sophistry, logic, philosophy moral and natural: not in the text of the old philosophers, but chiefly in the dark riddles of Duns, and other subtile questionists. And in these he lost his time, till he came to two and twenty years of age. After that, he gave himself to the reading of Faber, Erasmus, good Latin authors, four or five years together, unto the time that Luther began to write. And then, considering what great controversy was in matters of religion, not only in trifles, but in the chiefest articles of our salvation, he bent himself to try out the truth herein.

Sent to Cambridge anno 1503.

Life of Cranmer inter Foxii MSS.

Anno 1511.

Anno 1516.

And forasmuch as he perceived he could not judge indifferently in such weighty matters, without the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures; therefore, before he was infected with any man's opinions or errors, he applied his whole study three years therein. After this, he gave his mind to good writers, both new and old: not rashly running over them; for he was a slow reader, but a diligent marker of whatsoever he read, seldom reading without pen in hand. And whatsoever made either for the one part, or the other, of things in controversy, he wrote it out, if it were short, or at least noted the author, and the place, that he might find it, and write it out at leisure: which was a great help to him in debating of matters ever after.

Sets himself to study the Scripture, anno 1519.

This kind of study he used till he was made doctor of divinity: which was about the thirty-fourth year of his age, and about the year 1523.

Is made doctor of divinity, anno 1523.

But before this, being master of arts, and fellow of Jesus College, he married a gentleman's daughter. And then leaving the college, he read the common lecture in Buckingham College, before that called Monks College, because Monks studied there, but now Magdalen College. But in a year after his wife travailing with child, both she and the child died. And being now single again, immediately the master and fellows of his old college chose him in fellow again: where he remained.

Marries.

During his residence here, divers of the ripest and solidest sort of scholars were sought out of this university of Cambridge, to be transplanted into Cardinal Wolsey's new college in Oxon, to be fellows there. Our Cranmer was nominated for one by Dr. Capon, to whom that matter was, as it seems, intrusted by the Cardinal. And though the salary was much more considerable there, and the way to preferment more ready, by the favour of the Cardinal, to such as were his own scholars; yet he refused to go, choosing rather to abide among his old fellow-collegians, and more closely to follow his studies and contemplations here: though he were not without danger for his incompliance with this invitation, giving them that were concerned great offence hereat. But of those that went from Cambridge at this time, who were all men picked out for their parts and learn-

Refuses to go to Wolsey's college, Oxon.

ing, these were the chief: Clark; Friar, afterwards doctor of physic; Sumner; Harman, afterwards fellow of Eaton; Betts, afterwards chaplain to Queen Ann; Cox, afterwards schoolmaster to King Edward; Frith, afterwards a martyr; Baily; Godman; Drum, afterwards one of the six preachers at Canterbury; Lawney, afterwards chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk. All these were cast into prison for suspicion of heresy; and divers through the hardship thereof died. So that well it was for Cranmer that he went not.

He is made one of the university examiners.

Soon after he took his degree of doctor of divinity, and became the reader of the divinity-lecture in his own college. And out of the value the university had of his learning, he was appointed one of the examiners of such as commenced bachelors and doctors in divinity: according to whose approbations, the university allowed them to proceed. In which place he did much good; for he used to examine these candidates out of the Scriptures; and by no means would let them pass, if he found they were unskilful in it, and unacquainted with the history of the Bible. So were the Friars especially, whose study lay only in school authors: whom therefore he sometimes turned back as insufficient, advising them to study the Scriptures for some years longer, before they came for their degrees; it being a shame for a professor in divinity to be unskilled in the book, wherein the knowledge of God and the grounds of divinity lay. Whereby he made himself from the beginning hated by the Friars: yet some of the more ingenuous sort of them afterward rendered him great and public thanks for refusing them; whereby, being put upon the study of God's word, they attained to more sound knowledge in religion. One of these was Dr. Barat, a white Friar, who lived afterwards in Norwich.

The King's great cause first proposed to the universities.

Not long after this, King Henry being persuaded that the marriage between him and Queen Katharine, daughter to King Ferdinand of Spain, was unlawful and naught, by Dr. Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, his confessor, and other of his Clergy; he sent to six of the best learned men of Cambridge, and as many of Oxford, to debate this question, *Whether it were lawful for one brother to marry his brother's wife, being known of his brother?* Of the which Cambridge doctors, Cranmer was appointed for one; such was his fame then in that university for learning. But because he was not then at Cambridge, another was chosen in his stead. These learned men agreed fully, with one consent, that it was lawful, with the Pope's dispensation, so to do. But if Cranmer had been there, he would have been of another mind, as we shall see in the sequel.

The occasion of his rise.

This great matrimonial cause gave the first step to Dr. Cranmer's preferment: for when Fox and Gardiner, the one the King's almoner, and the other his secretary, lighting by chance in Dr. Cranmer's company, at one Mr. Cressie's house, situate in Waltham-Abbey parish in Essex, had on design fallen upon discourse of that matter, purposely to learn his judgment therein, knowing him an eminent noted reader of divinity in Cambridge; he gave his own sense of the cause, in words to this effect: "I have nothing at all studied," said he, "for the verity of this cause; nor am beaten there-"in, as you have been. Howbeit, I do think that you go "not the next way to work, to bring the matter unto a per-"fect conclusion and end, especially for the satisfaction of "the troubled conscience of the King's highness. For in "observing the common process, and frustratory delays of "these your courts, the matter will linger long enough; "and peradventure in the end come to small effect. And "this is most certain," said he, "there is but one truth in it; "which no men ought, or better can discuss than the "divines: whose sentence may be soon known, and brought "so to pass with little industry and charges, that the King's "conscience may thereby be quieted and pacified. Which "we all ought to consider, and regard in this question or "doubt; and then his highness, in conscience quieted, may "determine himself that which shall seem good before God. "And let these tumultuary processes give place unto a cer-"tain truth."

His opinion of the King's cause.

Life of Cranmer, in the MSS. C.C.C.C.

The King sends for him.

His opinion, thus unwillingly drawn from him, was so much liked of by them to whom he spake it, that they thought it worth their acquainting the King with it: which they did within two days after at Greenwich. Whereupon the King commanded he should be sent for to the court. Which was done, and he brought into the King's presence.

Who, having heard him discourse upon the marriage, and well observing the gravity and modesty, as well as learning of the man, resolved to cherish and make much of him. This was about August 1529, the King having commanded him to digest in writing, what he could say upon the foresaid argument; retained him, and committed him unto the family and care of the Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, named Sir Thomas Bolen, dwelling then at Durham house: esteeming him a fit person for Cranmer to reside with, who had himself been employed in embassies to Rome and Germany about the same matter; and so able to instruct our divine in particular passages relating thereunto: and likewise would be sure to afford him all the security, and favour, and aid possible, from the prospect, that if the King's former marriage could be proved unlawful, and thereby null and void, his own family would be in a fair probability to be highly advanced, by the King's matching with his daughter the Lady Ann Bolen.

Anno 1529.

Suitably placed with the Earl of Ormond.

Nor was Cranmer unsuitably placed here, in regard of the disposition of his noble host; being accounted one of the learnedest noblemen in the land, and endued with a mind inclined to philosophy. Erasmus, who had good intelligence in England, and knew this Earl himself, gives this account of him to Damianus à Goes: *Est enim vir, ut uno ore prædicant omnes, unus prope inter nobiles eruditus, animoque plane philosophico.* He was also much addicted to the study and love of the holy Scriptures, as the same Erasmus in an Epistle to him mentioneth, and commendeth him for: *I do the more congratulate your happiness, when I observe the sacred Scriptures to be so dear to a man, as you are, of power, one of the laity, and a courtier; and that you have such a desire to that pearl of price.* He was also a patron of learning and learned men: and if there were nothing else to testify this, it would be enough to say, that he was well affected to the great Erasmus, and a true valuer of his studies. The world is beholden to this noble peer for some of the labours that proceeded from the pen of that most learned man. For upon his desire Erasmus wrote three tracts; one was, Enarrations upon the twenty-second Psalm, intituled, *Dominus regit me;* but more truly the twenty-third. Another was, an

Epist. 19. lib. 27.

Impensius gratulor tuæ fælicitati, quod homini potenti, laico, et aulico, perspiciam etiam sacras literas esse cordi, teque nobilis illius margaritæ desiderio teneri.

Epist. 34. lib. 29.

Explication of the Apostles' Creed. And the third, Directions how to prepare for Death. And from these subjects, which this nobleman chose to desire Erasmus his thoughts of, we may conclude also his pious and religious mind. All which his virtuous accomplishments, as they rendered his house a suitable harbour for the learned and pious Cranmer, so they were not a little increased by his converse and familiarity there.

Friendship and correspondence between the Earl and Cranmer.

For while Cranmer abode here, a great friendship was contracted between him and that noble family; especially the chief members of it, the Countess, and the Lady Ann, and the Earl himself; who often held serious conferences with him about the great matter. And in the Earl's absence from home, letters passed between them; Cranmer writing to him of the affairs of the court, and of the welfare of his family, as well as of other more weighty things. In one letter, dated from Hampton-Court, in the month of June, (which by circumstance must be in the year 1530,) he writ to him, "That the King's grace, my Lady his wife, my Lady "Ann his daughter, were in good health: and that the "King, and my Lady Ann, rode the day before to Windsor "from Hampton-Court, and that night they were looked "for again there; praying God to be their guide."

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A providence in his being placed here.

And I cannot look upon this pious and learned man's placing here in this family, but as guided by a peculiar hand of divine providence. Whereby this house became better acquainted with the knowledge of the Gospel; and had the seeds of true religion scattered in the hearts of those noble persons that were related to it; particularly of her, who was afterwards to be advanced to that high and public station, to be consort to the King. And that she became a favourer, and, as much as she durst, a promoter of the purer religion, must, I think, in a great measure be owing thereunto.

Cranmer disputes at Cambridge.

When Cranmer had accomplished the King's request, and finished his book, he himself, the secretary, and the almoner, and other learned men, had in commission to dispute the cause in question in both the universities. Which being first attempted at Cambridge, Dr. Cranmer, by his authority, learning, and persuasion, brought over divers

MS. life of Cranmer.

learned men in one day, of the contrary part and opinion, to be on his part. For being now, after some absence, returned to Cambridge, divers of the university, and some of those doctors that before had given in their judgments to the King for the validity of the Pope's dispensation, repaired to him, to know his opinion: and, after long reasoning, he changed the minds of five of the six. Then almost in every disputation, both in private houses, and in the common schools, this was one question, *Whether the Pope might dispense with the brother to marry the brother's wife, after carnal knowledge?* And it was of many openly defended, that he might not. The secretary, when he came home, acquainted the King with what they had done, and how Dr. Cranmer had changed the minds of five of the said learned men of Cambridge, and of many others beside. Afterward this university, as well as the other, determined the King's cause against the Pope's dispensation.

Grows dear to the King and his court.

Life of Henr. VIII. p. 375.

From an academic, our doctor being now become a courtier, he so prudently demeaned himself, that he was not only dear to the Earl of Wiltshire's family, but grew much favoured by the nobility in general; as the Lord Herbert collects from the historians of those times; and especially by the King himself. He was very much about him, the King holding frequent communication with him, and seemed unwilling to have him absent. Which may appear from hence; that when Cranmer was minded for some reason to resort to the Earl of Wiltshire, who was then from Hampton-Court, and as it seems at London, upon some occasions of his own, he doubted whether the King would let him go. And so he writ to him, that he would come the next day to him, *if the King's Grace let him not.*

CHAP. II.

Pole's Book about the King's Matrimony.

Anno 1530. Pole's book against the King's dissolving his marriage.

ABOUT this time a book of Reginald Pole, afterwards Cardinal, earnestly persuading the King to continue his marriage with his Queen, fell into Dr. Cranmer's hands. I do not find mention of this book in any historian, that hath

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come to my hands. No, not in his life published by Bacatellus, Bishop of Ragusa, though he hath there given us a catalogue of his books. But in likelihood the reason was, because this was some private discourse, or letter, chiefly intended for the King's own use; as appears from some words of Cranmer concerning it, *viz.* "That it was writ with "that eloquence, that if it were set forth, and known to the "common people, [an evidence it was a more private writ-"ing,] it were not possible to persuade them to the contrary." It was penned about the year 1530, as may be collected from another passage in the said writing, wherein he mentioneth the King's living in wedlock with Queen Katharine twenty years, the expiration of which fell in about that time. What induced Pole to write on this subject is to me uncertain; for he avoided, as much as could be, to meddle in this affair, out of fear of the King's displeasure, which was the reason of his departing abroad. Probably it was at the King's command; like as some years after he commanded him to write his judgment of the title of *Supreme Head*, which he had lately assumed. Which occasioned Pole's four books of Ecclesiastical Unity. For some about the King had told him, it would have a great influence upon the people, especially the nobility, if he could bring Pole over to allow and approve of his marriage: who was a person, though then but young, yet highly valued in the nation for his piety, and learning, and great descent.

Cranmer peruses it.

The book was soon delivered, whether by the Earl of Wiltshire, or the King himself, unto the examination and consideration of Cranmer, now the great court divine: who, after he had greedily perused it, sent the contents of it in a letter to his friend and patron the Earl, being then absent from court. The book, though the argument of it chiefly depended upon divinity, proceeded more on political principles than divine. Take the following account of it, as Cranmer gave it in his said letter.

His account of it.

First, Pole treated of the danger of diversity of titles to the crown; which might follow, if the present marriage with Queen Katharine were rejected, (in which there was an heir,) and another consummated: as appeared by the titles and pretensions of the two houses of Lancaster and

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York. And that the King ought to provide against the miseries that might be brought upon his realm by the people, if he should reject his daughter, whom they took for his lawful heir, and should persuade them to take another. Then he urged the danger of incurring the emperor's displeasure, the Queen being his aunt, and the princess his cousin. Then he proceeded to consider the reasons that moved the King to his present resolutions; namely, that God's law forbad marrying the brother's wife: and that the people, however averse at first, (besides that it belonged not to them to judge of such matters,) would be content in the King's doings, when they should know how the ancient doctors of the church and so many great universities were on the King's side. And, that however the Emperor might fall out with the King for this matter, yet God would never fail those that stood on his part, and refused to transgress his commandments: and that England might depend on the French King's aid, by virtue of the league, which he had entered into with the King, and the old grudge, which he bore towards the Emperor. Afterwards Pole goes on to review these reasons. And first, his judgment was, that Scripture might be brought to justify this marriage, and that there was as good ground of Scripture for that, as for the part which the King then took, namely, the unlawfulness of it. That if indeed he thought the King's part was just, and that his marriage were undoubtedly against God's pleasure, then he could not deny, but that it should be well done for the King to refuse it, and take another wife. Yet he confessed, that, for his own part, he could not find in his heart to have any hand, or be any furtherer or abetter in it: acknowledging however, that he had no good reason for it, but only out of affection and duty to the King's person. Because he would not disannul the Princess his daughter's title, nor accuse the most part of the King's life, as the books written on the King's part did: as though he had lived in a matrimony shameful, abominable, bestial, and against nature. This seemed an high compliment of Pole's indeed, that he would rather choose to let the King live and die in an habitual breach of God's law, than be guilty of something that might argue a want of civil affection and duty in him.

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And as concerning the people, his judgment was, that neither by learning, nor preaching, would they ever be brought into an ill conceit of the King's former marriage, and to think so dishonourably of their King, as to live so many years in matrimony so abominable. But as they had begun to hate priests, this would make them much more to do so; nay, and the very name of learning too. As for the authority of the universities, they were many times led by affection, which was well known: and he wished they had never erred in their determinations. He shewed, that they were brought to the King's part with great difficulty. Moreover, against the universities' authority, he set the authority of the King's father and his council, the Queen's father and his council, and the Pope and his.

Then he proceeded to political considerations of the Pope, and Emperor, and the French King. That the Pope was a great adversary of the King's purpose, he had shewed divers tokens already; and that not without cause. Because if he should consent, he should do against his predecessors, and restrain his own power, which he would rather gladly enlarge, and likewise raise seditions in many realms, as in Portugal: of whose King the Emperor married one sister, and the Duke of Savoy the other. Then he went on extolling the Emperor's power, and lessening that of the French King, as to his aiding of us: mentioning the mischief the Emperor might do England, by forbidding only our trading into Flanders and Spain. That the French never used to keep their leagues with us, but for their own ends; and that we could never find in our hearts to trust them: and that the two nations never loved one another. And that if the French should but suspect, that this new matrimony (of the King with the Lady Ann Bolen now proposed) should not continue, we must not expect succour of them, but upon intolerable conditions. And then lastly, he comes to deliberate for the saving the King's honour. Which as it was impossible to do, if he proceeded one step further, for he had already, he said, gone to the very brink; so he began to propound certain means for the rescue of it. Thus far is Cranmer's relation of the book.

But here he breaks off, the messenger that tarried for the

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letter being in haste: promising the next day to come to the Earl, to whom he wrote all this, and relate the rest to him by word of mouth. These means in short were (as I collect from some other passages of this letter) to refer the matter wholly to the Pope, and to reject the thoughts of matching with the Lady Ann. The which was now much talked of; for the King and she were very great, and about this very time they both rode together from Hampton-Court to Windsor: though she were yet no more than the Lady Ann, without any other title.

Cranmer's censure thereof.

The censure which our divine gave of this book, and the writer, was this; (wherein his modesty and candour, as well as judgment, appeared:) "that Pole had shewed himself both "witty and eloquent; and that, for his wisdom, he might "have been of counsel to the King: and such his rhetoric, "that if his book should have been set forth, and known to "the common people, he believed it were not possible to persuade them to the contrary." Concerning that which he chiefly drove at, namely, that the King should commit his great matter to the Pope's judgment, Cranmer gave his opinion, "that he seemed therein to lack much judgment: and that "though he pressed it with such goodly eloquence, both of "words and sentence, that he were likely to persuade many, "yet him," he said, "he persuaded in that point nothing at "all." No, Cranmer had too well studied the point, to leave such a case of conscience to the Pope's decision. But in many other things in this discourse of Pole, he professed, he was much satisfied. I have placed this whole letter in the Appendix at the end of these Memorials, as I shall do many other letters and papers of value, partly for the satisfaction of more curious readers, that love to see originals, and partly for the preservation of many choice monuments relating to this man and these times, and for the transferring them to posterity.

Num. 1.

CHAP. III.

Cranmer's Embassies.

IN the year 1530, Dr. Cranmer was sent by the King into France, Italy, and Germany, with the Earl of Wiltshire, chief ambassador, Dr. Lee, elect Archbishop of York, Dr. Stokesly, elect of London, divines; Trigonel, Karn, and Benet, doctors of the law; to dispute these matrimonial matters of his Majesty at Paris, Rome, and other places: carrying the book he had made upon that subject with him. From France they took their journey to the Pope; where Cranmer's book was delivered to him, and he ready to justify it, and to offer a dispute against the marriage openly, upon these two points, which his book chiefly consisted of, *viz.*

Anno 1530. He is employed in embassies.

To the Pope.

Offers him a dispute in favour of the King's cause.

I. That no man, *jure divino*, could, or ought to marry his brother's wife.

II. That the Bishop of Rome by no means ought to dispense to the contrary.

But after sundry promises and appointments made, there was no man found to oppose him, and publicly to dispute these matters with him. Yet in more private argumentations with them that were about the Pope, he so forced them, that at last they openly granted, even in the Pope's chief court of the Rota, that the said marriage was against God's law. But as for the Pope's power of dispensing with the laws of God, it was too advantageous a tenet to be parted with. But Dr. Cranmer boldly and honestly denied it utterly before them all.

The King's ambassadors from the Pope repaired to the Emperor Charles V. Cranmer only being left behind at Rome, to make good his challenge, and withal, more privately to get the judgments and subscriptions of the learned men there in the King's case: which was one of his businesses also in Germany after. What he did in this latter affair, he signified by a letter to Crook, another of the King's agents for that purpose in Italy: namely, "That his success there

Hist. Refor. P. i. p. 89.

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"at Rome was but little: and that they dared not to attempt to know any man's mind, because of the Pope, who had said, that friars should not discuss his power. And added, that he looked for little favour in that court, but to have the Pope and all his cardinals declare against them."

To the Emperor.

Life of Cranmer inter Foxii MSS.

Anno 1531.

Hist. Luther per Seckendorf.

Here at Rome Cranmer abode for some months. But in all the journey he behaved himself so learnedly, soberly, and wittily, that the Earl of Wilts gave him such commendations to the King by his letters, that the rest coming home, he sent him a commission with instructions to be his sole ambassador to the Emperor in his said great cause. Which commissional letters of the King to him bare date January 24, 1531, wherein he was stiled *Consiliarius Regius et ad Cæsarem Orator*. By this opportunity of travelling through Germany, following the Emperor's court, by his conferences he fully satisfied many learned Germans, which afore were of a contrary judgment; and divers in the Emperor's own court and council also. One of the chiefest of these, and who suffered severely for it, was Cornelius Agrippa, Kt. doctor of both laws, judge of the prerogative court, and counsellor to the Emperor, and a man of deep learning: who confessed to the said ambassador, that the marriage was naught, but that he durst not say so openly, for fear both of the Pope and Emperor. Yet he was afterwards cast into prison, where he died, for expressing his mind, as was thought, somewhat more plainly in this affair.

Cornelius Agrippa gained by Cranmer to the King's cause.

Becomes acquainted with Osiander.

While he was now abroad in Germany, he went to Norimberg, where Osiander was pastor. And being a man of fame and learning, our ambassador became acquainted with him; sending for him sometimes to discourse with him: and sometimes he would go to Osiander's house, to visit him and his study. This eminent divine of the German protestant church he also gained to favour the King's cause. For he wrote a book of incestuous marriages, wherein he determined the King's present matrimony to be unlawful. But this book was called in by a prohibition, printed at Augsburgh. And there was also a form of a direction, drawn up by the same Osiander, how the King's process should be managed: which was sent over hither. Cranmer's discourse with Osi-

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ander, at these their meetings, concerning divers matters relating especially to Christian doctrine, and true religion, were so wise and good that that great divine stood in admiration of him as though he had been inspired from above. In one of their conferences, Osiander communicated to him certain papers, wherein he had been attempting to harmonize the Gospels, but, by reason of the difficulties that often arose, had thrown them aside. A thing this was which Cranmer declared to him his great approbation of; as he was always a man greatly studious of the Scripture, and earnestly desirous that the right knowledge thereof might be increased. So he vehemently exhorted him to go forward in this study, and to finish it with all convenient speed: for that it would not only, he said, be of use to the church of Christ, but adorn it. These admonitions gave new strength to Osiander to fall afresh about this work, and at last to bring it to a conclusion. In the year 1537, he published it, and dedicated it to Cranmer, then archbishop, the great encourager of the author.

Multa graviter, multa sapienter, ac plane divinitus de Christiana doctrina, ac vera religione disputares. In Ep. Dedicat. ante Harmon. Evangel.

And marries his kinswoman.

In some of these visits Cranmer saw Osiander's niece, and obtained her for his wife; whom, when he returned from his embassy he brought not over with him: but in the year 1534 he privately sent for her; and kept her with him till the year 1539, in the severe time of the six articles; when he sent her back in secret to her friends in Germany for a time. By these visits, and this affinity, there grew a very cordial love between Cranmer and Osiander: and a great correspondence was maintained by letters between them long after. A parcel of these letters in manuscript, the Right Reverend the Bishop of Sarum mentioned in his History of the Reformation; which he met with in the exquisite library of Mr. Richard Smith, as he told a friend of mine. But notwithstanding my inquiry after them, I had not the good fortune to see them, nor to find into whose hands they were come, after the selling of that library by auction. Which letters, if I could have procured a sight of, might have served somewhat perhaps in this my undertaking.

Anno 1532. Treats with the Emperor about the contract of traffic.

We are now slipped into the year 1532. And among other services which he did abroad, (besides his promoting the King's great matrimonial cause among the German princes and states, as well as others,) he was employed for

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the establishing and securing a traffic between the merchants of England, and the Emperor's Low Countries. Concerning which the former contract, it seems, began to shake, occasioned by that lukewarmness of affection, that now grew between these two monarchs. About this affair our ambassador had divers conferences with Monsieur Grandeville, the Emperor's great minister at Regensburgh. The effect of his last solicitation was, that Grandeville had told him that the diet concerning the said contract was held in Flanders, where the Queen of Hungary was governess; and therefore that the Emperor would do nothing therein without her advice; and that he would make answer by her, rather than by him. And so Cranmer desired the King, that it would please his grace no further to look for answer from him therein, but from the Queen, unto whom the whole answer was committed.

And about sending supplies against the Turk.

Another business our ambassador was now agitating at this court for the King, was, about sending supplies to the Emperor against the Turk; who had now made a formidable invasion in Hungary, with an army consisting of three hundred thousand men. The Emperor had lately, by virtue of a former league, and for the common cause of christianity, demanded certain forces of the King for this purpose. Now what measures his ambassador was to take with the Emperor in this affair, William Paget, his Majesty's servant, (the same that was afterward secretary of state,) was dispatched to him with instructions: wherein were contained what answer he should make to the Emperor's demands. Which he reported accordingly to Grandeville. The which answer he delivered to him in writing, upon the desire of Grandeville, for this reason, as he urged, that he might relate the same the more truly to the Emperor. He was now, in the month of September, drawing towards the Turk from Abagh, a place not far from Regensburgh, where our English ambassador now resided; not yet having returned any reply to him, prevented by that hurry of business that then lay upon the Emperor. So that upon Grandeville's intimation to repair unto the Emperor at Lintz, which was in his way to Vienna, and that there he should have an answer in writing again, the ambassador followed thither, in company with

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the ambassador of France. And so he, with the other ambassador, in eight or ten days space, furnished themselves with waggons, horses, ships, tents, and other things necessary to the journey, for themselves and their train.

Sends the King the news in those parts;

But before his departure, he informed the King of the news in those parts: as, that the Turk resided still in Hungary in the same place, environed on all parts: of which more at large he had written in his former letters. That King Ferdinando, the Emperor's brother, who was then at Regensburgh, was to meet the Emperor at Passaw, fourteen miles from thence: and so both were to pass forth to Lintz, which was the midway from Regensburgh to Vienna. That the Emperor would tarry there to take counsel what to do, and there all the ambassadors should know his pleasure.

And the proclamation for a general council.

He sent the King also the copy of the Emperor's proclamation concerning a general council, and a reformation to be had in Germany, for the controversies of the faith. Which he was constrained to do, his affairs with the Turk pressing him so much. The sum thereof was, "That his imperial "Majesty declared peace throughout all Germany; enjoin-"ing that none should be molested for the cause of religion, "until the council should be called: or, in case there were "none, until some other means should be found out by the "states of the empire for healing the present divisions. And "that he would use his utmost diligence that a council "should be denounced within six months, and the year after "to be commenced. And that if this could not be obtained, "then these matters should be referred to the imperial diets, "to be handled there. That in the mean time all judicial "proceedings relating to religion should be suspended; and "that no lawsuits should hereafter be commenced against "the protestants: and that in case any were, he commanded "that they should be void and null." This edict was published in the month of August this year.

Sleid. Comment.

And the tax of the states of the empire.

Together with the aforesaid proclamation, he transferred over to the King the tax of all the states of the empire; that is, how many soldiers every man was limited to find for aid against the Turk. Whence our ambassador made a particular observation to his master, for his better direction, what number of forces it were equal for him to send; and to justify

Anno 1532.

his refusal to comply with the Emperor, in case he should have demanded more than was his proportion: taking his measures from the said tax. And the observation which he made was this; that his Grace might perceive, that the greatest Prince in Germany (only the Duke of Burgundy, and Austria excepted) was not appointed above 120 horsemen, and 554 footmen. A transcript of this letter of Cranmer to the King I have put in the Appendix. These passages will serve to shew Dr. Cranmer's diligence, wisdom, and other abilities, in the quality he now stood in of an ambassador.

No. II.

He goes in an embassy to the Duke of Saxony, and other protestant princes.

Being now resident in the Emperor's court, the King made use of him in another embassy, but to be more secretly made, to the Elector Frederick, Duke of Saxony, that the Emperor might not be privy to it. For in the month of July Dr. Cranmer departed incognito from Ratisbon, (where the Emperor was, and had there appointed a diet, in order to the coming to some terms of peace with the protestants, until a council should be called,) and came privately to the Duke, then abiding in a certain hospital, at it was called, and delivered letters to him, and to Philip Duke of Lunenburgh, and Wolfgang Prince of Anhalt. At this first congress, he assured the Elector of his master the King of England's friendship, as the letters he delivered imported. The next day he returned to the Elector's court, Pontanus and Spalatinus, two of the Elector's counsellors, being present. Here at this meeting he required divers things concerning peace with the Emperor, the state of religion, aid against the Turk, and the goods of the Church, which the princes were said to invade. He spake magnificent things of the King his master: as what mighty aids he had offered the Emperor against the Turk; and as he told them the French King would do. And so taking letters to the King from Frederick, dated July 15, he was dismissed. But four days after, he came again privately with one servant only, and had conference with Spalatinus all alone; telling him, that he had forgot, as he pretended, one part of his message: and that was, that not only his master, but the French King, was ready to give assistance to the Elector and his confederates in the case of religion. And he desired to know in what state the business of the election of Ferdinand stood; whom, being the Em-

Hist. Lutheranism, per Seckendorf.

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peror's brother, he had made King of the Romans by a pretended election: which election gave offence, and Frederick, Duke of Saxony, had manifested imperfect and defective. What answer was given to Cranmer was not known: only it was thought that this was somewhat unseasonably acted, because, saith my author, there was peace at this time between the Emperor and the English, which the King's ambassador by those offers did desire to disturb. This, it seems, was the judgment of the protestants concerning this overture to them by the King's ambassador, as though it were not sincere: but I do not find but that, whatsoever peace was now between the Emperor and the English, the former league with him was shaking by reason of the Emperor's disobliging the King, in siding so earnestly with Queen Katharine, in the controversy between the King and her.

Seckendorf, ubi supra.

CHAP. IV.

Cranmer made Archbishop of Canterbury.

Made Archbishop of Canterbury.

AND this great trust the King, his gracious master, committed to him, as a mark of the honour he had for him, and a sign of further preferment he was minded to advance him to. And about this very time happened a fair opportunity to the King to manifest his favour to him; Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, departing this mortal life, whereby that see became vacant. The preferment indeed seemed too great for Cranmer at one stride to step into, without some other intervening dignities to have been first conferred on him. But the King, thinking him the fittest man of all the English clergy to be promoted to this high office, resolved to give it to him, though now absent abroad upon his business. Hereupon the King commanded him to hasten home, though he concealed the reason from him, which was to take the archbishopric he had designed for him. Which when he came home, in obedience to his Majesty, though much against his inclination, and after many refusals, proceeding from his great modesty and humility, and certain scruples, at length he did accept.

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His dignities before he was Archbishop.

It doth not appear to me what ecclesiastical places he had before: only that he was the King's Chaplain, and Archdeacon of Taunton. The Pope also, in honour to his master, had constituted him Penitentiary General of England. He had also a benefice, while he lived in the Earl of Wiltshire's family, which was bestowed upon him by the King: a mention whereof I find in one of his letters to the said Earl.

Archbishop Warham foretels a Thomas to succeed him.

It was in the month of August 1532, that William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, died: a wise and grave man, a great patron of the most learned Erasmus, and once Lord Chancellor of England: who seemed to foresee and foretell, or at least to conjecture, that Thomas Cranmer should succeed him, as judging him, in his own mind, the fittest person for the King's and Church's service, in that juncture, to enter upon that see. For this truth, methinks, we may pick out of those malicious words of Harpsfield in his Ecclesiastical History, *viz.* That Archbishop Warham should say, "That a Thomas should succeed him; who, by a loose "and remiss indulgence of a licentious sort of life granted "to the people, and by unsound doctrines, would more disgrace the church of Canterbury, and all the rest of the "Church of England, than Thomas the Martyr did amplify "it by his martyrdom. And that he admonished his nephew "and namesake, William Warham, Archdeacon of Canterbury, that if any Thomas should succeed in the see while "he lived, he should not by any means enter into his service."

It is not unusual (nay it is seldom otherwise) for popish historians to stuff their histories with strange prophecies and falsehoods, mixed with some truth. And I suppose the matter might be no more than this: This grave and sober Archbishop was sensible of the gross encroachments of the Bishops of Rome upon the authority of the Kings of this realm in their own dominions: and his judgment stood for the restoring of this imperial crown to its ancient right and sovereignty, and for the abridging the papal power. And knowing how learned a man Dr. Thomas Cranmer was, and perceiving what an able instrument he was like to prove in vindicating the King's right to the supremacy in his own kingdoms, the Archbishop upon these accounts might think him the fittest to succeed in the archiepiscopal chair, and might have some reason to believe that the King intended him thereunto.

Archbishop Warham for the King's supremacy.

And that Archbishop Warham was of this judgment, it may appear, if we trace some footsteps of him. In the year 1530, when all the clergy were under a *præmunire*, and a petition was drawing up in the convocation for that cause, the King in the said petition was addressed to by the title of *Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England.* At this title, when the Archbishop found some of the clergy to boggle, who were yet afraid openly to declare their disallowance of it, he took the opportunity of their silence to pass the title, by saying, that *silence was to be taken for their consent.*

Ant. Brit.

In the last synod, wherein this Archbishop was a member, and the main director, many things were debated about abolishing the papacy. This synod was prorogued from April 26 to October 5. In the mean time he died. But had he lived, and been well, unto the next sessions, some further steps had been made in evacuating the Bishop of Rome's usurpations; as may be guessed by what was done under his influence the last sessions, when the supremacy of that foreign prelate was rejected.

Cranmer's testimony of Warham.

Something more of this Archbishop's endeavours of restoring the King to his supremacy appears by what Archbishop Cranmer said to Brooks, Bishop of Glocester, before a great assembly, not long before his burning. Brooks had charged him for first setting up the King's supremacy. To which Cranmer replied, "That it was Warham gave the "supremacy to Henry VIII, and that he had said, he ought "to have it before the Bishop of Rome, and that God's word "would bear it. And that upon this the universities of "Cambridge and Oxford were sent to, to know what the "word of God would allow touching the supremacy. Where "it was reasoned and argued upon at length: and at last "both agreed, and set to their seals, and sent it to the King, "that he ought to be supreme head, and not the Pope." All which was in Archbishop Warham's time, and while he was alive, three quarters of a year before ever Cranmer had the archbishopric of Canterbury, as he also added in that audience.

So that, these things considered, we may conclude, that Warham did think that none would be so fit to come after him as Cranmer, a learned and diligent man, to carry on this cause, which he, before him, had begun: and so might speak of him as the properest person to be advanced to this see.

A reflection upon a passage relating to Cranmer in Harpsfield's history.

Antiq. of Cant.

To this I will add the sense of an ingenious and learned friend of mine concerning this passage in Harpsfield's history; which the author also of the *Athenæ Oxonienses* hath made use of to the good Archbishop's discredit: and which Somner also had unluckily selected, though without design, to hurt his good name, and is all he writes of him. But may it not be considered, saith he, that the pretended martyr Thomas Becket, though he died in vindication of the privileges of the church, yet he was the first betrayer of the rights of his see? He made the greatest breach upon the authority of the primacy of Canterbury, by resigning the archbishopric into the Pope's hands, and receiving it again from him, as the Pope's donation. But it is the honour of the blessed martyr, Thomas Cranmer, that he was the first who began to claim the primacy, and retrieve the rights of his see from being slavishly subjected to the Roman power. Indeed, little credit is to be given to the author who first published this story; considering what a violent man he was, and how much prejudiced against Cranmer, and interested in the popish cause; and coming into the archdeaconry of Canterbury by the deprivation of the Archbishop's brother.

Cranmer tries to evade the archbishopric.

Cranmer *Noluit episcopari*, had no mind to be Archbishop. He loved his studies, and affected retirement, and well knew the dangers and temptations of a public station. But especially he could not induce his mind to take his office from the Pope, and to swear fidelity to him as well as to the King: whereby he should ensnare himself in two contrary oaths. Wherefore, when the King sent for him home from his embassy in Germany, with a design to lay that honourable burden upon him, he, guessing the reason, first endeavoured to delay his coming, by signifying to the King some matters of importance that would require his tarrying there

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somewhat longer for the King's service: hoping in that while the King might have bestowed the place upon some other. In fine, our historians say, he stayed abroad one half year longer. But I find him in England in the month of November, which was not much more than a quarter of a year after Warham's death. Then the King was married to the Marchioness of Pembroke, and Cranmer was present. So that the King must have sent for him home in June, two or three months before the Archbishop's death: probably while he was in a declining dying condition. But after, when that which Cranmer seemed to suspect of certain emergencies in those parts, wherein the English state might be concerned, fell not out; the King again commanded his return home. Now more perfectly knowing, by some of his friends, the King's intentions to make him Archbishop, he made means, by divers of his friends, to shift it off, desiring rather some smaller living.

Declares the reason thereof to the King.

At length the King brake his mind to him, that it was his full purpose to bestow that dignity upon him for his service, and for the good opinion he conceived of him. But his long disabling himself nothing dissuaded the King, till at last he humbly craved the King's pardon for that he should declare to him, and that was, "That if he should accept it, "he must receive it at the Pope's hand, which he neither "would nor could do: for that his Highness was the only "supreme governor of the Church of England, as well in "causes ecclesiastical as temporal; and that the full right of "donation of all manner of benefices and bishoprics, as well "as any other temporal dignities and promotions, apper"tained to him, and not to any other foreign authority. "And therefore if he might serve God, him, and his country, "in that vocation, he would accept it of his Majesty, and of "no stranger, who had no authority within this realm." Whereat the King made a pause; and then asked him how he was able to prove it. At which time he alleged several texts out of Scripture, and the Fathers, proving the supreme authority of Kings in their own realms and dominions: and withal shewing the intolerable usurpations of the Bishops of Rome. Of this the King talked several times with him; and perceiving that he could not be brought to acknowledge the

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Pope's authority, the King called one Dr. Oliver, an eminent lawyer, and other civilians, and devised with them how he might bestow the archbishopric upon him, salving his conscience. They said, he might do it by way of protestation: and so one to be sent to Rome to take the oath, and do every thing in his name. Cranmer said to this, it should be *super animam suam;* and seemed to be satisfied in what the lawyers told him. And accordingly, when he was consecrated, made his protestation, "That he did not admit the Pope's "authority any further than it agreed with the express "word of God: and that it might be lawful for him at all "times to speak against him, and to impugn his errors, "when there should be occasion." And so he did.

The Archbishop's brother is made Archdeacon of Canterbury.

Somner, Hist. of Cant. p. 322. ex lib. Eccles. Cant.

Whether Warham, the Archdeacon, had conceived any prejudice against our new Archbishop, by some warning given him by the former Archbishop, as was hinted above; or whether he was willing to give place upon Cranmer's entreaty, that he might provide for his brother: so it was, that Edmund Cranmer, brother to the Archbishop, succeeded Warham in the archdeaconry of Canterbury, and the provostship of Wingham: who parted with both these dignities by cession: and, by the privity and consent of the Archbishop, he had a stipend or pension of sixty pounds per annum allowed him, during his life, out of the archdeaconry; and twenty pounds per annum out of Wingham, by his successor aforesaid: who continued archdeacon until Queen Mary's days, and was then deprived; and his prebend, and his parsonage of Ickham, all taken from him in the year 1554, for being a married clerk. The first was given to Nicholas Harpsfield; the second to Robert Collins, bachelor of law, and commissary of Canterbury; and the third to Robert Marsh.

The King linked Cranmer with him in all his proceedings about Q. Katharine.

The King had before linked him into his great business about Queen Katharine and the Lady Ann. So now, when he had nominated him for Archbishop, he made him a party and an actor in every step almost which he took in that affair. For to fetch the matter a little backward; not long before the archiepiscopal see was devolved upon Cranmer, the King had created the Lady Ann Marchioness of Pembroke, and taken her along with him in great state into France; when, by their mutual consent, there was an interview

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appointed between the two Kings. At Calais King Henry permitted Francis the French King to take a view of this lady, who then made both Kings a curious and rich mask, where both honoured her by dancing: this was in the month of October. In the month before, I find a parcel of very rich jewels were sent from Greenwich to Hampton-Court by Mr. Norrys; probably he who was Groom of the Stole, and executed upon Queen Ann's business afterwards. Which jewels, as some of them might be for the King's own wearing, now he was going into France; so in all probability others were either lent or given to the Marchioness to adorn and make her fine, when she should appear and give her entertainment to the French King. For the sake of such as be curious, I have set down, in the Appendix, a particular of these most splendid and royal jewels, from an original signed with the King's own hand in token of his receipt of them.

Sept. 21.

Appendix, No. III.

Immediately after the King's and the Marchioness's return from France, he married her. At which wedding, though very private, the Archbishop was one that assisted, according to the Lord Herbert; but, according to the author of the Britannic Antiquities, did the sacred office. When she was crowned Queen, which was Whitsuntide following, the Archbishop performed the ceremonies. When, after that, the King had a daughter by her, he would have the Archbishop assist at the christening, and be her godfather. And before this, when Queen Katharine was to be divorced from the King, and the Pope's dispensation of that marriage declared null, our Archbishop pronounced the sentence, and made the declaration solemnly and publicly at Dunstable Priory. Thus the King dipped and engaged Cranmer with himself in all his proceeding in this cause. Now as all these doings had danger in them, so especially this last highly provoked the Pope for doing this without his leave and authority, as being a presumptuous encroachment upon his prerogative. Insomuch that a public act was made at Rome, that unless the King undid all that he had done, and restored all things *in integrum*, leaving them to his decision, he would excommunicate him. And this sentence was affixed and set up publicly at Dunkirk. Which put the King upon an appeal

Rex D. Annam Bullenam, Thoma Cranmero sacra ministrante, uxorem duxit.

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The King and the Archbishop appeal from the Pope to a general council.

The King writes to Dr. Bonner in that behalf.

No. IV.

from the Pope to the next general council, lawfully called. The Archbishop also, foreseeing the Pope's threatening hovering likewise over his head, by the King's advice, made his appeal by the English ambassador there. I have seen the King's original letter to Dr. Bonner, ordering him to signify to the Pope, in order and form of law, his appeal, sending him also the instrument of his appeal, with the proxy devised for that purpose. This bare date August 18th from his castle at Windsor. I have reposited it in the Appendix. Which order of the King Bonner did accordingly discharge at an audience he got of the Pope at Marseilles, November 7. And that letter which the Lord Herbert saith he saw of Bonner to the King, wherein he signified as much, must be his answer to this of the King to him.

Anno 1533.

The Archbishop is consecrated.

Dr. Cranmer having now yielded to the King to accept the archbishopric, it was in the beginning of the next year, *viz.* 1533, March 30, and in the 24th of King Henry, that he received his consecration: but that ushered in with abundance of bulls, some dated in February, and some in March, from Pope Clement, to the number of eleven: as may be seen at length in the beginning of this Archbishop's register.

The Pope's bulls.

The first was to King Henry, upon his nomination of Cranmer to him to be Archbishop. The Pope alloweth and promoteth him accordingly. The second was a bull to Cranmer himself, signifying the same. The third bull absolved him from any sentences of excommunication, suspension, interdiction, &c. It was written from the Pope to him, under the title of Archdeacon of Taunton in the Church of Wells, and Master in Theology; and ran thus:

Nos ne forsan aliquibus sententiis, censuris et pœnis Ecclesiasticis, ligatus sis, &c. Volentes te a quibusvis excommunicationis, suspensionis, et interdicti, aliisque Ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris, et pœnis, a jure vel ab homine, quavis occasione vel causa latis, &c. Authoritate prædicta, tenore præsentium, absolvimus, et absolutum fore nuntiamus, non obstantibus constitutionibus, et ordinationibus Apostolicis, &c. One might think that this bull was drawn up peculiarly for Cranmer's case: who, by reason he might have been suspected as infected with Lutheranism, or had meddled too much in the King's matrimonial cause; and so entangled in the Church's censures, might have need of such assoiling. But I suppose it was but a customary bull. A fourth bull was to the suffragans of Canterbury; that is, to all the bishops in the province; signifying Cranmer's advancement to be their metropolitan. Another to the city and diocese of Canterbury. Another to the chapter of the said church. Another to the vassals of the church: that is, to all such as held lands of it. Another to the people of the city. Another, wherewith the pall was sent to the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of London. Another, of the destination of the pall: which, the bull saith, was taken *de corpore B. Petri*, to be presented to him by the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London, or one of them, after he had received the gift of consecration. In this bull of the destination is an order, not to use the pall but on those proper days which were expressly mentioned in the privileges of the church: on purpose to beget a greater esteem and veneration of this, and whatsoever baubles else came from Rome, and brought such treasure thither.

The Archbishop surrenders them to the King.

The Archbishop, according to custom, received these bulls, which the Pope sent him to invest him with the archbishopric. But he surrendered them up to the King; because he would not own the Pope as the giver of this ecclesiastical dignity, but the King only, as he declared at his trial before Queen Mary's commissioners at Oxford in the year 1555.

The method of the consecration.

As to the act of consecration, first, they assembled in the chapter-house of the King's College of St. Stephen, near the King's palace of Westminster. Present as witnesses Watkins, the King's prothonotary; Dr. John Tregonwel; Thomas Bedyl, clerk of the King's council; Richard Guent, doctor of decrees, of the court of Canterbury prnicipal official; and John Cocks, the Archbishop's auditor of the audience, and vicar-general in spirituals. The first thing that was done by the Archbishop elect, was for the satisfaction of his conscience: who was now before his consecration to take an oath of fidelity to the Pope, which will follow by and by. This he saw consisted by no means with his allegiance to his sovereign: and therefore, how common and customary soever it were for bishops to take it, yet Cranmer in the first place, in the said chapter-house, before the said witnesses, made a pro-

Anno 1533.

testation, wherein he declared, that he intended not by the oath that he was to take, and was customary for bishops to take to the Pope, to bind himself to do any thing contrary to the laws of God, the King's prerogative, or to the commonwealth and statutes of the kingdom: nor to tie himself up from speaking his mind freely in matters relating to the reformation of religion, the government of the Church of England, and prerogative of the crown. And that according to this interpretation and meaning only he would take the oath, and no otherwise. This protestation, because I think it is not recorded in our historians, except Mason, (and in him imperfect,) I have put it into the Appendix *verbatim*, as I transcribed it out of the Archbishop's register. And having made this protestation, he had the prothonotary to make one or more public instruments thereof, and desired the forementioned persons to be witnesses thereunto. After this protestation made, he, in the presence of these witnesses, being arrayed in sacerdotal garments, went up to the step of the high altar, to receive consecration; where was sitting in a chair, honourably adorned, John Longland, the Bishop of Lincoln, having on his pontificals, assisted by John Voicy, Bishop of Exon, and Henry Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph; holding in his hand a schedule with the oath, which he was now going to take to the Pope: and having withal his protestation, he, before the aforesaid witnesses, asserted and protested, that he would read the schedule, and perform the oath therein contained under the said protestation, which he said he made the same day in the chapter-house before those witnesses, and no otherwise, nor in any other manner. And then presently after, kneeling on his knees, read the schedule, containing the oath to the Pope: which I have reposited in the Appendix.

De Minister. p. 154.
No. V.

No. VI.

Then the bishops proceeded to the consecrating of the Archbishop. And then again, after the solemn consecration was finished, being about to receive his pall, when he was to take another oath to the Pope, he protested again, in the presence of the same witnesses, that he took the following oath under the same protestation as he made before in the chapter-house, nor would perform it any other ways; and then took the oath. And after he had taken it, desired the prothonotary the third time to make a public instrument or instruments thereof. Which he did.

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The Archbishop's oath for the temporalties.

To these oaths I will add one more, which the Archbishop took with a better stomach to the King, for his temporalties. This was for the most part the accustomable oath of bishops to the King, when they sued for their temporalties; but hardly reconcilable with the oath they had taken to the Pope: because in this oath was mentioned a renouncing of all privileges and grants of the Pope, by virtue of his bulls, that might be prejudicial to the King, and an acknowledgment, that they held their bishoprics only of the King, which the Archbishop worded more fully, *viz.* That he held his archbishopric of the King immediately and only, and of none other. I refer the reader to the Appendix for this oath. No. VII.

The Archbishop pronounceth the divorce.

One of the first services the Archbishop did for the King was the pronouncing the sentence of divorce from his former Queen Katharine, which was done May 23; but drew an implacable hatred upon him from the Pope and Emperor abroad, as well as the papists at home. And Queen Mary would not forget it when she came to the crown, taking then her full revenge upon him: though in the same commission, wherein this sentence was pronounced, sat the Bishops of Winton, London, Bath, Lincoln, and many other great clerks. And though he pronounced the sentence, he was but the mouth of the rest, and they were all in as deep as he.

The Archbishop's judgment of the marriage.

There is a short account of Archbishop Cranmer's judgment of the unlawfulness of this marriage, digested under twelve articles, with his own name writ by himself on the top of the paper; which Bishop Burnet transcribed from a Cotton manuscript, and inserted into his history. It bears this title: *Articuli ex quibus plane admodum demonstratur, Divortium inter Henricum VIII. Angliæ Regem Invictissimum, et Serenissimam Catharinam necessario esse faciendum.* The twelfth and concluding article is this: "We think that the "pretended matrimony of Henry King of England, and "Katharine the Queen, hath been and is none at all; being "prohibited both by the law of God and nature."

Vol. i. Collect. p. 95.

BOOK I.

Anno 1533.

CHAP. V.

The Archbishop visits his Diocese.

The Archbishop forbids preaching.

AFTER his sentence against Queen Katharine, and confirmation of Queen Ann's marriage, one thing he did, which looked as if he was not like to prove any great friend to a reformation: for he forbad all preaching throughout his diocese, and warned the rest of the bishops throughout England to do the same, as I have it from an old journal made by a monk of St. Augustine's, Canterbury. But this was only for a time, till orders for preachers and the beads could be finished: it being thought convenient that preaching at this juncture should be restrained, because now the matter of sermons chiefly consisted in tossing about the King's marriage with the Lady Ann, and condemning so publicly and boldly his doings against Queen Katharine; the priests being set on work by her friends and faction.

Foxii MSS.

Visits his diocese.

In October or November the Archbishop went down to Canterbury, in order to a visitation.

August. Monk's journal.

The third day of December the Archbishop received the pontifical seat in the monastery of the holy Trinity. And soon after, *viz.* the ninth of the same month, began to go on visitation throughout all his diocese, that he might have finished that work before the sessions of the parliament.

The delusion of a nun in Kent.

This same year a remarkable delusion was discovered in the Archbishop's diocese, and even under his nose, the scene being chiefly laid in Canterbury, by some belonging to the cathedral church. For a certain nun, called Elizabeth Barton, by marvellous hypocrisy mocked all Kent, and almost all England: for which cause she was put in prison in London; where she confessed many horrible things against the King and the Queen. This forenamed Elizabeth had many adherents, but especially Dr. Bocking, monk of Christ's Church in Canterbury, who was her chief author in her dissimulation. All of them at the last were accused of treason, heresy, and conspiracy; and so stood in penance before the open cross of St. Paul's in London; and in Canterbury, in the churchyard of the monastery of the holy

Trinity, at the sermon time, they stood over the high seat: where of the preacher they were grievously rebuked for their horrible fact. And in April the next year, she, with Bocking and Dering, another monk of Canterbury, were led out of prison through all the streets of London unto Tyburn, where she and these monks, and also two brothers of the Minors, suffered with the rest upon the gallows for treason and heresy.

The Archbishop appeals from the Pope.

In the month of November the Archbishop sent a letter to Bonner, the King's ambassador at Marseilles, together with his appeal from the Pope, to be there signified, as was hinted before. The reason whereof was this: upon the King's divorce from Queen Katharine, the Pope had by a public instrument declared the divorce to be null and void, and threatened him with excommunication, unless he would revoke all that he had done. Gardiner Bishop of Winton about this time, and upon this occasion, was sent ambassador to the French King; and Bonner soon after followed him to Marseilles, where Gardiner, at the interview between the French King and the Pope, now was: for the King and the council apprehended some mischief to be hatching against the kingdom by the Pope; who was now inciting the Emperor and other princes to make war upon us. And indeed he had vaunted, as the Lord Herbert declares, that he would set all Christendom against the King. And the Emperor in discourse had averred, that by the means of Scotland he would avenge his aunt's quarrel. The Archbishop in this juncture had secret intimation of a design to excommunicate him, and interdict his church. Whereupon, as the King by Bonner, November 7, had made his appeal from the Pope to the next general council lawfully called; so, by the King and council's advice, the Archbishop soon after did the same; sending his appeal with his proxy, under his seal, to Bonner, desiring him, together with Gardiner, to consult together, and to intimate his appeal in the best manner they could think expedient for him. And this letter he wrote by the King's own commandment. It was not the hand of the Archbishop, nor of his secretary: so I suppose it was drawn up by some of his own lawyers; and is as followeth:

"In my right hearty manner I commend me to you. So

Anno 1533. The Archbishop's letter to Bonner. Cleopat. E. 6.

"it is, as you know right well, I stand in dread, lest our "holy father the Pope do intend to make some manner of "prejudicial process against me and my church. And there- "fore, having probable conjectures thereof, I have appealed "from his Holiness to the general council, accordingly as "his Highness and his council have advised me to do. Which "my appeal and procuracy under my seal I do send unto "you herewith; desiring you right heartily to have me "commended to my Lord of Winchester, and with his ad- "vice and counsel to intimate the said provocation after the "best manner that his Lordship and you shall think most "expedient for me. I am the bolder thus to write unto "you, because the King's highness commandeth me this to "do, as you shall, I trust, further perceive by his Grace's "letter: nothing doubting in your goodness, but at this "mine own desire you will be contented to take this pains, "though his Highness shall percase forget to write unto you "therein. Which your pains and kindness, if it shall lie in "me in time to come to recompense, I wol not forget it with "God's grace. Who preserve you, as myself. From Lam- "beth, the 27th day of November.

"Thomas Cantuar."

Disputes in the parliament against the Pope's supremacy.

Life of Cranmer, inter Foxii MSS.

Cranmer being now placed at the head of the Church of England, next under God and the King, and the chief care of it devolved upon him, his great study was conscientiously to discharge this high vocation. And one of the first things wherein he shewed his good service to the church was done in the parliament in the latter end of this year 1533. When the supremacy came under debate, and the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome was propounded, then the old collections of the new Archbishop did him good service; for the chief, and in a manner the whole burden of this weighty cause was laid upon his shoulders. Insomuch that he was forced to answer to all that ever the whole rabble of the papists could say for the defence of the Pope's supremacy: and he answered so plainly, directly, and truly to all their arguments, and proved so evidently and stoutly, both by the word of God, and consent of the primitive Church, that this usurped power of the Pope is a mere tyranny, and directly against the law of God; and that the power of Emperors and Kings is the highest power here upon earth; unto which, Bishops, Priests, Popes, and Cardinals ought to submit themselves, and are as much bound to obey, as their temporal subjects, or laymen, (as the priests call them;) that the issue was the abolishing of that foreign papal power, and the expulsion of it out of this realm, by the full consent of parliament.

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Licenses for chapels.

Cran. Reg.

A license, dated Feb. 13, this year, was granted by the Archbishop to Mary the relict of Sir Henry Guilford, Kt. to have the eucharist, matrimony, and baptism ministered in any chapel or oratory within her manors where she should reside, during her life. And such a license, dated also Feb. 13, the next year, was granted by him to Margaret Marchioness of Dorset. Whether indulged to them by the Archbishop, the rather to free them from danger for not frequenting their parish-churches, and for the avoiding the superstitious and idolatrous worship there performed; and that there might be some private places for purer worshipping God, and administration of the sacraments; or only for the convenience of those ladies, the reader hath liberty to judge.

CHAP. VI.

The Archbishop presseth the Translation of the Bible.

The Aich-bishop labours the reformation of the Church.

THIS rub of the papal power being now taken out of the way, and the King's supremacy settled in the next sessions of parliament, in November 1534, a way was opened for a reformation of errors and abuses in religion. So that, as the Archbishop judged it a thing impossible to make any amendment of religion under the Pope's dominion; so he thought it now (the same being dispatched out of the realm) a meet time to restore the true doctrine of Christ, according to the word of God, and the old primitive church, within his jurisdiction and cure; and, with the said Pope, to abolish also all false doctrine, errors, and heresies, by him brought into the church; for the accomplishing of which he let pass no opportunities.

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What he did this convocation.

A convocation now afforded him one. Our Archbishop, from his first entrance upon his dignity, had it much in his mind to get the holy Scriptures put into the vulgar language, and a liberty for all to read them. The convocation now was so well disposed, by the influence of the Archbishop and his friends, that they did petition the King, that the Bible might be translated by some learned men of his Highness's nomination. And as this good motion was briefly made in the house by the Archbishop, so they agreed upon him to carry their petition. But they clogged it with another, which the Archbishop did not so well approve of: for about the month of December they passed this order of convocation: "The Bishops, Abbots, Priors of this upper house of "convocation, of the province of Canterbury, met together "in the chapter-house of St. Paul, unanimously did consent, "that the most Reverend Father the Archbishop should "make instance in their names to the King, that his Majesty "would vouchsafe, for the increase of the faith of his subjects, to decree and command, that all his subjects, in "whose possession any books of suspect doctrine were, especially in the vulgar language, imprinted beyond or on "this side the sea, should be warned, within three months, "to bring them in before persons to be appointed by the "King, under a certain pain to be limited by the King.

"And that moreover his Majesty would vouchsafe to "decree, that the Scriptures should be translated into the "vulgar tongue, by some honest and learned men, to be "nominated by the King, and to be delivered unto the "people according to their learning." This was resolved in the convocation, December 19.

Accordingly the King issued out soon after his proclamation. What this proclamation was I do not know, unless it were one I meet with about this time, against bringing in or printing seditious books of Anabaptists and Sacramentaries, who were said to be lately come into the realm; and against some of his own subjects, who publicly disputed in taverns and other open places, upon those points of religion, which the King was offended withal. For the correction and regulating of which, the King in the said proclamation commanded sundry articles to be observed; which for the length of them I have put into the Appendix. (No. VIII.) Unless perhaps this proclamation may belong to the year 1538.

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A book for preaching, and the beads.

About the month of June this year, was a book drawn up for bishops and priests, wherein was an order for preaching; and in the same were forms devised for the beads, as well for preachers as curates: in which forms the King's title of *Supreme Head* was specified. In this book was commandment given by the King, that every preacher should, before Easter, once in solemn audience, declare the usurped jurisdiction, within this realm, of the Bishop of Rome, and the King's just cause to decline from the same: and also to open and declare such things as might avow and justify the King's refusal of marriage with the Princess Dowager, and his contract anew with Queen Ann. And also in the same book an order was given for the suppression of the general sentence or curse. This book the Archbishop, who we may well suppose had a great hand in it, sent, by the King's commandment, to all the bishops, and to the Archbishop of York, though out of his province: that Archbishop lying under some jealousy, as it seems, with the King.

Dispersed by the Archbishop to all the bishops.

The Archbishop of York preaches at York.

Therefore, after the receipt of the book, the said Archbishop of York the next Sunday, which was the second Sunday after Trinity, went from Cawood to York, and there in his own person declared, as well the King's cause touching the matrimony, as his refusal of the Pope's jurisdiction, so fully, that nothing that needed to be opened was left unspoken, as that Archbishop wrote himself to the King in his own vindication. And, that the auditory might be the greater, he sent to York forthwith, upon the receipt of the book, to publish there, that he would be there the next Sunday following, and caused the churches to make an end of their service in such time, as every man might have opportunity to be at the sermon: and especially required the Mayor and his brethren, and one Mr. Magnus, and Sir George Lawson, his Majesty's chaplains, to be there: and a very great confluence there was. Then the Archbishop preached from that text, *Uxorem duxi*, &c. Whence he took occasion to utter and declare both his foresaid matters, and the injury done to the King's highness by Pope Clement.

As the convocation this year had declared the Pope to

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have no jurisdiction in this kingdom, so this would not serve the King till all the learned and spiritual men in England had subscribed to it with their hands. The Archbishop's church of Canterbury began. For the Prior and Convent thereof, moved and influenced not a little by their diocesan, solemnly subscribed an instrument for abolishing the Pope's supremacy, and for acknowledgment of the King Supreme Head of the Church of England, under this position:

The Clergy and Universities subscribe against the Pope.

Cleopat. E. 6. p. 208.

> *Quod Romanus Episcopus non habet majorem aliquam jurisdictionem a Deo sibi collatam in hoc regno Angliæ, quam quivis externus Episcopus.* That is,
>
> *That the Bishop of Rome hath not some greater jurisdiction conferred upon him by God in this realm of England, than any other foreign Bishop.*

This was consented to by the Prior's own hand subscribed, and sixty-nine of the convent besides: the original whereof is in a volume of the Cotton library. In another place of the same volume is extant the subscription of the Bishops, Deans, and several Abbots; and, after that, of the University of Oxford, and all the particular colleges: and, after that, the names of all the subscribing Priors of England.

Page 458.

Cranmer and others administer the oath of succession to the Clergy.

The Archbishop was one employed about the act of succession, that was made the last sessions of parliament: which was to invest the succession to the crown upon the heirs of Queen Ann; and that Queen Katharine should be no more called Queen, but Princess Dowager. In the preamble to the act, there were certain touches against the Pope's supremacy, and against his power of dispensing in the King's former marriage with his brother's wife, carnally known by him. To this act all persons were to swear, to accept and maintain the same, upon pain of treason. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor Audley, Secretary Crumwel, the Abbot of Westminster, and others, were the King's commissioners appointed to tender this oath. The nobility and gentry took it, none denying, to which they set their hands in a long list.

On the 13th of April, the commissioners sat at Lambeth to receive the oaths of the clergy, and chiefly those of London, that had not yet sworn; who all took it, not one ex-

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cepted. And a certain doctor, Vicar of Croydon, that it seems made some boggle before, went up with the rest: of whom Sir Thomas More, who then stood by, made an observation, how, as he past, he went to my Lord's buttery-hatch, and called for drink, and drank *valde familiariter;* whether, saith he sarcastically, it were for gladness, or dryness, or *quod ille notus erat Pontifici.* The oath also now was taken by Dr. Wylson, a great court-divine in those days, who for Queen Katharine's business was a prisoner at this time, though a great while he was unsatisfied, and consulted much with Sir Thomas More about the lawfulness of taking it.

And to Sir Thomas More, who refused it.

The same day were conveyed hither from the Tower, Bishop Fisher, and Sir Thomas More, the only layman at this meeting, to tender this oath to them: who both, being separately called, refused it. After the Clergy were sworn and dispatched, immediately Sir Thomas by himself was sent for the second time. Now he had much talk with the Lords, who would fain have brought him to comply. They urged him to declare the causes why he would not swear: but he excused his so doing. Then they charged him with obstinacy: he said, it was not obstinacy, but because he might not declare his mind without peril of incurring the King's further displeasure. He told the commissioners, that for his part he condemned not the consciences of any; but that he was dissatisfied in his own conscience for certain reasons. The Archbishop, taking hold of this, spake to him thus; "That it appeared well, that Sir Thomas did not take "it for a very sure thing and a certain, that he might not "lawfully swear, but rather as a thing uncertain and doubt-"ful. But you know, said my Lord, for a certainty, and for "a thing without doubt, that you be bound to obey your "sovereign Lord the King. And therefore are you bound "to leave off the doubt of your unsure conscience, in re-"fusing the oath, and take the sure way in obeying of your "Prince, who commands you to swear." This argument, as Sir Thomas confessed in one of his letters to his daughter Roper, seemed so subtil, and with such authority coming out of so noble a prelate's mouth, that he could answer again nothing thereto: but only that he thought with himself,

Sir Thomas More's letters.

Cranmer's argument with him.

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that he might not so do, because that in his conscience this was one of the causes in which he was bounden, that he should not obey his Prince; sith that whatsoever other folks thought in the matter, (whose conscience or learning, as he said, he would not condemn, or take upon him to judge,) yet in his conscience the truth seemed on the other side, wherein he had informed his conscience neither suddenly nor slightly, but by long leisure and diligent search for the matter.

More offers to swear to the succession itself.

In fine, the farthest Sir Thomas could be brought, and which he offered voluntarily that morning, was to swear to the succession, (which was the main design of the act,) though not to the preamble. At parting, the Lord Chancellor bade the secretary, before More, take notice, that More denied not, but was content to swear the succession. More assented, and said, in that point he would be contented, so that he might see the oath so framed as might stand with his conscience.

Bishop Fisher offers the same.

Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, offered the same before this assembly that More had done; and, in a letter of his afterwards writ to the secretary, assigned the reason why he could, with a good conscience, swear to the succession, *viz.* because he doubted not but that the Prince of a realm, with the assent of the nobles and commons, might appoint his successors according as he pleased. In the Appendix this letter will be found, which Bishop Fisher writ upon occasion of the secretary's advice, who laboured to gain him, that he should write to the King, to declare his mind to him in swearing to the succession; and to petition him to let that suffice, because his conscience could not consent to the rest of the act. The secretary also had sent unto Fisher, lying in the Tower, Lee, Bishop elect of Lichfield and Coventry; to whom he declared again, that he would take the oath to the succession; and moreover, that he would swear never to meddle more in disputation of the matrimony, and promised all allegiance to the King. But he told Lee, his conscience could not be convinced that the marriage was against the law of God, because of a prohibition in the Levitical law. See Lee's letter, in the Appendix, to Secretary Crumwel.

No. IX.

No. X.

The Archbishop, soon after that meeting of the commission-

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The Archbishop writes to Crumwel in their behalf.

ers at Lambeth, retired to Croydon: and being a man not kind to his own party and persuasion only, and fierce and bloody-minded to them that differed from him, but compassionate towards all, friend and foe; his tender spirit suggested to him, to make this serve for an occasion to intercede for More and Fisher to Crumwel; shewing him in a letter, dated April the 17th, how advisable in his judgment it would be to be satisfied with that oath they had offered to swear, in case they would swear to maintain the said succession against all power and potentates: urging to him that there would be these advantages gained thereby. First, that it would be a means to satisfy the consciences of the Princess Dowager and the Lady Mary; who it seems made it a matter of conscience and sin to abandon their titles. Also, that it might tend to stop the Emperor's mouth, and the mouths of other their friends, when Fisher and More, who had stickled so much for them, should now own that succession, which would be in effect a disowning of them. Secondly, that it might be a means to resolve and quiet also many others in the realm that were in doubt, when such great men should affirm, by oath and subscription, that the succession mentioned in the said act was good, and according to God's laws. And he thought, that, after two such had sworn, there would be scarce one in the kingdom would reclaim against it. And thirdly, that though a great many in the realm could not be brought to alter from their opinions of the validity of the King's former marriage, and of the Bishop of Rome's authority, that it would be a great point gained, if all with one accord would own and acknowledge the succession.

The Archbishop's endeavour to save the lives of More and Fisher.

Weaver, the author of the Funeral Monuments, transcribed this letter out of the Cotton library, and inserted it into his said book: and the thing he takes notice of therein is, the *wisdom and policy of the prudent Archbishop.* I shall take notice of another thing, and which I suppose was the great cause that employed his pen at this time, namely, his tender heart, and abhorrence from bloodshedding: propounding these politic considerations to the secretary, which were the properest arguments to be used with a statesman, and for him to use and urge before the King; that so he

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might be an instrument of saving the lives of these men, however they differed from him, and it may be were none of his very good friends. This letter of the Archbishop's, as I myself took it from the original, I thought worthy depositing among Cranmer's monuments in the Appendix. But this offer of theirs, notwithstanding the Archbishop's arguments and endeavours, would not be accepted. The King would not be satisfied with this swearing by halves.

No. XI.

CHAP. VII.

The Archbishop visits the Diocese of Norwich.

A *præmunire* brought against Bishop Nix.

Cotton Librar. Cleop. F. 1.

THE Popish Bishops were now at a low ebb; and, being under the frowns of their Prince, other men took the opportunities, upon their slips, to get them punished. A storm now fell upon Richard Nix, Bishop of Norwich, a vicious and dissolute man, as Godwin writes. Against him was a *præmunire* this year (25 of Henry VIII.) brought. That, *de tout temps*, there had been a custom in the town of Thetford in the county of Norfolk, that no inhabitant of the same town should be drawn in plea in any court christian for any spiritual causes, but before the Dean in the said town. And there was a presentment in the King's court before the Mayor of the town, by twelve jurors, that there was such a custom. And beside, that whosoever should draw any man out of the said town, in any spiritual court, should forfeit six shillings and eight pence. The Bishop nevertheless cited the Mayor to appear before him, *pro salute animæ;* and upon his appearance libelled for that cause, and enjoined him, upon pain of excommunication, not to admit the said presentment. And whenas the Bishop could not deny his fact, judgment was given, that he should be out of the King's protection, his goods and chattels forfeited, and his body imprisoned during the King's pleasure. For which he had the King's pardon. Which was afterwards confirmed in parliament.

The Archbishop visits this Bishop's see.

This Bishop's diocese was now in such disorder, that the Archbishop instituted a visitation of that see; wherein Wil-

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Cranmer's Reg.

liam May, LL.D., was the Archbishop's commissary. The 28th of July, the Bishop was called and summoned to appear, but appeared not; and so was pronounced *contumax*. But at another meeting he sent Dr. Cap, his proctor, by whom he made a protestation against their doings and jurisdiction; and that it was not decent for that reverend father to appear before him, the Archbishop's official. However at another meeting, the Bishop not appearing at the time and place appointed, Dr. May declared him obstinate, and to incur the penalty of obstinacy. After this the Bishop, by his proctor, was willing to submit to obey law, and to stand to the command of the Church, and to do penance for his said contumacy, to be enjoined by the Archbishop, or his commissary. At another court the Bishop appeared in person, and then shewed himself willing to take the said commissary for visitor, or any other in the name of the Archbishop of Canterbury. This Bishop was now fourscore years old, and blind, as appears by a writing of his sent by his proctor, dated September 1534. He died two years after, and came in to be Bishop in the year 1500.

The Bishop of Norwich a persecutor.

This Bishop seems to have made himself very odious in his diocese by his fierceness and rigors against such as were willing to be better informed in religion; whom he would style men *savouring of the frying-pan.* He seized such books as were brought from beyond sea, of which sort there were now many, which tended to lay open the corruptions of the Church; and especially the New Testament, which he could not endure should be read. And when some of these commonly gave out, that it was the King's pleasure that such books should be read, he sent up studiously, by the Abbot of Hyde, to have this shewed to the King; and begged his letters under his seal, to be directed to him, or any body else whom the King pleased in his diocese, to declare it was not his pleasure such books should be among his subjects, and to punish such as reported it was. He sent also a letter to Warham, then Archbishop of Canterbury, making his complaint and information to him, desiring him to send for the said Abbot, who should tell him what his thoughts were for the suppression of these men; and entreating the Archbishop to inform the King against these erroneous men, as

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he called them. Some part of his diocese was bounded with the sea, and Ipswich and Yarmouth, and other places of considerable traffic, were under his jurisdiction. And so there happened many merchants and mariners, who, by converse from abroad, had received knowledge of the truth, and brought in divers good books. This mightily angered the zealous Bishop, and he used all the severity he could to stop the progress of evangelical truth, and wished for more authority from the King to punish it; for his opinion was, that if they continued any time, he thought they would undo them all, as he wrote to the Archbishop. This letter is in the Appendix. No. XII.

Bishops consecrated.

Goodrick, Lee, and Salcot consecrated Bishops.

April the 19th, the Archbishop of Canterbury, invested in his pontificals, consecrated Thomas Goodrick, doctor of decrees, Bishop of Ely, in his chapel at Croydon; together with Rowland Lee, doctor of Law, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry; and John Salcot, alias Capon, doctor of law, Bishop of Bangor: being assisted by John Bishop of Lincoln, and Christopher Bishop of Sidon.

CHAP. VIII.

The Archbishop preacheth at Canterbury.

The Archbishop preaches up the King's supremacy at Canterbury.

IN order to the bettering the state of religion in the nation, the Archbishop's endeavours, both with the King and the Clergy, were not wanting from time to time. And something soon after fell out, which afforded him a fair opportunity: which was this. The King, resolving to vindicate his own right of supremacy against the encroachments of Popes in his dominions, especially now the parliament had restored it to him, being at Winchester, sent for his Bishops thither about Michaelmas, ordering them to go down to their respective dioceses, and there in their own persons to preach up the regal authority, and to explain to the people the reason of excluding the Pope from all jurisdiction in these realms. Our Archbishop, according to this command

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speeds down into his diocese to promote this service for the King, and the church too. He went not into the nearer parts of Kent, about Otford and Knol, where his most frequent residence used to be; because his influence had a good effect for the instruction of the people thereabouts in this, as well as in other points of sound religion: but he repaired into the east parts of his diocese, where he preached up and down upon the two articles of the Pope's usurpations and the King's supremacy. But the people of Canterbury being less persuaded of these points than all his diocese besides, there, in his cathedral church, he preached two sermons; wherein he insisted upon three things.

I. That the Bishop of Rome was not God's vicar upon earth, as he was taken. Here he declared by what crafts the Bishop of Rome had obtained his usurped authority.

II. That the holiness that see so much boasted of, and by which name Popes affected to be styled, was but a holiness in name; and that there was no such holiness at Rome. And here he launched out into the vices and profligate kind of living there.

III. He inveighed against the Bishop of Rome's laws: which were miscalled *divinæ leges*, and *sacri canones*. He said, that those of his laws which were good, the King had commanded to be observed: and so they were to be kept, out of obedience to him. And here he descended to speak of the ceremonies of the Church: that they ought not to be rejected, nor yet to be observed with an opinion, that of themselves they make men holy, or remit their sins; seeing our sins are remitted by the death of our Saviour Christ: but that they were observed for a common commodity, and for good order and quietness, as the common laws of the kingdom were. And for this cause, ceremonies were instituted in the Church, and for a remembrance of many good things; as the King's laws dispose men unto justice and unto peace. And therefore he made it a general rule, that ceremonies were to be observed as the laws of the land were.

A Prior preaches against him.

These sermons of the Archbishop, it seems, as they were new doctrines to them, so they were received by them at first with much gladness. But the friars did not at all like these discourses: they thought such doctrines laid open the truth too much, and might prove prejudicial unto their gains. And therefore, by a combination among themselves, they thought it convenient that the Archbishop's sermons should be by some of their party confuted, and in the same place where he preached them. So soon after came up the Prior of the black Friars in Canterbury, levelling his discourse against the three things that the Archbishop had preached. He asserted, the Church of Christ never erred: that he would not slander the Bishops of Rome; and that the laws of the Church were equal with the laws of God.

This angry Prior also told the Archbishop to his face, in a good audience, concerning what he had preached of the Bishop of Rome's vices, that he knew no vices by none of the Bishops of Rome. And whereas the Archbishop had said in his sermon to the people, that he had prayed many years that we might be separated from that see, and that he might see the power of Rome destroyed, because it wrought so many things contrary to the honour of God, and the wealth of the realm: and because he saw no hopes of amendment; and that he thanked God he had now seen it in this realm; for this the Prior cried out against him, that he preached uncharitably.

Whom he convents before him.

The Archbishop, not suffering his authority to be thus affronted, nor the King's service to be thus hindered, convented the Prior before him before Christmas. At his first examination, he denied that he preached against the Archbishop, and confessed that his Grace had not preached any thing amiss: but sometime afterward, being got free from the mild Archbishop, and being secretly upheld by some persons in the combination, he then said, he had preached amiss in many things, and that he purposely preached against him. This created the Archbishop abundance of slander in those parts. The business came to the King's ears, who seemed to require the Archbishop to censure him in his own court.

The Archbishop acquaints the King with the matter.

But upon occasion of this, the Archbishop wrote his whole cause in a letter to the King, dated from his house at Ford, 1535, declaring what he had preached, and what the other had preached in contradiction to him. And withal entreated

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his Majesty, that he, the Archbishop, might not have the judging of him, lest he might seem partial; but that he would commit the hearing unto the Lord Privy Seal, who was Crumwel: or else to assign unto him other persons, whom his Majesty pleased; that the cause might be jointly heard together. He appealed to the King and his council, "If the Prior did not defend the Bishop of Rome, though "he had said nothing else, than that the Church never "erred. For then they were no errors, as he inferred, that "were taught of the Pope's power; and that he was Christ's "vicar in earth, and by God's law head of all the world, "spiritual and temporal; and that all people must believe "that *de necessitate salutis;* and that whosoever did any "thing against the see of Rome is an heretic. But if these "be no errors, then your Grace's laws, said he, be erroneous, "that pronounce the Bishop of Rome to be of no more "power than other Bishops, and them to be traitors that "defend the contrary." In fine, in the stomach of an Archbishop, and finding it necessary to put a stop to the ill designs of these friars, he concluded, "That if that man, "who had so highly offended the King, and openly preached against him, being his ordinary, and metropolitan of "the province, and that in such matters as concerned the "authority, misliving, and laws of the Bishop of Rome; and "that also within his own Church: if he were not looked "upon, he left it to the King's prudence to expend, what "example it might prove unto others, with like colour to "maintain the Bishop of Rome's authority; and of what "estimation he the Archbishop should be reputed hereafter, "and what credence would be given unto his preaching for "time to come." And he left his Majesty to hear the testimony of Dr. Leighton, one of the King's visitors, who was present at the sermon the Archbishop then made. This letter, the contents whereof I have now set down, I have placed in the Appendix, as well worthy the preserving among the rest of the monuments of this Archbishop, as I transcribed it out of the Cotton library. I do not find what issue this business had: but I suspect the black Friars of Canterbury had a black mark set upon them by the King

No. XIII.

for this opposition of his Archbishop, in the discharge of his commands.

Anno 1535.

A provincial visitation.

But to speak a little of a provincial visitation, *jure metropolitico,* which the Archbishop had begun the last year, *viz.* 1534, being his first visitation. It was somewhat extraordinary; for such a visitation had not been in an hundred years before. For this he got the King's license to countenance his doings, knowing what oppositions he should meet with. In the month of May we find him at his house at Otford about this business; the main end whereof was to promote the King's supremacy, and, as opportunity served, to correct the superstitions of this Church, and to inspect even Bishops and Cathedrals themselves.

Winchester herein opposeth him.

In April 1535, Cranmer had sent his monition to Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, that he would visit his diocese. The Bishop, who never loved the Archbishop, and being a great upholder of the old popish superstitions, was the more jealous of this visitation, opposing himself as much as he could against it; and would have picked an hole in Cranmer's coat, for styling himself, in the instrument of the process, *Totius Angliæ Primas;* as though this had been an high reflection upon the King, and detracted much from his supremacy. Of this therefore he went and made a complaint to the King himself: and, taking it in some indignation that the Archbishop should visit his diocese, he pretended to the King, that the Clergy of his diocese would be driven to great straits, and mightily oppressed, if it should be now visited again, having been visited but five years ago by his predecessor Warham; especially being also to pay a new duty, enjoined by the parliament, namely, their tenths; hoping hereby to evade the Archbishop's inspection into the corruptions of the diocese of Winchester.

The Archbishop's vindication of his title of Primate.

All this Crumwel, his friend, certified him of, by his chaplain, one Champion. Winchester indeed, whatsoever he pretended, tendered not so much the King's cause, as his own, that he might not be visited. For otherwise he would have complained to the King of this matter before Cranmer's signification to him of a visitation, since he always bare the title of Primate of all England, as being the common style of

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the Archbishop. And if this style of primacy was a diminution to the King, it would have been so to the Pope, when Winchester held him, as he did once, for Supreme Head of the Church: but then he never made any complaint against those Archbishops that styled themselves Primates. The Pope's supreme authority was not less thought of because he had such primates under him, but rather more. And the King might therefore have such as were primates under him, without any derogation to his authority. Nor did Cranmer value at all names and titles; and if he thought it any thing interfering with the King's honour, he would himself have been the first to sue for the taking it wholly away. This he signified in a letter to secretary Crumwel; which, because it hath many excellent things declarative of the good temper and spirit of Cranmer, I have presented it to the reader's eye in the Appendix, being an original in the Cotton library.

No. XIV.

The Bishop of London refuseth his visitation.

And as Winchester had picked a quarrel with him for one part of his archiepiscopal style; so Stokesly Bishop of London, a man of the same inveterate temper against Cranmer, refused his visitation, because he styled himself in his monitions, *Apostolicæ Sedis Legatus.* For under that title he convented that Bishop, with the Abbots, Priors, and Archdeacon of London, to appear before him at a visitation, which he intended to hold at the chapter-house in St. Paul's Church, London. But the Bishop of London, and the chapter, warned him of assuming that title, as making against the King's prerogative. And at the visitation itself in St. Paul's, they made a protestation; which was openly read: the import whereof was, that they would not accept him as such a legate, and neither admit nor submit to his visitation under that name; and required the Archbishop's register to enter their protestation: and, upon his refusal thereof, delivered a certificate of what they had done. Stokesly also contended with him for suspending all the jurisdiction of the Bishop, Dean, and Archdeacon, during his visitation. To which the Archbishop answered, it was no more than his predecessors had usually done in those cases. In fine, they appealed, in their own justification, unto the King, and desired his license to defend themselves against him by the

Anno 1535.

laws, and as the parliament had provided. Thus they shewed before their secret malice and violent opposition against the good Archbishop, and how afraid they were of his visitation; glad to catch any thing to enervate his authority. The sum of which appeal, drawn up by Stokesly, being somewhat too long to be subjoined here, may be read in the Appendix.

No. XV.

And protests against him.

Finally, upon the Archbishop's visiting of his diocese, he entered three protestations against it (as may appear in Stokesly's register) for preserving his privileges.

Cranmer sends him a part of the New Testament to translate. And his answer.

Foxii MSS.

This man ever carried himself perversely to the Archbishop. It was not long after this time, that the Archbishop, whose mind ran very much upon bringing in the free use of the holy Scripture in English among the people, put on vigorously a translation of it. And, that it might not come to be prohibited, as it had been, upon pretence of the ignorance or unfaithfulness of the translators, he proceeded in this method. First, he began with the translation of the New Testament; taking an old English translation thereof, which he divided into nine or ten parts; causing each part to be written at large in a paper book, and then to be sent to the best learned Bishops, and others; to the intent they should make a perfect correction thereof. And when they had done, he required them to send back their parts, so corrected, unto him at Lambeth, by a day limited for that purpose: and the same course, no question, he took with the Old Testament. It chanced that the Acts of the Apostles were sent to Bishop Stokesly to oversee and correct. When the day came, every man had sent to Lambeth their parts corrected, only Stokesly's portion was wanting. My Lord of Canterbury wrote to the Bishop a letter for his part, requiring him to deliver them unto the bringer his secretary. He received the Archbishop's letter at Fulham: unto which he made this answer; "I marvel what my "Lord of Canterbury meaneth, that thus abuseth the people, "in giving them liberty to read the Scriptures: which doth "nothing else but infect them with heresy. I have bestowed never an hour upon my portion, nor never will. And "therefore my Lord shall have this book again, for I will "never be guilty of bringing the simple people into error."

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My Lord of Canterbury's servant took the book, and brought the same to Lambeth unto my Lord, declaring my Lord of London's answer. When the Archbishop had perceived that the Bishop had done nothing therein, "I marvel," said he, "that my Lord of London is so froward that he "will not do as other men do." One Mr. Thomas Lawney stood by; and, hearing my Lord speak so much of the Bishop's untowardness, said, I can tell your Grace why my Lord of London will not bestow any labour or pains this 35 way. Your Grace knoweth well, that his portion is a piece of New Testament. But he, being persuaded that Christ had bequeathed him nothing in his Testament, thought it mere madness to bestow any labour or pain, where no gain was to be gotten. And besides this, it is the Acts of the Apostles; which were simple poor fellows, and therefore my Lord of London disdained to have to do with any of them. Whereat my Lord of Canterbury, and others that stood by, could not forbear from laughter.

Lawney's jest upon Stokesly.

This Lawney was a witty man, and chaplain to the old Duke of Norfolk, and had been one of the scholars placed by the Cardinal in his new college at Oxon: where he was chaplain of the house, and prisoner there with Frith, another of the scholars. In the time of the six articles he was a minister in Kent, placed there, I suppose, by the Archbishop. When that severe act was passed, more by the authority of a parliament than by the authority of the word of God, it chanced that my Lord of Norfolk, meeting with this his chaplain, said, O, my Lawney, (knowing him of old much to favour priests' matrimony,) whether may priests now have wives or no? If it please your Grace, replied he, I cannot well tell whether priests may have wives or no: but well I wot, and am sure of it, for all your act, that wives will have priests. Hearken, masters, said the Duke, how this knave scorneth our act, and maketh it not worth a fly. Well, I see by it that thou wilt never forget thy old tricks. And so the Duke, and such gentlemen as were with him, went away merrily, laughing at Lawney's sudden and apt answer. The reader will excuse this digression.

Who this Lawney was.

BOOK I.

CHAP. IX.

Anno 1535.

Monasteries visited.

Monasteries visited. The Archbishop for their dissolution.

THIS year the monasteries were visited by Crumwel, chief visitor: who appointed Leighton, Legh, Petre, London, his deputies, with injunctions given them to be observed in their visitation. Indeed the King now had thoughts of dissolving them, as well as visiting them: whose ends herein were, partly because he saw the monks and friars so untoward towards him, and so bent to the Pope; and partly to enrich himself with the spoils. Archbishop Cranmer is said also to have counselled and pressed the King to it: but for other ends, *viz.* That out of the revenues of these monasteries the King might found more bishoprics; and that, dioceses being reduced into less compass, the diocesans might the better discharge their office, according to the Scripture and primitive rules: and because the Archbishop saw how inconsistent these foundations were with the reformation of religion; purgatory, masses, pilgrimages, worship of saints and images, being effectual to their constitution, as the Bishop of Sarum hath observed. And the Archbishop hoped that from these ruins there would be new foundations in every cathedral erected, to be nurseries of learning, for 36 the use of the whole diocese. But however short our Archbishop fell of his ends, desired and hoped for by these dissolutions, the King obtained his. For the vast riches that the religious houses brought in to the King may be guessed by what was found in one, namely, St. Swithin's, Winchester: an account of the treasures whereof I having once observed from a manuscript in the Benet library, thought not amiss here to lay before the reader; which he may find in the Appendix[a].

Hist. Ref. P. i. p. 189, 190.

No. XVI.

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[a] Note, that the dissolution of St. Swithin's in Winchester, (though laid here under the year 1535,) happened not that year, but about five years after, *viz.* 1540. But the occasion of the discourse there, which was of the vast wealth obtained to the King by the fall of religious houses, made the author produce it in this place, as an instance thereof. *From the Errata and Emendations to the first Edition.*

Anno 1535.

The visitors' informations.

When these visitors returned home from their visitation, they came well stocked with informations of the loose, wicked, and abominable lives and irregularities of the chief members of these houses of religion, having by diligent inquisition throughout all England collected them. These enormities were read publicly in the parliament house, being brought in by the visitors. When they were first read, nothing was done with these unclean abbots and priors: "But within a while," saith Latimer in a sermon before King Edward, "how bad soever the reports of them were, "some of them were made bishops, and others put into "good dignities in the church: that so the King might "save their pensions, which were otherwise to be paid "them."

Second sermon.

Now I will, at the conclusion of my collections for this year, set down the names of the bishops this year consecrated, both diocesan and suffragan: there having been an act of parliament made in the six and twentieth of the King (that is, the last year) for furnishing the dioceses with six and twenty suffragans, for the better aid and comfort of the diocesans: the sees whereof are all set down in the said act. But I doubt whether there were ever so many made. At least the mention of the acts of the consecration of some of the suffragans in the province of Canterbury are omitted in the register.

Bishops diocesan and suffragan consecrated.

Before this act of parliament enjoining the number of suffragans, suffragans were not unusual in the realm. Whom the bishops diocesan, either for their own ease, or because of their necessary absence from their dioceses in embassies abroad, or attendance upon the court, or civil affairs, procured to be consecrated to reside in their steads. Thus to give some instances of them, as I have met with them. About the year 1531, I find one Underwood, suffragan in Norwich, that degraded Bilney before his martyrdom. Certain, bearing the title of Bishops of Sidon, assisted the Archbishops of Canterbury. One of these was named Thomas Wellys, Prior of St. Gregory's by Canterbury: he, being Archbishop Warham's chaplain, was sent by him to Cardinal Wolsey, to expostulate with him in his Lord's name for encroaching upon his prerogative court. There

Suffragan bishops usual in the realm.

Anno 1535.

was afterwards one Christopher that bore that title, and assisted Archbishop Cranmer about these times in ordinations; and another Thomas, entitled also of Sidon, succeeded. Long before these, I find one William Bottlesham Episcopus Navatensis, anno 1382, at the convocation house in London, summoned against the Wicklivites, that then shewed themselves at Oxford. Robert King, Abbot of Oseney, while abbot, was consecrated titular bishop, and called Episcopus Roannensis, a see in the province of the archbishopric of Athens. This is he that resigned Oseney and Tame under the name of Bishop of Reonen: of which see the Bishop of Sarum was at a stand. He was translated from this imaginary bishopric to be Bishop of Oxford, in the year 1541. One John Hatton had the title of Episcopus Negropont: he was suffragan under the Archbishop of York. John Thornden, who was several times commissary of Oxon, while Archbishop Warham was Chancellor of that University, was styled Episcopus Syrinensis. And hereafter, in the progress of this book, we shall meet with a Bishop of Hippolitanum, who assisted Archbishop Cranmer at his ordinations. These were but titulary bishops; and the use of them was, to supply the diocesans' absence, to consecrate churches and church-yards, and to reconcile them, to assist at ordinations, and confer orders, to confirm children, and the like.

Ex Regist. Archbishop Courtney.

37

Hist. Ref. Coll. p. 148. Godwin's Catal.

Ath. Oxonien.

Bishops without title.

Sometimes these suffragans had no titles at all to any place, but were bishops at large. Such an one, named Richard Martin, is met with in an old register at Canterbury, who was guardian of the Gray Friars there. By his last will, made 1498, he gave a library to the church and convent. He was Parson of Ickham, and Vicar of Lyd in Kent; and writ himself in the said will, Bishop of the Universal Church: by which the antiquarian supposed nothing else was meant, but that he was a bishop in name, endued with orders, but not with jurisdiction episcopal, having no particular charge to intend, but generally officiating as bishop in any part of the Christian church. This I have writ, that the reader may not be put to a stand, when he shall, in these commentaries, meet with some of these titular bishops.

Sumner's Antiq. of Cant.

But proceed we now to the bishops that were this year consecrated.

Diocesan Bishops [b].

Nic. Shaxton.

April the 11th, Nicholas Shaxton was consecrated Bishop of Sarum, in the King's chapel of St. Stephen, by our Archbishop, John Bishop of Lincoln, and Christopher Sidoniens. assisting.

Edward Fox. William Barlow.

September the 15th was the act of confirmation and election of Edward Fox, elect of Hereford, and of William Barlow, Prior of the priory of canons regular of Bisham, of the order of St. Augustin Sarum, for the bishopric of St. Asaph. The consecration of these two last are not inserted in the register.

George Brown.

March the 18th, the act of confirmation and election of George Brown, D. D. Provincial of the order of Friars Augustin in the city of London, for the archbishopric of Dublin. Consecrated March the 19th by the Archbishop at Lambeth, Nicholas Bishop of Sarum, and John Bishop of Rochester, assisting.

A memorial of the good services of Archbishop Brown in Ireland.

Life and Death of George Brown, printed in Dublin.

Of this last mentioned bishop I shall take some further notice, having been the first protestant bishop in Ireland, as Cranmer was in England; a great furtherer of the reformation in that land, being a stirring man, and of good parts and confidence. He was first taken notice of by Crumwel, Lord Privy Seal, and by his sole means preferred to this dignity in the church of Ireland; upon the observation that was taken of him, when he was Provincial of the

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[b] Among the diocesan bishops consecrated under the year 1535, place Hugh Latymer, consecrated Bishop of Worcester, and John Hildesly, or Hilsey, a friar of the order of preachers, first of Bristow, and afterwards of Oxford, consecrated Bishop of Rochester next after John Fisher, executed for treason. These two I had omitted in their places, not meeting with them in Cranmer's register. The former I suppose was consecrated with Shaxton in April, as the latter might be with Fox and Barlow in September, his temporalties having been restored to him in the beginning of October. This Hilsey was a great assistant to Archbishop Cranmer, and a learned man. He wrote a book of prayers, with epistles and gospels, (in English, I suppose,) which he dedicated to the Lord Crumwel; by whose command it was published. *From the Errata and Emendations to the first Edition.*

Anno 1535. Augustin order in England, advising all people to make their application only to Christ, and not to saints: whereby he was recommended unto King Henry, who much 38 favoured him. When the King's supremacy was to be brought in and recognised in Ireland, which was the same year wherein he was made Archbishop; he was appointed one of the King's commissioners for the procuring the nobility, gentry, and clergy, to reject the Pope, and to own the King for Supreme Head of the Church. In which commission he acted with that diligence, that it was to the hazard of his life; such opposition was made to it in that realm. At which time, in an assembly of the clergy, George Dowdal, Archbishop of Ardmagh, made a speech to them, and laid a curse upon those, whosoever they were, that should own the King's supremacy. Within five years after this, this Archbishop Brown caused all superstitious relics and images to be removed out of the two cathedrals in Dublin, and out of the rest of the churches in his diocese; and ordered the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed, to be set up in frames above the altar in Christ's Church, Dublin. In King Edward VI. his reign, he received the English Common Prayer-Book into that realm, upon the King's proclamation for that purpose, after much opposition by Dowdal: and it was read in Christ's Church, Dublin, on Easter-day, 1551. He preached also a sermon in Christ's Church for having the Scripture in the mother tongue, and against image worship: and for this his forwardness and conformity in religion, and the perverseness of the other Archbishop of Ardmagh, who had violently resisted all good proceedings, the title of primacy was taken from him, and conferred upon the Archbishop of Dublin: and Dowdal was banished, or, as others say, voluntarily left his bishopric. And then Goodacre, sent from England with Bale for the see of Ossory, succeeded. In Queen Mary's days, Dowdal was restored; and, being a great man in this reign, expulsed Archbishop Brown from his see for being a married man: who two or three years after was succeeded by Hugh Corwin, (a complier in all reigns,) and Brown soon after died.

CHAP. IX.

Suffragan Bishops.

Anno 1535. Thomas Mannyng. Regist. Cran.

The first of these standing in the register of the Archbishop was the suffragan of the see of Ipswich. The Bishop of Norwich, according to the direction of the late act, (wherein the bishop was to nominate two for suffragan to the King, and the King was to name one of them to the Archbishop, to receive consecration,) humbly signified to the King, that he was destitute of the aid of a suffragan; and so prayed him to appoint either George, Abbot of the monastery of St. Mary's of Leyston, or Thomas Mannyng, Prior of the monastery of St. Mary's of Butley, to be his suffragan; without mentioning for what place. And on the 7th of March, in the 27th of his reign, he sent to the Archbishop to make the latter suffragan of Gipwich: who was accordingly consecrated by the Archbishop, and invested *in insigniis Episcopalibus;* Nicholas Bishop of Sarum, and John Bishop of Rochester, assisting. The date not specified; 39
but probably on the same day with the consecration following, there being the same assistants.

John Salisbury.

The said Bishop of Norwich sent to the King, recommending to him to be suffragan Thomas de Castleacre, of the Cluniac order, and John Salisbury, Prior of St. Faith's of Horsham, of the order of St. Benet, both priors of monasteries in Norwich diocese. The King sent to the Archbishop to consecrate John, the Prior of St. Faith's, for suffragan of Thetford. Accordingly he consecrated him March the 19th, Nicholas Bishop of Sarum, and John Bishop of Rochester, assisting.

CHAP. X.

The Audience Court.

Anno 1536. The Archbishop's audience court struck at.

THE good Archbishop almost every year met with new opposition from the popish clergy. The late act for abolishing the Pope's authority, and some acts before that, for restraining of applications to Rome, served them now as a colour to strike at one of the Archbishop's courts, *viz.* that of the audience, (a court which the Archbishops used to

BOOK I. Anno 1536. hold in their own houses, where they received causes, complaints, and appeals; and had learned civilians living with them, that were auditors of the said causes, before the Archbishop gave sentence;) pretending that he held it as the Pope's legate: urging also the great troubles and inconveniences it caused, both to the clergy and the laity; and that every man must, by virtue of that court, be forced up to London, from the farthest part of the land, for a slanderous word, or a trifle. And that they thought it convenient, if it were the King's pleasure to continue that court, that he would settle it upon some other, and not upon the Archbishop, that so it might appear, the original of that court was from the King, and not from the Pope. And lastly, that it would not be safe to constitute the Archbishop the Pope's legate, because it would infringe the power of the Vicar-general. This was drawn up in way of petition and complaint, either to the King or parliament, by a combination of some of the convocation, as I suspect; the paper being writ by the hand of the register of the lower house of convocation. The great wheel, we may be sure, that set a moving this device, was Winchester, his never-failing adversary.

The Archbishop defends it. The King, notwithstanding, bad the Archbishop maintain his court. And he answered all their pleas against it; and by way of protestation affirmed, that he kept not his court by virtue of his bull from Rome for legate, and that none could suspect that he did: and that he saw no cause but that he might keep that court by virtue of the late act of parliament, that gave power to enjoy all things that were before had from the see of Rome. And finally, he answered, that it was the King's will and command that he should continue his court. To which the convocation, or rather some part of it, made a reply, that may be seen in the Appendix. No. XVII.

40 The Archbishop promoting a reformation in the convocation. But notwithstanding these discouragements, (which were thrown in probably to hinder his good designs,) the Archbishop vigorously prosecuted a reformation at this convocation: where, assisted by Crumwel, the King's Vicar-general, he earnestly laboured for the redress of several abuses and errors in the English church. And that not without good

success at length: for, after much deliberation among the clergy there assembled, and much opposition too, he got a book of divers good articles to that purpose to be agreed upon and subscribed. An account of which by and by shall follow. Anno 1536.

CHAP. XI.

Articles of Religion.

NOW though I do not find the King went so far, as that it should be enjoined on all the clergy to own the articles of this book by their own hands subscribed, yet he published and recommended them to all his loving subjects in general, to accept and repute them to be agreeable to God's laws, and proper for the establishment of peace and concord: and further probably in prudence the King thought not fit yet to go, considering the great disputes and arguments that had happened in the convocation hereupon. Now because this was one of the great services our pious prelate contributed to the church, and was one of the first steps made in the reformation of the doctrine and worship, it will not be amiss here, in order to the enlightening this history, to set down the heads of this book, though it be done by others before me. And notwithstanding what the noble author of the history of Henry VIII. saith, he gathered by some records, that this book was devised by the King himself, and recommended afterwards to the convocation by Crumwel, yet we have reason to attribute a great share therein to the Archbishop. **Articles published and recommended by the King.** **Life Hen. VIII. p. 466.**

They that are minded to see a draught of these articles from the original, with the royal assent prefixed to them, may have it in Dr. Fuller's Church History: which, he tells us, he transcribed out of the acts of the convocation. The Bishop of Sarum also met with an original of them in the Cotton library, wrote out fairly, as it seems, for the King's own use, and subscribed with all the hands of the convocation thereunto. He also hath inserted the transcript of them in the first part of his History of the Reformation. **The original thereof.** **Book V. p. 213. Addenda to the collection, Num. 1.**

In the rebellion in the north, which happened this year

Anno 1536.

The original sent into the north to shew to the rebels.

1536, chiefly raised by priests and friars, many copies of these articles (for the book was printed by Barthelet) did Crumwel send, by the King's order, to the Duke of Norfolk, the King's lieutenant there, to disperse in those parts, together with the original copy itself, as it was signed by the hands of the convocation, amounting to the number of 116 bishops, abbots, priors, archdeacons, and proctors of the clergy. Which the said Duke had order to shew unto the clergy and others, as occasion served; that they might understand it was a proper act of the church, and no innovation of the King, and a few of his counsellors, as they
41 gave out. And, after he had made his use of this original, he was required to reserve it safe for the King. This choice treasure, which the King himself required such care to be taken of, Sir Robert Cotton afterwards procured, at his no small expense, no doubt. It is very fairly written in vellum; and at the bottom of the first page is written, *Robertus Cotton Bruceus*, by Sir Robert's own hand, signifying his value of this monument. It is still extant in that incomparable library in the volume Cleopatra E. 5: and there I have seen it, and diligently compared it. Excuse this digression, and I now proceed to the articles themselves.

The contents of them.

These articles were of two sorts: some concerning faith, and some concerning ceremonies.

The former sort were digested under these five titles following.

Articles of faith.

I. *The principal Articles of Faith.* And they were these. "That all those things that be comprehended in the whole "body and canon of the Bible, and in the three Creeds, are "true, and constantly to be believed. That we take and "hold the same for the most holy and infallible words of "God. That the articles of the faith, contained in the "Creeds, are necessary to be believed for man's salvation. "That the same words be kept, in which the articles of "faith are conceived. That all opinions contrary to the "articles, and which were condemned in the four first "councils, are to be utterly refused."

II. *The Sacrament of Baptism.* "That it was instituted "and ordained by Jesus Christ as necessary to everlasting "life. That by it all, as well infants as such as have the

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" use of reason, have remission of sins, and the grace and " favour of God offered them. That infants and innocents " must be baptized, because the promise of grace and everlasting life pertains as well to them as to those who have " the use of reason: and that therefore baptized infants " shall undoubtedly be saved. That they are to be baptized, " because of original sin, which is remitted only by baptism. " That they that are once baptized must not be baptized " again. That the opinions of Anabaptists and Pelagians " are to be held for detestable heresies. That those who, " having the use of reason, shall come to baptism, shall obtain the remission of all their sins, if they come thereunto " perfectly and truly repentant, confessing and believing all " the articles of the faith, and having firm credence and " trust in the promise of God adjoined to the said sacrament."

III. *The Sacrament of Penance.* " That that sacrament " was instituted of Christ in the New Testament, as a thing " so necessary for man's salvation, that no man that after " his baptism is fallen again, and hath committed deadly " sin, can without the same be saved. That such penitents " shall without doubt attain remission of their sins. That " this sacrament consists of contrition, confession, and " amendment of life. That contrition consists, first, of acknowledgment of our sins: unto which the penitent is " brought by hearing and considering the will of God declared in his laws, and feeling in his own conscience that " God is angry, and this joined with sorrow and shame, 42 " and fear of God's displeasure. That, secondly, it consists " of faith, trust and confidence in the mercies and goodness " of God: whereby the penitent must conceive certain " hope, and repute himself justified, not for any merit or " work done by him, but by the only merits of the blood " of Jesus Christ. That this faith is begotten and confirmed by the application of Christ's words and promises. " That confession to a priest, the second part of penance, is " necessary, where it may be had. That the absolution " given by the priest was instituted of Christ, to apply the " promises of God's grace to the penitent. And that the " words of absolution, pronounced by the priest, are spoken

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"by the authority given him by Christ. That men must "give no less faith and credence to the words of absolution, "pronounced by the ministers of the Church, than they "would give unto the very words and voice of God himself. "And that men in no wise contemn this auricular con-"fession. As to the third part of penance, *viz.* amend-"ment of life, that all are bound to bring forth the fruits of "penance, that is to say, prayer, fasting, and almsdeeds, "and to make restitution and satisfaction in will and deed "to their neighbour, and all other good works, or else they "shall never be saved. That works of charity be necessary "to salvation. That by penance and such good works we "do not only obtain everlasting life, but deserve remission "or mitigation of these present pains and affliction in this "world." Mark here, by the way, how the doctrine of merits is propounded: our merits do not extend to pardon and everlasting life, but only to the removal or abatement of temporal afflictions.

IV. *The Sacrament of the Altar.* "That under the form "and figure of bread and wine is verily and substantially "contained that very same body and blood, which was "born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross. "And that the selfsame body and blood of Christ is dis-"tributed unto, and received by, all the communicants. "That therefore this sacrament is to be used with all "due reverence and honour. And that before any re-"ceive it, he ought religiously to try and search his own "conscience."

V. *Justification.* "That the word signifies remission of "sins, and our acceptation or reconciliation into the grace "and favour of God. That sinners attain this justification "by contrition and faith, joined with charity. That neither "our contrition and faith, nor any work proceeding thence, "can merit or deserve the said justification. That the "mercy and grace of the Father, promised freely for Christ's "sake, and the merit of his blood and passion, be the only "sufficient and worthy causes thereof."

This was the sum of the articles concerning faith. Those concerning ceremonies followed next: which were likewise comprised under five titles.

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Articles relating to ceremonies.

I. *Of Images.* "That they be representers of virtue and "good example. That they be stirrers of men's minds, and "make them often to remember and lament their sins: "especially the images of Christ and our Lady. That it "was meet they should stand in the churches, but be none "otherwise esteemed. That the bishops and preachers diligently teach the people according to this doctrine, lest 43 "there might fortune idolatry to ensue. That they be "taught also that censing, kneeling, and offering to images, "be by no means to be done, (although the same had "entered by devotion, and fallen to custom,) but only to "God and in his honour, though it be done before the "images."

II. *Of honouring Saints.* "That they are to be honoured, but not with that confidence and honour that is due "only unto God, trusting to attain at their hands that "which must be had only of God. That most especially "Christ is to be lauded and praised in them for their excellent virtues, which he planted in them; and for their "good example. And that they are to be taken, wherein "they may, to be the advancers of our prayers and demands unto Christ."

III. *Of praying to Saints.* "That though grace and remission of sins be to be obtained only of God, by the "mediation of Christ; yet it is very laudable to pray to saints "in heaven to be intercessors, and to pray for us and with us "unto God, after this manner: *All holy angels and saints* "*in heaven, pray for us and with us unto the Father, that for* "*his dear Son Jesus Christ his sake, we may have grace of him,* "*and remission of our sins, with an earnest purpose* (*not wanting ghostly strength*) *to observe and keep his holy commandments, and never to decline from the same again unto our* "*lives' end.* That in this manner we may pray to our blessed "Lady, Saint John Baptist, or any other saint particularly: so that it be done without any vain superstition; "as to think that any saint is more merciful, or will hear "us sooner than Christ; or that any saint does serve for "one thing more than another. That holy-days are to be "kept to God, in memory of him and his saints, upon such

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"days as the Church hath ordained: but may be mitigated "and moderated by the King, being Supreme Head."

IV. *Of Rites and Ceremonies.* "As vestments in God's "service, sprinkling holy water, giving holy bread, bearing "candles on Candlemas-day, giving of Ashes on Ash-Wednesday, bearing of palms on Palm-Sunday; creeping to "the cross, and kissing it, and offering unto Christ before "the same on Good-Friday; setting up the sepulchre of "Christ, hallowing of the font, and other like exorcisms "and benedictions, and laudable customs: that these are "not to be contemned and cast away, but continued, to put "us in remembrance of spiritual things. But that none of "these ceremonies have power to remit sin."

V. *Of Purgatory.* "That Christians are to pray for souls "departed, and to commit them in their prayers to God's "mercy, and cause others to pray for them in masses and "exequies; and to give alms to others to pray for them, "that they may be relieved and holpen of some part of "their pain. But because the place where they be, the "name thereof, and kinds of pain there, is to us uncertain "by Scripture, therefore we remit this, with all other "things, to Almighty God; unto whose mercies it is meet "to commend them. That such abuses be put away, "which, under the name of purgatory, have been advanced: 44 "as to make men believe, that, through the Bishop of "Rome's pardons, souls might clearly be delivered out of "purgatory, and the pains of it: or that masses said at "*scala cœli*, or otherwise in any place, or before any image, "might deliver them from all their pains, and send them "straight to heaven."

A conjecture, that the pen of the Archbishop was here.

These are the contents of that memorable book of articles. There are reasons added now and then to confirm the respective tenets there laid down, and many quotations of holy Scripture, which, for brevity sake, I have omitted; which one may conjecture to have been inserted by the pen of the Archbishop: who was the great introducer of this practice, of proving or confuting opinions in religion by the word of God, instead of the ordinary custom then used, of doing it by schoolmen and popish canons. We find indeed many popish errors here mixed with evangelical truths: which must either be attributed to the defectiveness of our prelate's knowledge as yet in true religion, or being the principles and opinions of the King, or both. Let not any be offended herewith, but let him rather take notice, what a great deal of Gospel doctrine here came to light; and not only so, but was owned and propounded by authority to be believed and practised. The sun of truth was now but rising, and breaking through the thick mists of that idolatry, superstition, and ignorance, that had so long prevailed in this nation, and the rest of the world, and was not yet advanced to its meridian brightness.

CHAP. XII.

Cranmer's Judgment about some Cases of Matrimony.

Two remarkable books published.

IN this year then came forth two remarkable books; whereof both the King, and the Archbishop and bishops, might be said to be joint composers: inasmuch as they seemed to be devised by the Archbishop, and some of the bishops; and then revised, noted, corrected and enlarged by the King.

I. The book of articles.

The one of these was the book of articles of religion, mentioned before. This book bore this title, *Articles devised by the King's highness to stable Christian quietness and unity among the people, &c.* With a preface by the King: where the King saith, he was constrained to put his own pen to the book, and to conceive certain articles. Which words, I leave to the conjecture of the reader, whether by them he be inclined to think that the King were the first writer of them, or that, being writ and composed by another, they were perused, considered, corrected and augmented by his pen.

II. A book against the Pope, called the Bishops' book.

The other book that came out this year was occasioned by a piece published by Reginald Pole, intituled *De Unione Ecclesiastica:* which inveighing much against the King for assuming the supremacy, and extolling the Pope unmeasur-

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ably, he employed the Archbishop, and some other bishops, to compile a treatise, shewing the usurpations of Popes; and how late it was ere they took this superiority upon them, some hundred years passing before they did it: and that 45 all bishops were limited to their own dioceses by one of the eight councils, to which every Pope did swear: and how the papal authority was first derived from the Emperor, and not from Christ. For this there were good arguments taken from the Scriptures and the Fathers. The book was signed by both the archbishops, and nineteen other bishops. It was called the Bishops' book, because devised by them.

Herbert's Life of King Henry, p. 418.

Certain cases of matrimony put to the Archbishop.

The Lord Crumwel did use to consult with the Archbishop in all his ecclesiastical matters. And there happened now, while the Archbishop was at Ford, a great case of marriage: whom it concerned I cannot tell, but the King was desirous to be resolved about it by the Archbishop, and commanded Crumwel to send to him for his judgment therein. The case was threefold.

I. Whether marriage contracted or solemnized in lawful age *per verba de præsenti*, and without carnal copulation, be matrimony before God or no?

II. Whether such matrimony be consummate, or no? And,

III. What the woman may thereupon demand by the law civil, after the death of her husband? This I suppose was a cause that lay before the King and his ecclesiastical vicegerent, to make some determination of. And I suspect it might relate to Katharine, his late divorced Queen.

His solution.

The Archbishop, who was a very good civilian, as well as a divine, but that loved to be wary and modest in all his decisions, made these answers.

That as to the first, he and his authors were of opinion, that matrimony contracted *per verba de præsenti*, was perfect matrimony before God. 2. That such matrimony is not utterly consummated, as that term is commonly used among the school-divines and lawyers, but by carnal copulation. 3. As to the woman's demands by the law civil, he therein professed his ignorance. And he had no learned men with him there at Ford to consult with for their judgments: only Dr. Barbar, (a civilian that he always retained with him,)

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who neither could pronounce his mind without his books, and some learned men to confer with upon the case; but he added, that he marvelled that the votes of the civil lawyer should be required herein; seeing that all manner of causes of dower be judged within this realm by the common laws of the same. And that there were plenty of well-learned men in the civil law at London, that undoubtedly could certify the King's majesty of the truth herein, as much as appertained unto that law: warily declining to make any positive judgment in a matter so ticklish. This happened in the month of January.

Refuseth to grant a dispensation for the marriage of a relation.

And indeed in these times there were great irregularities about marriage in the realm; many being incestuous and unlawful. Which caused the parliament, two or three years past, *viz.* 1533, in one of their acts, to publish a table of degrees, wherein it was prohibited by God's law to marry. But the act did not cure this evil: many thought to bear out themselves in their illegal contracts, by getting dispensations from the Archbishop: which created him much trouble by his denying to grant them. There was one Massy, a courtier, who had contracted himself to his deceased wife's niece. 46 Which needing a dispensation, the party got the lord Crumwel to write to the Archbishop in his behalf: especially because it was thought to be none of the cases of prohibition contained in the act. But such was the integrity of the Archbishop, that he refused to do any thing he thought not allowable, though it were upon the persuasion of the greatest men, or the best friends he had. But he writ this civil letter to the Lord Crumwel upon this occasion.

Cleopatra E. 5. His letter thereupon.

"My very singular good Lord, in my most hearty wise
"I commend me unto your Lordship. And whereas your
"Lordship writeth to me in the favour of this bearer,
"Massey, an old servant to the King's highness, that being
"contracted to his sister's daughter of his late wife deceas-
"ed, he might enjoy the benefit of a dispensation in that
"behalf; especially, considering it is none of the causes of
"prohibition contained in the statute: surely, my Lord, I
"would gladly accomplish your request herein, if the word
"of God would permit the same. And where you require

BOOK I.

Anno 1536. "me, that if I think this license may not be granted by the "law of God, then I should write unto you the reasons and "authorities that move me so to think; that upon declaration unto the King's highness, you may confer thereupon "with some other learned men, and so advertise me the "King's farther resolution. For shortness of time, I shall "shew you one reason, which is this. By the law of God "many persons be prohibited which be not expressed, but "be understood, by like prohibition in equal degree. As "St. Ambrose saith, that the niece is forbid by the law of "God, although it be not expressed in Leviticus, that the "uncle shall not marry his niece. But where the nephew "is forbid there, that he shall not marry his aunt, by the "same is understood that the niece shall not be married "unto her uncle. Likewise as the daughter is not there "plainly expressed, yet, where the son is forbid to marry his "mother, it is understood that the daughter may not be "married to her father; because they be of like degree. "Even so it is in this case and many others. For where it "is there expressed, that the nephew shall not marry his "uncle's wife, it must needs be understood that the niece "shall not be married unto the aunt's husband, because that "also is one equality of degree. And although I could "allege many reasons and authorities mo for this purpose; yet I trust this one reason shall satisfy all that be "learned, and of judgment.

Vid. Fox, Acts, p. 960.

"And as touching the act of parliament concerning the "degrees prohibited by God's law, they be not so plainly "set forth as I would they were. Wherein I somewhat spake "my mind at the making of the said law, but it was not "then accepted. I required then, that there must be expressed mother, and mother-in-law; daughter, and daughter-in-law; and so in further degrees directly upwards and "downwards, *in linea recta;* also sister, and sister-in-law; "aunt, and aunt-in-law; niece, and niece-in-law. And this 17 "limitation, in my judgment, would have contained all degrees prohibited by God's law, expressed and not expressed; and should have satisfied this man, and such "others which would marry their nieces-in-law.

"I have no news to send you from these parts; but I "much long to hear such news as be concurrent with "you. And therefore if you have any good news, I pray "you to send me some. Thus, my Lord, right heartily "fare you well. At Ford, the 7th day of September.

"Your Lordship's own,
"Tho. Cantuarien."

He restrains the number of proctors.

About this year, as near as I can guess, the Archbishop made an order concerning the proctors of his court of Arches. The numerousness and irregularities of proctors made these civil courts uneasy to the people. Complaints were made of their clamorousness, by reason of the plenty of them, that neither advocates nor judges could be heard: of the injuries they did to advocates, in retaining and concluding causes oftentimes without them: and of thrusting themselves into causes without the knowledge or will of the parties, and such like. The evils of which, long after endured, were endeavoured to be redressed by the canons and constitutions, made in the beginning of the reign of King James I. Our Archbishop conceived that, in order to the reformation of the proctors, it were good to begin at first with a restraint of the numbers of them. Wherefore he decreed, that whereas the number of the proctors in the court of Arches was heretofore about twenty, or four and twenty, and my Lord's grace at liberty to add more; thenceforth no more should be admitted till the number were reduced to ten: and then that number never to be increased. This liberty, which his predecessors always had, he willingly infringed himself of, out of no other intent but for the benefit and ease of the people, whom he saw were enticed to contention by the crafty insinuations of this kind of men, setting neighbours together by the ears for their own lucre. And therefore the fewer of them, the better. And this number he thought sufficient for the necessary business of the court.

Which some complain of to the parliament.

But some looked upon this as a crafty fetch, and plot of the proctors of that time, upon the good nature and pious disposition of the Archbishop: that so all others being excluded from officiating as proctors, they might have all

BOOK I. Anno 1536. the business of the Arches in their own hands. And hence might divers abuses come into that court. And for the confirmation of this order of the Archbishop for the tying of his hands, they, who were counsellors to the Archbishop in this matter, got it confirmed by the chapter and convent of Christ's Church, Canterbury. This giving offence to many, there were some who drew up a long paper against this order, and presented it to the consideration of the parliament; because it could be redressed no other way, the Archbishop having put it out of his own power to do it. In this paper they set forth, that the said statute was prejudicial unto the commonwealth, because the number of ten
48 proctors was not sufficient to dispatch the causes that came into that court: and so there must be delays and prolix suits, while these proctors were attending other causes in the Archbishop's court of audience, and the Bishop of London's court of consistory. Whereas before it had been seen by experience, that twenty proctors could not suffice for the managery of the causes in these courts, without delays and prorogations, from day to day. That causes by this means could not be diligently attended, when there were many causes, and few proctors to look after them. And hereby many good causes were like to perish for lack of good looking after. That this had occasioned the proctors to neglect a very good oath, called *Juramentum Calumpniæ;* which was the best provision that could be against unlawful suits, and lengthening them out further than was necessary. This oath was, that the parties or the proctors should swear, that they believed their cause was just, and that they should not use unlawful delays, whereby justice might be deferred; that they should answer the judge truly to what he should demand of them; that nothing should be given or promised to the judges or any other officer, besides the fees allowed by law; and that they should not procure any false witness. Again, this paper urged for a good number of proctors, that this would be a means that the judges could not so easily keep them in subjection and fear of them: whereby they had been hindered sometimes in speaking freely before them in their clients' causes. It was urged also, that it was a great discouragement to young men in

studying the law, when there is so little prospect of benefit thereby. Lastly, that it was contrary to the civil and canon law, that permits any man to be proctor for another, a few excepted. But this paper, notably enough written, may be read at large in the Appendix. And so I leave the reader to judge of the expediency of this order of the Archbishop, by weighing the Archbishop's reasons with these last mentioned. Surely this his act deserved commendation for his good intentions thereby, though some lesser inconveniences attended, which no doubt he had also well considered before he proceeded to do what he did.

No. XVIII.

The Archbishop divorceth Queen Ann.

Life of King Henry, p. 446.

When Queen Ann, on May the 2d, was sent to the Tower, by a sudden jealousy of the King her husband; the next day, the Archbishop, extremely troubled at it, struck in with many good words with the King on her behalf, in form of a letter of consolation to him; yet wisely making no apology for her, but acknowledging how divers of the Lords had told him of certain of her faults, which, he said, he was sorry to hear: and concluded, desiring that the King would however continue his love to the Gospel, lest it should be thought that it was for her sake only that he had favoured it. Being in the Tower, there arose up new matter against Queen Ann, namely, concerning some lawful impediment of her marriage with the King: and that was thought to be a precontract between her and the Earl of Northumberland. Whereupon the Archbishops of Canterbury and York were made commissioners to examine this matter. And she, being before the Archbishop of Canterbury, confessed certain *just, true, and lawful impediments*, as the act in the 26 of Henry VIII. expresseth it; but not 49 mentioning what they were. So that by that act the said marriage is declared never to have been good, nor consonant to the laws. Yet the Earl of Northumberland, being examined upon oath before both the Archbishops, denied it: upon the truth of which, he received also the blessed sacrament. And the Lord Herbert saw an original letter to secretary Crumwel, to the same import. But her confession of it so far prevailed with the King, that he would be divorced from her; and with our Archbishop, that he performed it by due order and process of law. And an act passed, that the marriage between the King and Queen Ann was null and void, and the issue illegitimate.

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A license for a chapel. Cran. Regist.

The Archbishop granted a license, dated July the 24th, with the full consent of Richard Withipol, vicar of Walthamstow in Essex, to George Monoux, Alderman of London, and Thomas his son, to have the sacrament administered in his chapel, or oratory, in his house De Moones, now a farm near Higham-hill, in the said parish of Walthamstow: indulging therein to the wife of the said Thomas to be purified, or churched, in the same chapel. I the rather mention this, that it may serve to recall the memory of that pious and charitable citizen and draper, Sir George Monoux; who built the fair steeple of that parish-church, and allowed a salary for ever for ringing the great bell at a certain hour in the night and morning the winter half year. He built also the north aisle of the said church; in the glass-windows whereof is yet remaining his coat of arms. In the chancel his body was interred, under a fair altar-monument yet standing. In the church-yard he founded an hospital and free-school, and very liberally endowed it; though now the endowments are sadly diminished. He also made a causeway over Walthamstow-marsh to Lockbridge, over the river Lee, for the conveniency of travellers from those parts to London, and left wherewith to continue and keep it in repair; but that also is lost, and the ruins now only to be seen. But enough of that.

Bucer dedicates this year a book to the Archbishop.

The Germans conceived great hope of good to befall the church by Cranmer's influence and presidency in England; and took their opportunities of addressing to him. This year Martin Bucer published a large book in folio upon the Epistle to the Romans, intituled *Metaphrasis et Enarratio;* and dedicated it in a long Epistle to the Archbishop. Wherein are sundry expressions, which will shew, how well known abroad the Archbishop was already among the Protestants, and what an excellent bishop they looked upon him to be, and how fixed their eyes were upon him for doing great things towards a reformation in England. For thus he writ in this Epistle, *Te omnes prædicant animo præditum Archiepiscopo, et tanti, sicque ad gloriam Christi comparati regni, Primate digno, &c.* "That all men proclaimed him "endowed with a mind worthy of an Archbishop and Primate of so great a kingdom, and so disposed to the glory "of Christ. That he had so attained to this high estate in "Christ by his spiritual wisdom, holiness of life, and most "ardent zeal to render Christ's glory more illustrious; that, "gathering together the humble, and taking pity upon the "sheepfold, being indeed dispersed and scattered abroad, he "always sought and saved that which was lost, and brought 50 "back Christ's poor sheep to his fold, and the pastures of "everlasting life, when they had been before most miserably harassed by the servants of superstition, and the emissaries of the Roman tyranny." And after, speaking of the King's rooting out the usurpation of the Pope, and his pretended jurisdiction, by taking to himself the supremacy, the said learned man excited Cranmer to a further reformation, by telling him, "how easy now it would be for him, and "the other archbishops and bishops, who were endued with "the spirit and zeal of Christ, from the remainders of the "ecclesiastical administration, to retain what might contribute to the true edifying of consciences, the saving instruction of youth, and to the just discipline and polity of "the whole Christian people. For when the enemies were "once removed out of the way, there could not then happen "among us any extraordinary great concussion of religion "and ecclesiastical discipline, or any dashing one against "another, as among them in Germany of necessity came to "pass: striving so many years, for the Church of Christ, "against such obstinate enemies."

Bishops consecrated.

The consecrations this year were these.

Diocesan Bishops.

Richard Sampson. Cran. Regist.

June the 10th, Richard Sampson, doctor of decrees, and Dean of the King's chapel, was elected and confirmed Bishop of Chichester, by resignation of Robert Sherburn, who was now very old. No consecration set down in the register.

William Rugg. Godwin's Catal.

June William Rugg, a monk, was consecrated Bishop of Norwich. This is omitted also, if I mistake not, in the register. Probably he was consecrated with Sampson.

Robert Warton. Cran. Regist.

July the 2d, Robert Warton, Abbot of Bermondsey, was consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph, at Lambeth, by the Arch-

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bishop, John Bishop of Bangor, and William Bishop of Norwich, assisting.

Suffragan Bishops.

October 20, William More, B. D. consecrated Suffragan of Colchester, by John Bishop of Rochester, by virtue of the Archbishop's letters commissional to him, assisted by Robert Bishop of St. Asaph, and Thomas Bishop of Sidon. This More held the monastery of Walden in Essex, an house of Benedictines, *in commendam*, (where Audley-end now stands,) and surrendered it to the King 1539.

CHAP. XIII.

The Bishops' Book.

Anno 1537. The Bishops' book by the Archbishop's means.

THE pious Archbishop thought it highly conducible to the christian growth of the common people, in knowledge and religion, and to disentangle them from gross ignorance and superstition, in which they had been nursled up by their popish guides; that the Ten Commandments, the Lord's 51 Prayer, and the Creed, and the grounds of religion, should be explained soundly and orthodoxly, and recommended unto their reading. Wherefore he consulting with the Lord Crumwel, his constant associate and assistant in such matters; and by his and other his friends, importuning the King, a commission was issued out from him, in the year 1537, to the Archbishop, to Stokesly Bishop of London, Gardiner of Winchester, Sampson of Chichester, Repps of Norwich, Goodrick of Ely, Latimer of Worcester, Shaxton of Salisbury, Fox of Hereford, Barlow of St. David's, and other bishops and learned divines, to meet together, and to devise an wholesome and plain exposition upon those subjects, and to set forth a truth of religion purged of errors and heresies. Accordingly they met at the Archbishop's house at Lambeth. Their course was, that after they had drawn up their expositions upon each head, and agreed thereto, they all subscribed their hands, declaring their consent and approbation.

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Winchester's opposition. Fox MS. Life of Cranmer.

In the disputations which happened among them in this work, Winchester, the Pope's chief champion, with three or four other of the bishops, went about with all subtil sophistry, to maintain all idolatry, heresy, and superstition, written in the canon law, or used in the church under the Pope's tyranny. But at the last, whether overpowered with number, or convinced by the word of God, and consent of ancient authors, and the primitive church, they all agreed upon, and set their hands to a godly book of religion: which they finished by the end of July, and staid for nothing but the Vicar-general's order, whether to send it immediately to him, or that the Bishop of Hereford should bring it with him, at his next coming to the court. But the plague now raging in Lambeth, and people dying even at the palace-doors, the Archbishop desired Crumwel for the King's license to the bishops to depart for their own safety, their business being now in effect drawn to a conclusion. Soon after the bishops and divines parted, and the Archbishop hastened to his house at Ford near Canterbury.

The King makes animadversions upon it.

The book was delivered by Crumwel to the King; which he at his leisure diligently perused, corrected, and augmented. And then, after five or six months, assigned Crumwel to dispatch it unto the Archbishop, that he might give his judgment upon the King's animadversions. A pursuivant brought it to Ford. The Archbishop advisedly read and considered what the King had writ; and, disliking some things, made his own annotations upon some of the royal corrections: there especially, we may well imagine, where the King had altered the book in favour of some of the old doctrines and corruptions. And, when he sent it back again with those annotations, he wrote these lines to Crumwel therewith, on the 25th day of January.

Cleopatra E. 5.

"My very singular good Lord: After most hearty commendations unto your Lordship, these shall be to advertise the same, that as concerning the book lately devised "by me, and other bishops of this realm which you sent "unto me, corrected by the King's highness; your Lordship shall receive the same again by this bearer, the pursuivant, with certain annotations of mine own concerning 52 "the same: wherein I trust the King's highness will par-

Anno 1537. "don my presumption, that I have been so scrupulous, and "as it were a picker of quarrels to his Grace's book, "making a great matter of every little fault, or rather "where no fault is at all. Which I do only for this intent; "that because now the book shall be set forth by his Grace's "censure and judgment, I would have nothing therein that "Momus could reprehend. And I refer all mine annotations again to his Grace's most exact judgment. And I "have ordered my annotations so by numbers, that his "Grace may readily turn to every place. And in the lower "margin of this book, next to the binding, he may find "the numbers, which shall direct him to the words, whereupon I make the annotations. And all those his Grace's "castigations, which I have made none annotations upon, "I like them very well. And in divers places I have made "annotations; which places nevertheless I mislike not, as "shall appear by the same annotations."

Published. At length this book came forth, printed by Barthelet, in the year 1537, and was commonly called *The Bishops' Book*, because the bishops were the composers of it. It was intituled, *The Godly and Pious Institution of a Christian Man*; and consisted of a declaration of the Lord's Prayer, and of the Ave Mary, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the seven Sacraments. It was established by act of parliament, having been signed by the two archbishops, nineteen bishops, eight archdeacons, and seventeen doctors of divinity and law.

How esteemed. The opinion that the favourers of the Gospel had of this book in those times, may appear by what I find in a manuscript of the life of this Archbishop, by an unknown author, that wrote it soon after the said Archbishop's death: "A "godly book of religion, not much unlike the book set "forth by King Edward VI. except in two points. The "one was the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the altar: of the which opinion the Archbishop "was at that time, and the most part of the other bishops "and learned men. The other error was of praying, kissing, "and kneeling before images: which, saith he, was added "by the King, after the bishops had set their hands to the "contrary."

Inter Foxii MSS.

Enlarged and reprinted.

But this book came forth again two years after, *viz.* 1540, (unless my manuscript mistake this year for 1543,) very much enlarged, and reduced into another form, and bearing another name, *A necessary Doctrine and Erudition of any Christian Man.* And because the King had put it forth by his own authority, it was called now *The King's Book*, as before it was called *The Bishops'*. But that none might be confounded in these books, he may know that there was, in the year 1536, another book also called *The Bishops' Book*, upon the same reason that this was so called, because the archbishops and bishops had the making thereof. It was a declaration against the papal supremacy, written upon occasion of Pole's book of Ecclesiastical Union, mentioned before. And in the year 1533, there came forth another book in Latin, called *The King's Book,* intituled, *The Difference between the Kingly and Ecclesiastical Power:* reported 53
to be made, as Bale writes, by Fox, the King's almoner. Which was translated into English, and put forth by Henry Lord Stafford in King Edward's days. The King affecting to be thought learned, affected also to have books called by his name; not that he was always the author of them, but that they came out by his authority, and had undergone his corrections and emendations.

Lord Herb. Hist. p. 418.

Ibid. p. 408.

Bale's Cent.

Some account of the foresaid book.

But before we pass away from hence, it may be convenient to give the reader a little taste of so famous a treatise as that Bishops' book was in those days. And I will do it, not in my own words, but in the words of a very learned and eminent man, the answerer to Dr. Martin's book against priests' marriage, not far from the beginning of Queen Mary, supposed to be Ponet Bishop of Winchester, then in exile. Applying himself, in his preface, unto the Queen's prelates, he told them; "That in their book, intituled, *The* "*Institution of a Christian Man*, presented by their whole "authorities to the King of famous memory, King Henry "VIII., in the preface thereof they affirmed to his High-"ness, with one assent, by all their learnings, that the said "treatise was in all points concordant and agreeable to holy "Scripture: yea, such doctrine, that they would and desired "to have it taught by all the spiritual pastors to all the "King's loving subjects, to be doctrine of faith. And there

Anno 1537. "entreating of the sacrament of orders, they desired to have "it taught, that we be in no subjection to the Bishop of "Rome and his statutes, but merely subject to the King's "laws, under his only territory and jurisdiction. And that "the canons and rules of the church were therefore allowable in the realm, because the assent of the King and of "the people accepted the same. And that priests and bishops whatsoever never had any authority by the Gospel "in matters civil and moral, but by the grant and gift of "princes; and that it was alway, and ever shall be, lawful unto kings and princes, and to their successors, with "the consent of their parliaments, to revoke and call again "into their own hands, or otherwise to restrain all their "power and jurisdiction given and permitted by their authority, assent or sufferance, &c. Without the which, "if the Bishop of Rome, or any other bishop whatsoever, "should take upon them any authority or jurisdiction in "such matters as be civil, no doubt, said they, that bishop "is not worthy to be called a bishop, but rather a tyrant, "and an usurper of other men's rights, contrary to the laws "of God; and is to be reputed a subverter of the kingdom "of Christ. Yea, besides these things, and many other, as "he added, they put in our creed, or belief, as an article "of salvation or damnation, that the church of England is "as well to be named a catholic and apostolic church, as "Rome church, or any other church where the Apostles "were resident. And that they willed us to believe in our "faith, that there is no difference in superiority, preeminence, or authority, one over the other, but be all of equal "power and dignity; and that all churches be free from "the subjection and jurisdiction of the church of Rome. "And that no church is to be called schismatical, as varying from the unity of the church of Christ, if it persist in
54 "the unity of Christ's faith, hope, and charity, and unity "of Christ's doctrine and sacraments, agreeable to the "same doctrine.

Defence of Priests' Mar. p. 226.

"And that it appertained to christen kings and princes, "in the discharge of their duty to God, to reform and "reduce again the laws to their old limits and pristine "state, of their power and jurisdiction, which was given

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" them by Christ, and used in the primitive church. For " it is, say they, out of all doubt, that Christ's faith was " then most firm and pure, and the scriptures of God were " then best understood, and virtue did then most abound " and excel. And therefore the customs and ordinances " then used and made, must needs be more conform and " agreeable unto the true doctrine of Christ, and more con" ducing to the edifying and benefit of the church of Christ, " than any custom or laws used or made since that time. " This he collected out of their exposition of the sacrament " of orders."

The said learned author observed, that this doctrine was set forth by the whole authority of the bishops in those days, presented by the subscription of all their names. And since the time of their presenting thereof, by the space almost of twenty years, (that is, to the middle of Queen Mary,) never revoked, but continually from time to time taught by this book, and by such other declarations.

Names of the composers.

And that one more particular relating to this book may be known, namely, who the bishops and other divines were that composed it, and that were commissioned so to do, I shall record their names, as they were found writ by the hand of Dr. Sam. Ward, in his own book, now in the possession of N. B. a reverend friend of mine; who hath well deserved of this history.

Thomas Cant. Jo. Lond. Steph. Winton. Jo. Exon. Jo. Lincoln. Jo. Bathon. Roland. Coven. et Lich. Tho. Elien. Nic. Sarum. Jo. Bang. Edward Heref. Hugo. Wigorn. Jo. Roffen. Ric. Cicestr. Guilielm. Norv. Guilielm. Menevens. Rob. Assav. Rob. Landav. Edoard Ebor. Cuthb. Dunelm. Rob. Carliolen.

Richard. Wolman, Archidiac. Sudbur. Guil. Knight, Archid. Richmon. Jo. Bell, Archid. Gloc. Edmund. Bonner, Archid. Leicestr. John Skip, Archid. Dorset. Nic. Hethe, Archid. Stafford. Cuthb. Marshal, Archid. Nottingham. Rich. Curren, Archid. Oxon.

Gulielm. Cliff, Galfridus Downes, Robertus Oking, Radul. Bradford, Richardus Smith, Simon Matthew, Joannes Pryn, Guliel. Buckmaster, Guliel. May, Nic. Wotton, Ric. Coxe, Joannes Edmunds, Thomas Robertson, Joannes Baker, Thomas Barret, Joannes Hase, Joannes Tyson, sacræ theologiæ, juris ecclesiastici et civilis professores.

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In the year 1543, the same book was printed again, amended much both in sense and language: yet not having any step in the progress of the reformation more than the former, each edition expressing positively the corporal presence in the sacrament. But in this is much added about free-will, which it asserts, and good works. In 1544, the same was printed again at London in Latin, intituled, *Pia et Catholica Christiani Hominis Institutio.*

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CHAP. XIV.

The Archbishop visits his Diocese.

Goes down into his diocese.

AS soon as this business was over with the Archbishop and Bishops at Lambeth, no parliament sitting this year, and a plague being in London and Westminster, he went down, as was said before, into his diocese. But before he went, he expressed a great desire to wait upon the King, being then, I suppose, at Hampton Court, or Windsor; but he feared he should not be permitted, coming out of the smoky air, as he wrote to the Lord Crumwel, in that time of infection. Yet he desired to know the King's pleasure by him. He had a mind indeed to leave some good impressions upon the King's mind in the behalf of the book, that he and the rest had taken such pains about, and but newly made an end of. But whether he saw the King now or no, he had his commission, and took it down with him. Which he advisedly did, the better to warrant and bear him out in what he intended to do in his diocese, which he purposed to visit.

Gets a license to visit.

This was a year of visitation. For there was a new visitation now again appointed throughout all England; to see how the people stood affected to the King, to discover cheats and impostures, either in images, relics, or such like. The Archbishop also thinking good now to visit his diocese, procured the license of the vicegerent, Lord Crumwel, so to do:

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because, I suppose, all other visitations were to cease, to give way to the King's visitation. And to render his power of visiting the more unquestionable, and void of scruple, he desired the Vicegerent, that, in drawing up of his commission, his license to visit might be put into it by Dr. Peter; who was then, if I mistake not, master of the faculties to the said Vicegerent, and afterwards secretary of state. And because he would not do any thing without the counsel and allowance of the Vicegerent, he asked his advice, how he should order in his visitation such persons as had transgressed the King's injunctions. Which came out the year before under Crumwel's name: whereof some were for the restraint of the number of holy-days, a great cause of superstition, and of the continuance of it. And afterwards other injunctions came out: whereof the first was, that in all parishes, once every Sunday, for a quarter of a year together, the supremacy should be taught, and the laws to that intent read. These injunctions were in number eleven, as they are set down in the Lord Herbert's history. Pag. 472.

The Vicar of Croydon.

The Vicar of Croydon, under the Archbishop's nose, had been guilty of certain misdemeanours: which, I suppose, were speaking or preaching to the disparagement of the King's supremacy, and in favour of the Pope. Now before he went into the country, and having as yet divers bishops and learned men with him at Lambeth, he thought it advisable to call this man before them at this time. But before he would do it, he thought it best to consult with Crumwel, and take his advice, whether he should now do it, and before these bishops or not: so ticklish a thing then 56 was it for the bishops to do any things of themselves without the privity and order of this great Vicegerent. Cranmer was aware of it, and therefore required direction from him in every thing.

The Archbishop visits his diocese.

But whatsoever was done with this Vicar, the Archbishop was soon down in his diocese; and, having taken an account of the people and clergy, what conformity they bare to the King's laws and injunctions; he found them superstitiously set upon the observation of their old holydays. Some whereof he punished, and others he admonished, according to the degree of their crimes. And he

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discovered the chief cause to lie in the curates and priests, who did animate the people to what they did: indeed their interest and gain was concerned. The great inconvenience of these holy-days lay partly in the numerousness of them: so that the attendance upon them hindered dispatching, and doing justice in Westminster Hall in the terms, and the gathering in harvest in the country: partly in the superstitions that these holy-days maintained, in the idolatrous worship of supposed saints; and partly in the riot, debauchery, and drunkenness, that these times were celebrated with among the common people; and lastly, the poverty it brought upon the meaner sort, being detained from going about their ordinary labours and callings, to provide for themselves and families.

What course he took for the preventing of superstition.

For the prevention of these superstitions for the future, and to make the people more obedient to the King's laws, he gave out strict orders to all parsons of parishes, upon pain of deprivation, that they should cause the abrogated holy-days not to be observed for the future; and to present to the Archbishop all persons in their respective parishes, as should do contrary to any of the King's ordinances already set forth, or that should be hereafter by his authority, relating to the doctrine and ceremonies of the church. And this course he conceived so good an expedient, that he counselled the Lord Vicegerent, that all bishops in their several dioceses might be commanded to do the same, for the avoiding of disobedience and contention in the realm. By which means, he said, "the evil-will of the people "might be conveyed from the King and his council, upon "the ordinaries: and so the love and obedience of the "people better secured to their sovereign." Such was his care of his prince, to preserve him in the affections of his people, that he was willing to take upon himself their enmity, that it might not light upon the King. But Cranmer had observed these holy-days were kept by many, even in the court under the King's eye; which he well knew was an example and encouragement to the whole nation. And therefore he signified to the Lord Crumwel, that they could never persuade the people to cease from keeping them, when the King's own household were an example unto the rest to break his own ordinances. See his letter to Crumwel in the Appendix.

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CHAP. XV.

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The Bible printed.

His joy at the publishing the English Bible.

HE was now at Ford; and it was in the month of August, when something fell out that gave the good Archbishop as much joy as ever happened to him in all the time of his prelacy. It was the printing of the Holy Bible in the English tongue in the great volume: which was now finished, by the great pains and charges of Richard Grafton the printer. Osiander, who knew the Archbishop well when he was the King's ambassador in Germany, saith of him, that he was *sacrarum literarum studiosissimum.* Indeed he always had a great value for the Scriptures, because they were the word of God: and extraordinary desirous he was, from the very first entrance upon his bishopric, that the people might have the liberty of reading it; and, for that purpose, to have it interpreted into the vulgar language. And so, by Crumwel's means, he got leave from the King that it might be translated and printed. The care of the translation lay wholly upon him; assigning little portions of this holy book to divers bishops and learned men to do; and, being dispatched, to be sent back to him. But he could not see his desire effected by these men, till it was happily done by other hands: and, to his inexpressible satisfaction, he saw the work finished in this year, about July or August.

Presents one by Crumwel to the King.

As soon as some of the copies came to his hand, one he sent to Crumwel, entreating him that he would present it from him to the King, (and no question he thought it the noblest present that ever he made him;) and withal to intercede with his Majesty, that the said book might by his authority be both bought and used by all indifferently. Both which Crumwel did. For which the Archbishop was full of gladness and gratitude; and wrote two letters to him

Anno 1537. soon after one another, wherein he thanked him most heartily, telling him, "How he had hereby made his "memory famous to posterity within the realm, among all "such as should hereafter be favourers of God's word: "and that he should hear of this good deed of his at the last "day. That for his part, it was such a content to his mind, "that he could not have done him a greater pleasure, if he "had given him a thousand pounds. And that such know-"ledge would ensue hereupon, that it should appear he had "done excellent service both to God and the King." He also particularly spake of the Bishop of Worcester, how highly obliged he was sure he was to him for this. But I refer the reader to his own letters, which follow.

Cleopatra E. 5. p. 329. Cranmer's Letters to Crumwel.

"My very singular good Lord; in my most hearty wise I "commend me unto your Lordship. And whereas I under-"stand, that your Lordship at my request hath not only "exhibited the Bible which I sent unto you to the King's "Majesty, but also hath obtained of his Grace, that the "same shall be allowed by his authority to be bought and "read within this realm; my Lord, for this your pains, 58 "taken in this behalf, I give you my most hearty thanks: "assuring your Lordship, for the contentation of my mind, "you have shewed me more pleasure here, than if you had "given me a thousand pounds; and I doubt not but that "hereby such fruit of good knowledge shall ensue, that it "shall well appear hereafter what high and excellent ser-"vice you have done unto God and the King. Which "shall so much redound to your honour, that, besides God's "reward, you shall obtain perpetual memory for the same "within this realm. And as for me, you may reckon me "your bondman for the same. And I dare be bold to say, "so may ye do my Lord of Worcester. Thus, my Lord, "right heartily fare ye well. At Ford, the xiii day of "August.

"Your own boundman ever,
"T. Cantuarien."

And in another letter, fifteen days after, he again renewed his thanks.

Anno 1537. Cleopatra E. 6. p. 292.

"My very singular and special good Lord; in my most "hearty wise I commend me to your Lordship. These shall "be to give you most hearty thanks, that any heart can "think, and that in the name of them which favour God's "word, for your diligence at this time in procuring the "King's highness to set forth the said God's word, and his "Gospel, by his Grace's authority. For the which act, not "only the King's Majesty, but also you, shall have a per-"petual laud and memory of all them that be now, or here-"after shall be, God's faithful people, and the favourers of "his word. And this deed you shall hear of at the great "day, when all things shall be opened, and made manifest. "For our Saviour Christ saith in the said Gospel, that who-"soever shrinketh from him and his word, and is abashed to "profess and set it forth before men in this world, he will "refuse him at that day: and contrary, whosoever con-"stantly doth profess him and his word, and studieth to set "that forward in this world, Christ will declare the same at "the last day before his Father and all his angels, and take "upon him the defence of those men."

Some further particulars concerning this edition of the Bible.

Now because by these letters of the Archbishop it appears how instrumental Crumwel was, when the Bible was printed, to procure the setting it forth by the King's authority, I will here relate more at large what countenance and assistance he gave to this pious work all along, and those that were concerned and employed in the doing of it.

The Bible, as Fox speaks, had been printed in the year 1532, and reprinted again four or five years after. The undertakers and printers were Grafton and Whitchurch, who printed it at Hamburgh. The corrector was John Rogers, a learned divine, afterwards a Canon of St. Paul's in King Edward's time, and the first martyr in the next reign. The translator was William Tyndal, another learned martyr, with the help of Miles Coverdale, after Bishop of 59 Exeter. But before all this second edition was finished, Tyndal was taken and put to death for his religion, in Flanders, in the year 1536. And his name then growing into ignominy, as one burnt for an heretic, they thought it might prejudice the book, if he should be named for the

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translator thereof: and so they used a feigned name, calling it Thomas Matthew's Bible; though Tyndal, before his death, had finished all but the Apocrypha, which was translated by Rogers abovesaid, who added also some marginal notes. In this Bible were certain prologues, and a special table collected of the commonplaces in the Bible, and texts of Scripture for proving the same; and chiefly the commonplaces of the Lord's Supper, the marriage of priests, and the mass: of which it was there said, that it was not to be found in Scripture. This Bible giving the clergy offence, was gotten to be restrained.

The printer's thanks and requests to Crumwel.

When Grafton had finished this work, and printed off fifteen hundred Bibles at his great charge, amounting to five hundred pounds, (a round sum in those days,) the Lord Crumwel desired to have six of his books: which he forthwith sent by his servant, a clear man of all suspicion of any infection, coming that day out of Flanders, Grafton not adventuring to come himself with the books, because of the infection at London, where he was. These books therefore he sent, together with a letter of thanks for being so assistant in the publication, (which, as he writ in his letter, the Archbishop said, the tidings of did him more good than the gift of ten thousand pounds,) and for procuring the King's license, which was thought fit to be signified in the titlepage in red letters, thus, *Set forth by the King's most gracious license.* But several would not believe the King had licensed it: and therefore he desired further of Crumwel, that he would get it licensed under the privy seal, which would be a defence for the present, and for the future. But take the letter as Grafton himself penned it.

Grafton to Crumwel. Cleopatra E. 5.

" Most humbly beseeching your Lordship to understand, " that, according to your request, I have sent your Lordship " six Bibles; which gladly I would have brought myself, " but because of the sickness which remaineth in the city: " and therefore I have sent them by my servant, which this " day came out of Flanders. Requiring your Lordship, if " I may be so bold as to desire you, to accept them as my " simple gift, given to you for those most godly pains; for " which the heavenly Father is bound, even of his justice, to

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"reward you with the everlasting kingdom of God. For "your Lordship's moving our most gracious Prince to the "allowance and licensing of such a work, hath wrought "such an act worthy of praise, as never was mentioned in "any chronicle in this realm: and, as my Lord of Canterbury said, the tidings thereof did him more good than "the gift of 10000*l.*, yet certain there are which believe "not that it pleased the King's Grace to license it to go "forth. Wherefore if your Lordship's pleasure were such, "that we might have it licensed under your privy seal, it 60 "would be a defence at this present, and in time to come, "for all enemies and adversaries of the same. And forasmuch as this request is for the maintenance of the Lord's "word, which is to maintain the Lord himself, I fear not "but that your Lordship will be earnest therein. And I "am assured that my Lord of Canterbury, Worcester, and "Salisbury, will give your Lordship such thanks as in "them lieth. And sure ye may be, that the heavenly "Lord will reward you for the establishment of his glorious "truth. And what your Lordship's pleasure is in this request, if it may please your Lordship to inform my "servant, I and all that love God heartily are bound to "pray for your preservation all the days of our life. At "London the xxviii day of this present month of August, "1537.

"Your orator while he liveth,
"Richard Grafton, Grocer."

The printer apprehensive of another edition.

And as this printer had addressed to Crumwel for the privy seal, so he apprehended now a further need of the corroboration of authority upon another account. For some, observing how exceeding acceptable the English Bible was to the common people, were designing to print it in a less volume and smaller letters, whereby it would come to pass, that Grafton would be undersold; and so he and his creditors would be undone: and besides, it was like to prove a very ill edition, and very erroneous. Insomuch that Grafton affirmed, they would commit as many faults as there were sentences in the Bible. And it must needs be so, because then the printers were generally Dutchmen

Anno 1537. within the realm, that could neither speak nor write true English: nor for covetousness-sake would they allow any learned men at all to oversee and correct what they printed, as formerly it had been printed, but paper, letter, ink and correction would be all naught. Therefore he desired one favour more of the Lord Crumwel; and that was, to obtain for him of the King, that none should print the Bible for three years but himself. And to move him, he said he was sure the Bishop of Canterbury, and other his special friends, would not be unthankful to him. He urged to him, that his whole living lay upon this point. And for the better and quicker sale of his books, he desired also, that, by his commandment in the King's name, every curate might be obliged to have one; that they might learn to know God, and to instruct their parishioners; and that every abbey should have six, to be laid in several places of the convent. He wished some commissions might be issued out to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of Sarum and Worcester; and they would readily cause this to be done in their dioceses. To which he earnestly added his own arguments to provoke Crumwel to yield to his request. This letter may be found in the Appendix.

Other requests of the printer.

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CHAP. XVI.

Many Suffragan Bishops made.

The feast of St. Thomas, &c. forbid.

IT was now forbidden by the parliament, and, in pursuance thereof, by the bishops in their several dioceses, that the feast of St. Thomas a Becket, the pretended martyr, should be celebrated any more; nor of St. Laurence, nor of divers others, the feasts of the twelve Apostles excepted, and of our Lady, St. Michael, and Mary Magdalene. Also the feast of the holy cross was forbid; and commanded, that none should presume to keep those feasts holy; that is, they should ring no bells, nor adorn their churches, nor go in procession, nor do other such-like things as belonged to the celebration of festivals. So when St. Thomas's eve

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came, which had used constantly by the Archbishops of Canterbury, and their domestics, to be celebrated by fasting, Archbishop Cranmer took no notice of that eve, but eat flesh, and supped in his parlour with his family. Which created much observation, it having never been seen before; the Archbishop thinking it unworthy that a man of that devotion to the see of Rome, and disloyalty to his natural prince, should be so religiously commemorated.

A Bishop Diocesan consecrated.

Robert Holgate consecrated bishop.

March the 25th, Robert Holgate, Master of the order of Sempringham, was consecrated Bishop of Landaff, in the chapel of St. Mary in the conventual church of Friars Preachers of the city of London, by John Bishop of Rochester, by virtue of letters commissional from the Archbishop to him; John Bishop of Bangor, and Nicholas Bishop of Sarum, assisting. This Holgate was either Abbot or Prior of St. Mary Watte, an house of Gilbertines, which he held *in commendam*, and surrendered in the year 1539.

Suffragan Bishops.

John Bird.

June the 24th, John Bird, S. Th. P. Provincial of the order of Friars Carmelites of the city of London, was consecrated suffragan of the see of Penrith, in Landaff diocese; and

Lewis Thomas.

Lewis Thomas, formerly Abbot of the monastery of Kynmer, suffragan Bishop of the see of Salop; both consecrated at Lambeth by the Archbishop. The assistant bishops at this consecration not mentioned in the register.

Some account of Bird.

Of Bird, a word or two; I find him in Norwich about the year 1531, busy with Bilney before his death. He was a person King Henry made use of; for in the year 1535, he, with Fox the almoner, and Bedel, a clerk of the council, were sent to Queen Katharine, divorced from the King, to forbear the name of Queen: which nevertheless she would not do. He preached certain sermons before the King against the Pope's supremacy. Bale, in his exposition upon the Revelations, makes him to be one of the ten horns that shall hate the whore. Godwin asserts of him, that he was once Bishop of Ossory. Bale, in his Centuries, mentions not 62

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at all his being an Irish bishop; but, naming his preferments, first calls him *Episcopus Penricensis:* in 1539, made Bishop of Bangor; and removed to Chester 1541. He was married, and therefore, upon Queen Mary's access to the crown, was deprived of his bishopric; but complied with the old religion. I find him alive in the year 1555, being then at Fulham at Bishop Bonner's, and there he lodged. Upon his coming, he brought his present with him, a dish of apples, and a bottle of wine. While he was here, he exhorted Mr. Hawkes, convented for pretended heresy before Bonner, to *learn of his elders, and to bear with some things, and be taught by the church, and not to go too far.* In that Queen's reign he became Bonner's suffragan, and Vicar of Dunmow in Essex.

Fox's Acts.

Thomas Morley.

November the 4th, Thomas Morley, formerly Abbot of Stanley in Sarum diocese, of the Cistertian order, was consecrated, in the chapel of Lambeth, suffragan of the see of Marlborough, by the Archbishop, assisted by John Bishop of Lincoln, and John Bishop of Rochester.

Richard Yngworth.

December the first, the Archbishop, according to the direction of the act for suffragan bishops, nominated to the King two persons, out of which he might elect a suffragan for Dover, *viz.* Richard Yngworth, Prior of the priory of Langley Regis, and John Codenham, both doctors in divinity. December the 8th, the King answered Cranmer's letter by his privy seal: wherein he appointed Yngworth to be consecrated for his said suffragan. And accordingly December the 9th, John Bishop of London, by virtue of commissional letters from the Archbishop, assisted by John Bishop of Rochester, and Robert Bishop of St. Asaph, consecrated the said Yngworth. On the 10th, the Archbishop issued out his commission to the said suffragan, ordaining him his suffragan by those presents, until he should think fit to withdraw his said commission again: signifying, that what he was to do was within his diocese and city of Canterbury, and jurisdiction of Calais, and the marches thereof; to confirm children, to bless altars, chalices, vestments, and other ornaments of the church; to suspend places and churches, and to reconcile them; to consecrate churches and altars new set up; to confer all the lesser orders; to consecrate holy oil of chrism and holy unction; and to perform all other things belonging to the office of a bishop. The Bishop's letter to the King, desiring him to appoint him a suffragan out of those two above named, and the Archbishop's commissional letters to suffragan Yngworth, may be seen in the Appendix. And he that is minded to read the form of the King's mandate to the Archbishop for making a suffragan, may find it in the History of the Reformation.

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The reason why the Archbishop all this while, that is, from the first making the act in the year 1534, to this time, had nominated none for suffragan to this see till now, might be, because there seemed to be a suffragan already, even the same that had been in the time of Archbishop Warham, namely, John Thornton, Prior of Dover; who was one of the witnesses appointed by that Archbishop to certify what was found and seen at the opening of St. Dunstan's tomb. Richard Thornden seems to have succeeded Yngworth in this office some years after; and was very dear to the Archbishop, having been by him preferred to be Prebend of Canterbury; though he proved very false to him, and was among those that made a treacherous combination against him in the year 1543: and in Queen Mary's time became a great persecutor.

John Thornton suffragan.
See Sumner's Hist. Cant. Append. p. 423.
Richard Thornden.
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December the 9th, John Hodgkin, professor of divinity, was consecrated at the same time, and by the same bishops as above; but to what see is not mentioned. The Bishop of London, together with this Hodgkin, had nominated to the King Robert Struddel, professor of divinity. Both he recommended to the King, by letters, to be made suffragans at large, without mention of any see in his diocese; but only expressing that his diocese wanted the comfort of suffragans, that might bear a part in his cure; and so mentioned those two: adding, that the King might appoint them to some see within the province of Canterbury. Hodgkin, if I mistake not, was consecrated suffragan of Bedford: and was afterwards one of those that assisted at the consecration of Archbishop Parker. He was a Black Friar. In the year 1531, he, with Bird, laboured with Bilney at Norwich, a little before his death, to bring him off from the doctrines for which he was condemned. After-

John Hodgkin.

Anno 1537. wards Hodgkin coming nearer under the Archbishop's eye, by his means came to better knowledge in religion, and married a wife; but in Queen Mary's time put her away.

Henry Holbeach.

March 24, Henry Holbeach, Prior of the cathedral church of Wigorn, S. T. P. (Hugh Bishop of Wigorn having recommended him to the King for Suffragan Bishop of Bristow,) was accordingly consecrated in the Bishop of London's chapel, in the said Bishop's house, situate in Lambeth-marsh, by the said Bishop; Hugh Bishop of Wigorn, and Robert Bishop of St. Asaph, assisting.

CHAP. XVII.

The Bible in English allowed.

Anno 1538. The Archbishop reads upon the Hebrews.

THE next year I find the careful Archbishop again at Canterbury, looking after his charge. And here he read lectures upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Hebrews, half the Lent, in the chapter-house of the monastery of the Holy Trinity.

A declaration for reading the Bible.

Now, *viz.* 1538, the holy Bible was divulged, and exposed to common sale; and appointed to be had in every parish-church. And then, that the sacred book might be used with the more benefit, both of the clergy and laypeople, for this reason a declaration was issued out, to be read openly by all curates, upon the publishing of this Bible: shewing the godly ends of his Majesty in permitting it to be in English; and directions how they should read 64 and hear it. Namely, to use it with reverence and great devotion: to conform their lives unto it; and to encourage those that were under them, wives, children, and servants, to live according to the rules thereof: that in doubtful places they should confer with the learned for the sense, who should be appointed to preach and explain the same, and not to contend and dispute about them in alehouses and taverns. They that are minded to read this declaration may find it in the Appendix. This Bible was of so quick sale, that two years after it was printed again.

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The Bible received and read with great joy.

It was wonderful to see with what joy this book of God was received, not only among the learneder sort, and those that were noted for lovers of the reformation, but generally all England over, among all the vulgar and common people; and with what greediness God's word was read, and what resort to places where the reading of it was. Every body that could, bought the book, or busily read it, or got others to read it to them, if they could not themselves; and divers more elderly people learned to read on purpose. And even little boys flocked among the rest to hear portions of the holy Scripture read. One William Maldon, happening in the company of John Fox, in the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and Fox being very inquisitive after those that suffered for religion in the former reigns, asked him, if he knew any that were persecuted for the Gospel of Jesus Christ, that he might add it to his book of martyrs; he told him, he knew one that was whipped by his own father in King Henry's reign for it. And when Fox was very inquisitive who he was, and what was his name, he confessed it was himself: and upon his desire he wrote out all the circumstances. Namely, that when the King had allowed the Bible to be set forth to be read in all churches, immediately several poor men in the town of Chelmsford in Essex, where his father lived and he was born, bought the New Testament, and on Sundays sat reading of it in the lower end of the church: many would flock about them to hear their reading; and he among the rest, being then but fifteen years old, came every Sunday to hear the glad and sweet tidings of the Gospel. But his father observing it, once angrily fetched him away, and would have him to say the Latin mattins with him: which grieved him much. And as he returned at other times to hear the Scripture read, his father still would fetch him away. This put him upon the thoughts of learning to read English, that so he might read the New Testament himself: which when he had by diligence effected, he and his father's apprentice bought the New Testament, joining their stocks together; and, to conceal it, laid it under the bed-straw, and read it at convenient times. One night, his father being asleep, he and his mother chanced to discourse

Inter Foxii MSS.

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concerning the crucifix, and kneeling down to it, and knocking on the breast then used, and holding up the hands to it, when it came by on procession: this he told his mother was plain idolatry, and against the commandment of God, where he saith, *Thou shalt not make any graven image, nor bow down to it, nor worship it.* His mother, 65 enraged at him for this, said, " Wilt thou not worship the cross, which was about thee when thou wert christened, and must be laid on thee when thou art dead ?" In this heat the mother and son departed, and went to their beds. The sum of this evening's conference she presently repeats to her husband: which he impatient to hear, and boiling in fury against his son, for denying worship to be due to the cross, arose up forthwith, and goes into his son's chamber, and, like a mad zealot, taking him by the hair of his head with both his hands, pulled him out of the bed, and whipped him unmercifully. And when the young man bore this beating, as he related, with a kind of joy, considering it was for Christ's sake, and shed not a tear; his father, seeing that, was more enraged, and ran down and fetched an halter, and put it about his neck, saying he would hang him. At length, with much entreaty of the mother and brother, he left him almost dead. I extract this out of the original relation of the person himself, wrote at Newington, near London, where he afterwards dwelt. Which relation he gave to John Fox.

The Archbishop had a hand in Lambert's death.

This year Nicolson, a very learned man, greatly acquainted with Tindal and Frith, and who, by reason of trouble from the bishops formerly, for the better concealing of himself for time to come, called himself Lambert, was adjudged to the flames, and cruelly burnt. Wherein our Archbishop and the Lord Crumwel unhappily had their hands; the one in reading the sentence against him *De Hæretico comburendo*, by the King's commandment: and the Archbishop, first in having him before him in a judiciary way, and afterwards in disputing publicly against him in favour of the doctrine of the corporal presence. The first occasion of Lambert's troubles was this. At the hearing of a sermon of Dr. Taylor, (he who was afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, and a favourer of the Gospel,) preached by him at

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St. Peter's, Cornhill, he came and presented him with ten reasons against transubstantiation, written by him. Dr. Taylor, by Dr. Barnes his means, who, though in other things he favoured a reformation, and suffered death upon the six articles, yet was hot against sacramentaries at this time, thinking the broaching that doctrine might throw in some impediment to the progress of the Gospel; Dr. Taylor, I say, by Barnes his advice, carried these reasons to the Archbishop. Who, upon this, conventing Lambert before him, endeavoured to reclaim him, by holding much discourse with him. The news of this came to the court. And by the instigation of the Bishop of Winchester, the King resolved to dispute with him himself in a very public and solemn manner: and that because he had appealed from the bishops to the King.

The bishops dispute against Lambert's reasons.

The day being come, and the King present, with all his bishops on the right hand, and his nobles on the left, accompanied with his lawyers and other attendants, on purpose to terrify him, and to make an open signification, that though he had cast off the papal supremacy, yet he intended not to be a favourer of heresy so called; first commanded Richard Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, (Fox saith it was Day Bishop of Chichester; but in that he was mistaken,for he was not yet bishop,) to begin, and give the reason of the meeting. He appointed the bishops now present to answer Lambert's ten reasons, as Fox; or his eight, as the Bishop 66
of Chichester in his declaration mentioned. The Archbishop answered the second, for the King himself had disputed against the first. The Archbishop, according to his mild temper, but withal according to the false opinion which he then most confidently maintained, styling him Brother Lambert, desired the matter might be decided indifferently between them: and that if he convinced Lambert by Scripture, Lambert would be willing to come over from his opinion: but if Lambert, on the other hand, could by Scripture convince him, he promised to embrace his opinion. Then he fell upon Lambert's reason, which was taken out of the Acts of the Apostles, where Christ appeared unto Paul by the way: disputing from that place, that it was not disagreeable to the word of God, that the body of Christ

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may be in two places at once: which being in heaven, was seen the same time by St. Paul upon the earth. And, said the Archbishop, "If it may be in two places, why, by the like reason, may it not be in many places?" In what order and course the rest of the bishops disputed, or rather baited this poor man, it is uncertain; only Winchester had the sixth place, Tunstal of Durham next to him, and next Stokesly Bishop of London. Richard Bishop of Chichester, who was reputed a man of great learning, had his course, to whose turn it came to confute Lambert's sixth reason, which was taken from that of St. Paul to the Romans, *Who hath ascended up to heaven, to bring Christ down from thence?* His argument is preserved in the Cotton library. I refer the reader to the Appendix, where he shall meet with it. Whereby may be seen after what a haughty and indecent manner this meek confessor of Christ was dealt with: as though they designed rather to run him down, and browbeat him, than answer him.

Rom. x.

Cleopatra E. 5.

No. XXIV.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Archbishop's judgment of the Eucharist.

Cranmer zealous for the corporal presence.

BUT to return to Cranmer, whose opinion in the point of the sacrament we will stay a little upon. He was now a strong stickler for the carnal presence, and seemed greatly prejudiced to that opinion. There was one Joachim Vadianus, a learned man of St. Gal in Helvetia, and an acquaintance of the Archbishop's. He had framed a treatise, intituled, *Aphorisms upon the consideration of the Eucharist*, in six books: which were intended to prove no corporal presence. This book he presented to the Archbishop: but though he loved him as a learned man, yet he declared himself much displeased with his argument; and wrote to him, "that he wished he had employed his study to better "purpose, and that he had begun his correspondence with "him in some better and more approved subject: adding, "that he would be neither patron nor approver of that “doctrine, until he saw stronger proofs for it.” And so much did he dislike Œcolampadius and Zuinglius their opinion in this matter, that he applied that censure of St. Hierom concerning Origen to them: “That *where they* 67 “*wrote well, nobody writ better; and where ill, nobody* “*worse.* And he wished those learned men had gone no “further than to confute papistical errors and abuses, “and had not sown their tares with their good corn.”

His reasons for it.

That which detained our Archbishop in this error was the veneration he had for the ancient doctors of the church, whose writings, as he then thought, approved the doctrine of this gross presence; judging that none could ever reconcile those authors to the contrary opinion. Indeed he judged it the very doctrine of the Fathers from the beginning of the church: and he reckoned that it must be a truth, because otherwise it could not consist with God's goodness to his spouse, to leave her in such blindness so long. It seemed also that he built this his error upon the words of Scripture, taking the sense of *This is my body* literally.

Vadian by this book had intended to have brought Cranmer off from this opinion. And before him several attempts had been made that way; but he remained so rooted therein, that he seemed to be ever unmoveable. He supposed also, that the giving up this doctrine would prove a great impediment to the work of the Gospel, that now proceeded well in the nation. He advised and beseeched all, both Lutherans and Zuinglians, that the churches of Christ would lay aside their controversies in that matter, and agree and unite in a Christian concord together, that they might propagate one sound pure doctrine, consonant to the discipline of the primitive church: and this would be the way to convert even Turks themselves to the obedience of the Gospel. But I recommend the reader to the Archbishop's own letter to the said Vadianus; wherein he may see how fast and firm he stuck to this doctrine in these days. He will find it in the Appendix. No. XXV.

Sanders's slanders of the Archbishop concerning his opinion in the Sacrament.

Sanders, in his lying book of the English Schism, would make his reader believe that Cranmer was of this opinion for another reason, namely, because his master King Henry thought so: and that he had so devoted himself to him,

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that he in all things whatsoever believed, and did, in conformity to him: giving Cranmer therefore the nickname of Henricianus. But we must attribute that suggestion to the well-known venomous pen of that man, who cared not what he writ so he might but throw his dirt upon the reformation and the reformers. The said author with the same malice would have it, that Cranmer was very variable and inconstant, having been first for a corporeal presence, afterwards a Lutheran, and then a Calvinist: and that he thus changed his opinion, as a sycophant and flatterer, to comply with every man's humour that was uppermost. That all the time of King Henry, he remained of that King's opinion, who was a vehement enemy to Luther; but when he was dead, he became wholly Lutheran, and put forth a catechism, dedicated to King Edward, and printed it; in which he taught, that every christian that received the sacrament, either under the bread, or in the bread, or with the bread, certainly received into his mouth the very true body and blood of Christ. But that scarce a month passed, when the wretch (that is his word) understood that the Duke of Somerset, the King's governor, was a Calvinist, 68 and not a Lutheran; what should he do? He printed his catechism again, changed the word; and of an Henrician and a Lutheran became a Calvinist.

When Cranmer changed his opinion.

But to give a more true and respectful account of our Archbishop, as to his continuance in this opinion, and his change of it. Hitherto we have seen his opinion for a corporal presence. In the next year, (*viz.* 1539,) I find one Adam Damplip of Calais, a learned preacher, convented before him, and several other bishops, for not holding the real presence. From which opinion the Archbishop, with the rest, did endeavour to bring him off: though then he marvelled much at the answers that Damplip made, and confessed openly and plainly, that the Scripture knew no such term as *transubstantiation*. In the year 1541, he had one Barber, a master of arts of Oxford, brought before him for denying the said corporal presence: the Archbishop disputed again earnestly for that doctrine against this man, yet could not but admire at his readiness in citing his places out of St. Augustin, nor could tell how to confute them, as

Mr. Raphe Morice his secretary related afterward to John Fox. And this tenet he held to the very last year of King Henry, that is, to the year 1546: when, by more mature and calm deliberation, and considering the point with less prejudice, and the sense of the Fathers more closely, in conference with Dr. Ridley, afterwards Bishop of Rochester, and his fellow-martyr, he at last quitted and freed himself from the fetters of that unsound doctrine; as appears by the epistle dedicatory before his book of the Sacrament in Latin, printed by the exiles at Embden. Which epistle we may give credit to, being written (as is thought) by Sir John Cheke, who well knew the Archbishop, and matters relating to him.

Anno 1538. **Acts and Mon. p. 1101.**

Latimer of the same judgment.

After Archbishop Cranmer and Ridley had changed their opinion, Latimer not long after changed his in this point: for, as they all three died martyrs at Oxon, I am willing to join them together here. It was but seven years before his burning that he relinquished that old error, that is, about the year 1547, as he confessed to Dr. Weston in his disputation. There is an argument the said Latimer made use of, to prove the deceit of the blood of Hales; which argument supposes him then of this opinion. It was pretended by the priests, that none could see this blood, but those that were confessed and absolved by the priest, and so clean in life; and their seeing of it was a sign they were so. But said Latimer in those times, for the exposing of this fraud; "Those wretches that scourged Christ, and "nailed him to his cross, did see his blood with their "bodily eyes, and yet were not in clean life. And we see "the self-same blood in form of wine, when we have con-"secrate, and may both see it, feel it, and receive it to our "damnation, as touching bodily receiving." We shall perhaps say more of the Archbishop's opinion in the eucharist, when we come to speak of his book relating to that argument.

Fox, p. 1581.

Divers priests marry wives.

Divers priests now, as well religious as secular, had married themselves, after the example of the Archbishop, who kept his wife secretly with him. But some of these married priests were so indiscreet, that they lived publicly and openly with their wives, though the ecclesiastical laws were in 69

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force against such marriages, nor had they any allowances by the King and realm in parliament; only some had dispensations (as it is said) from the Archbishop. Therefore the King, pressed by some of the papists about him, (who began now, after Lambert's death, to listen to them,) set forth a proclamation, November 16, for the stopping of such matrimonies. Which ran in this tenor.

The King's proclamation against priests' marriages.

"That the King's Majesty understanding that a few in "number of this his realm, being priests, as well religious "as other, had taken wives, and married themselves, &c. "His Highness in no wise minding that the generality of "the clergy of this his realm should, with the example of "such a few number of light persons, proceed to marriage "without a common consent of his Highness, and his realm; "did therefore straitly charge and command, as well all "and singular the said priests as have attempted marriages, "that be openly known, as all such as would presumptuously "proceed to the same, that they, ne any of them, should "minister any sacrament, or other ministry mystical: ne "have any office, dignity, cure, privilege, profit, or commodity, heretofore accustomed and belonging to the "clergy of this realm; but should be utterly, after such "marriages, expelled and deprived from the same; and be "had and reputed as lay-persons to all intents and purposes. "And that such as should after this proclamation, contrary "to his commandment, of their presumptuous mind, take "wives and be married, should run in his Grace's indignation, and suffer further punishment and imprisonment at "his Grace's will and pleasure. *Dat.* xvi. *Novembris*, "*anno regni sui* xxx."

Wherein we may observe what a particular regard the King had for the Archbishop in relation to his wife, that the danger of the proclamation might not reach him, by limiting the penalty, not to such as were married and kept their wives secretly, but to such as should marry hereafter, and such as kept them openly. And we may observe further, that it seemed to be in the King's mind in due time to tolerate marriages to priests by act of parliament, which that clause seems to import, that these priests had married themselves *without a common consent of his Highness and his*

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realm. And Bishop Ponet, or whoever else was the author of the defence of priests' marriage, assures us, that the King intended to permit priests to take wives, knowing how necessary it was to grant that liberty; and he affirms, that it was not unknown to divers that heard him speak oft of that matter: but was hindered by some jealous counsellors, that pretended how ill the people would take it, had it been done by his authority.

Defence of Priests' Marriage, p. 198.

Anabaptists.

The sect of Anabaptists did now begin to pester this church; and would openly dispute their principles in taverns and public places, and some of them were taken up. Many also of their books were brought in and printed here also: which was the cause that the King now set out a severe proclamation against them and their books. To which he joined the Sacramentaries, as lately with the other come into the land; declaring, "That he abhorred and detested "their errors; and that those that were apprehended he "would make examples. Ordering, that they should be "detected, and brought before the King or his council; 70 "and that all that were not should in eight or ten days "depart the kingdom. This proclamation may be read in "the Appendix, Num. VIII. where I have misplaced "it."

A commission against them. Cran. Regist.

A commission also was then given out to the Archbishop, to John Bishop of Lincoln, Richard Bishop of Chichester, and others, against this sect. Which commission was signed at the bottom by Thomas Crumwel.

The waywardness of the priests. Cleopat. E. 6. p. 222.

It was observed that the parsons, vicars, and curates did read confusedly the word of God, and the King's injunctions, lately set forth, and commanded by them to be read: humming and hawking thereat, that almost no man could understand the meaning of the injunction. And they secretly suborned certain spreaders of rumours and false tales in corners, who interpreted the injunctions to a false sense. And because there was an order that all christenings, marriages, and burials should be registered from time to time, and the books surely kept in the parish churches, they blew abroad, that the King intended to make new exactions at all christenings, weddings, and burials: adding, that therein the King went about to take away the liberties of the realm,

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for which, they said, Thomas a Becket died. And they bad their parishioners, notwithstanding what they read, being compelled so to do, that they should do as they did in times past, to live as their fathers; and that the old fashion is the best: and other crafty and seditious parables they gave out among them.

Occasions the King to write to the justices.

This forced the King to write his letters to the justices of peace, to take up such seditious parsons, vicars, and curates. And in these letters is explained the true reason of Thomas a Becket's contention with King Henry II. As, that he contended, that none of the clergy offending should be called to account, or corrected, but in the bishops' courts only, and not by the laws of the realm: and that no King should be crowned but by the Archbishop of Canterbury only.

He visits the diocese of Hereford.

The church of Hereford being now become vacant by the death of Fox, (an excellent instrument of the reformation,) the Archbishop committed the custody of the spiritualities to Hugh Coren, doctor of canon laws, and prebendary of that church, and by him visited the church and diocese, and gave certain injunctions to the parsons, vicars, and other curates there. These injunctions, as I find them in Cranmer's Register, were eight in number: which I shall not here insert at large, because they may be met with in the History of the Reformation. But in short, they enjoined the observation of the King's injunctions, given by his Majesty's commissaries in the year 1536. They enjoined, "that they should have, by the first of August, a whole Bible "in Latin and English; or at least a New Testament in the "same languages. That they should every day study one "chapter of the Bible or Testament, conferring the Latin "and English together; and to begin at the beginning of "the book, and so continue to the end. That they should "not discourage any laymen from reading the Bible, but "encourage them to it. And to read it for the reforma-
71 "tion of their lives, and knowledge of their duty; and not "to be bold and presumptuous in judging of things before "they have perfect knowledge. That they should, both in "their preachings and confessions, and in other their doings, "excite their parishioners unto such works as are command-

Cranm. Regist.

Par. i book iii. Collect. 12.

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" ed by God expressly: adding, that for this God should " demand of them a strict reckoning. And to teach them, " that other works, which they do of their own devotion, " are not to be so highly esteemed as the other: and that " for the not doing them, God will not ask any account. " That no friar have any cure or service in their churches, " unless he were dispensed withal and licensed by the " ordinary. That they admit no young person to the " sacrament, who never received it before, unless such person openly in the church, after mass upon a holy-day, say " the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments. That they twice a quarter declare the bands of " matrimony, and the danger of using their bodies, but with " such persons as they might by the law of God; and that " no privy contracts be made, as they would avoid the extreme peril of the laws of the realm."

No diocesan bishop consecrated this year.

Bishops Suffragans.

Bishops consecrated.

Robert Bishop of St. Asaph recommended to the King John Bradley, Abbot of the monastery of Milton, of the order of St. Benedict, or William Pelles, both bachelors of divinity, to the dignity of suffragan within the diocese [province rather] of Canterbury, mentioning no particular see. The Bishop of Bath and Wells also recommended two to the King, out of which to nominate a suffragan to some see within the province of Canterbury, *viz.* William Finch, late Prior of Bremar, and Richard Walshe, Prior of the hospital of St. John Baptist of Bridgewater.

Cranm. Regist.

William Finch.

April the 7th, William Finch was nominated by the King to the Archbishop to be consecrated for Suffragan of Taunton; and then consecrated in the chapel of St. Mary's, in the conventual church of the Friars Preachers, London, by John Bishop of Rochester, by virtue of letters commissional from the Archbishop, Robert Bishop of St. Asaph, and William Suffragan of Colchester, assisting. And,

John Bradley.

March the 23d, John Bradley was consecrated Suffragan of Shaftsbury, in the chancel of the parish-church of St. John Baptist in Southampton, by John Bishop of Bangor, by the letters commissional of Thomas Archbishop of

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Canterbury, John Ipolitanen. and Thomas Suffragan of Marleborough, assisting.

CHAP. XIX.

The Act of Six Articles.

The Archbishop makes Nic. Wotton commissary of his Faculties. Cranm. Regist.

THIS year, October the 6th, I meet with a commission, *ad facultates*, granted from the Archbishop to a famous man, Nicholas Wotton, LL. D. a man of great learning, and made use of by the King afterwards in divers embassies, and a privy counsellor to King Henry, and his three children successively Princes of the realm, and Dean of Canterbury 72 and York. This commission was in pursuance of a late act of parliament, to this tenor; that in whatsoever cases, not prohibited by divine right, in which the Bishop of Rome, or Roman see, heretofore accustomed to dispense, and also in all other cases in which the Bishop or see of Rome accustomed not to dispense, if so be they were not forbid by divine right; in these cases the Archbishop had power granted him to dispense. In this office he constituted Wotton his commissary or deputy for the term of his natural life. He succeeded Edmund Boner, Master of the Archbishop's Faculties, now preferred to the bishopric of Hereford. So that Cranmer took notice of the merits of this man, who was so much made use of afterwards in the church and state; and was of that great esteem and reputation, that he was thought on, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, for Archbishop of Canterbury. In the year 1528, he was doctor of laws, and the Bishop of London's official. In the year 1540, he was resident for the King in the Duke of Cleves' court; and had been employed in the match between the King and the Lady Ann of that house the year before; and perhaps this might be the first time he was sent abroad in the King's business.

Ath. Oxon. p. 124.

Anno 1539.

In the year 1539, the king took occasion to be displeased with the Archbishop and the other bishops *of the new learning*,

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The King offended with the Archbishop and some other Bishops.

Life of Cranm. inter Foxii MSS.

as they then termed them, because they could not be brought to give their consent in the parliament that the King should have all the monasteries suppressed to his own sole use. They were willing he should have all the lands as his ancestors gave to any of them; but the residue they would have had bestowed upon hospitals, grammar-schools for bringing up of youth in virtue and good learning, with other things profitable in the commonwealth. The King was hereunto stirred by the crafty insinuations of the Bishop of Winchester, and other old dissembling papists. And as an effect of this displeasure, as it was thought, in the parliament this year, he made the terrible bloody act of the six Articles: whereby none were suffered to speak a word against the doctrine of transubstantiation upon pain of being burnt to death as an heretic, and to forfeit all his lands and goods, as in case of treason. And moreover, it was made felony, and forfeiture of lands and goods, to defend the communion in both kinds, marriage in a priest, or in any man or woman that had vowed chastity: or to say any thing against the necessity of private masses and auricular confession. Which articles were plainly enough designed against any that should dare to open their mouths against these Romish errors, and especially to impose silence, and that on pain of death, upon many honest preachers that were now risen up, and used to speak freely against these abuses; and as a good means to keep the poor people still securely in their old ignorance and superstition.

The six Articles opposed by the Archbishop.

Life of King Henry, p. 512.

But before this act passed, marvellous great struggling there was on both parts, for and against it. But the side of the favourers of the Gospel at this time was the weaker, the King now inclining more to the other party, for the reason abovesaid, and for other causes: wherein I refer the reader 73 to the conjectures of the Lord Herbert. The bishops disputed long in the house, some for it, and some against it. The Archbishop disputed earnestly three days against it, using divers arguments to dissuade passing the act: which were so remarkable for the learning and weight of them, that the King required a copy of them. And though he was resolved not to alter his purpose of having this act made, yet he was not offended with the Archbishop's free-

Anno 1539.

dom, as knowing the sincerity of the man. Even those in the house that dissented from him were greatly taken with the gravity, eloquence, and learning he then shewed, and particularly the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk: who told him so at his table soon after; being sent by the King to him to comfort him under his dejection for this act, with Crumwel, and many other Lords. The papist writers say he opposed it because himself was a married man, and so it would touch him close: but it is plain that there were other of these six Articles which he utterly disliked; and especially he abhorred the rigorous penalty of the act. But hereupon he privately sent away his wife into Germany among her friends. On this side also were, beside the Archbishop, the bishops of Ely, Sarum, Worcester, Rochester, and St. David's: York, Durham, Winchester, and Carlile went vigorously the other way. Against the former the King himself argued, with his learning, out of the Scriptures; and would by all means prove these Articles thence. The parliament men said little against this bill, but seemed all unanimous for it: neither did the Lord Chancellor Audley, no, nor the Lord Privy Seal, Crumwel, speak against it: the reason being, no question, because they saw the King so resolved upon it. Nay, it came to be a flying report that the Archbishop of Canterbury himself, and all the bishops, except Sarum, consented. But this is not likely that Cranmer, who had so openly and zealously opposed it, should be so soon changed, and brought to comply with it. Nay, at the very same time it passed, he stayed and protested against it, though the King desired him to go out, since he could not consent to it. Worcester also as well as Sarum, was committed to prison: and he, as well as the other, resigned up his bishopric upon the act.

The arguments the Archbishop made use of at this time lost.

In the foresaid disputation in the parliament-house, the Archbishop behaved himself with such humble modesty, and obedience in word towards his Prince; protesting the cause not to be his, but God's; that neither his enterprise was misliked of the King, and his allegations and reasons were so strong, that they could not be refuted. Great pity it is, that these arguments of the Archbishop are lost; which I suppose they are irrecoverably, because Fox, that lived so

near those times, and so elaborate a searcher after such papers, could not meet with them; and all that he could do, was to wish that they were extant to be seen and read. However I will make my conjecture here, that I am apt to think that one of the main matters insisted on by him at this time was against the cruel penalty annexed to these Articles. For I find in one of the Archbishop's manuscript volumes, now in Benet College library, there is in this very year a discourse in Latin upon this subject, *Num in hære-* 74
ticos jure Magistratui gravius animadvertere liceat: Decisio Urbani Rhegii, Interprete Jacobo Gisleno. Anno 1539. Which book I suppose he might at this juncture have read over, and made use of.

The King's message to the Archbishop by the Lords.

The Dukes and Lords of parliament, that, as above was said, came over to Lambeth to visit and dine with him, by the King's command, used words to him to this tenor; "The King's pleasure is, that we should in his behalf "cherish and comfort you, as one that for your travail in "the late parliament declared yourself both greatly learned, and also discreet and wise: and therefore, my Lord, "be not discouraged for any thing that passed there contrary "to your allegations." The Archbishop replied, "In the first "place, my Lords, I heartily thank the King's highness for "his singular good affection towards me, and you all, for "your pains. And I hope in God, that hereafter my allegations and authorities shall take place, to the glory of "God, and commodity of the realm." Every of the Lords brought forth his sentence in commendation of him, to shew what good-will both the King and they bare to him. One of them entered into a comparison between the said Archbishop and Cardinal Wolsey, preferring the Archbishop before him for his mild and gentle nature; whereas, he said, the Cardinal was a stubborn and churlish prelate, that could never abide any nobleman. The Lord Crumwel, as Cranmer's secretary relates, who himself heard the words, "You, "my Lord," said he, "were born in an happy hour I suppose; "for do or say what you will, the King will always take it "well at your hands. And I must needs confess, that in "some things I have complained of you to his Majesty; "but all in vain, for he will never give credit against you,

MS. Lif
of Cranmer, in
C.C.C.C

Anno 1539. "whatsoever is laid to your charge: but let me, or any "other of the council, be complained of, his Grace will "most seriously chide, and fall out with us: and therefore "you are most happy, if you can keep you in this state."

A book of ceremonies laboured to be brought in.

The Roman zealots, having obtained this act of the six Articles, desisted not, but seconded their blow by a book of *Ceremonies to be used by the Church of England*, so intituled; all running after the old popish strain. It proceeded all along in favour of the Roman church's superstitious ceremonies, endeavouring to shew the good signification of them. The book first begins with an Index of the points touched therein; *viz.* "churches and church-yards, the "hallowing and reconciling them. The ceremonies about "the sacrament of baptism. Ordering of the ministers of "the church in general. Divine service to be sung and said "in the church. Matins, prime and other hours. Cere"monies used in the mass. Sundays, with other feasts. "Bells. Vesture and tonsure of the ministers of the church, "and what service they be bound unto. Bearing candles "upon Candlemas-day. Fasting days. The giving of "ashes. The covering of the cross and images in Lent. "Bearing of palms. The service of Wednesday, Thursday, "and Friday before Easter. The hallowing of oil and "chrism. The washing of the altars. The hallowing of "the font upon Saturday in the Easter-even. The cere-
75 "monies of the resurrection in Easter-morning. General "and other particular processions. Benedictions of bells or "priests. Holy water, and holy bread. A general doctrine "to what intent ceremonies be ordained, and of what value "they be." The book itself is too long to be here inserted; but such as have the curiosity may find it in the Cotton library, and may observe what pains was taken to smooth and varnish over the old superstitions. I do not find this book mentioned by any of our historians. The Bishop of Winchester, with his own pen, hath an annotation in the margin of one place in the book: and I strongly suspect he was more than the reviser of it; and that it was drawn up by him and his party, and strongly pushed on to be owned as the act of the clergy: for this year there was a convocation. The King had sent his letters, written March

Cleopatra E. 5. p. 259.

A convocation.

Anno 1539.

the 12th, in the 30th year of his reign, *viz.* 1538, to the Archbishop of Canterbury for summoning a convocation, to meet together at St. Paul's the second day of May. But this assembly, by the King's letters to him, was prorogued till November the 4th. At this convocation, I suppose, these Articles were invented and propounded to the house. All this long book, in behalf of the ceremonies, did our laborious metropolitan put himself to the pains of answering, and thereby hindered the reception of it: for concerning this, I do interpret that passage of Fox, *viz.* That the Archbishop confuted eighty-eight articles devised by a convocation, and which were laboured to be received, but were not. But to return to the six Articles.

The papists rejoice.

Great triumphing now there was on the papists' side, as appears by a letter wrote from some Roman catholic member of the house of Lords to his friend: which may be read in the Appendix. But after some time, the King perceiving that the said Archbishop and Bishops did this thing, not of malice or stubbornness, but out of a zeal they had to God's glory and the commonwealth, reformed in part the said six Articles, and somewhat blunted the edge of them.

No. XXVI.

Two priories surrendered to the Archbishop.

March 20, two commissions were sent to the Archbishop to take the surrender of two houses of religious persons; namely, that of Christ's Church, Canterbury, and that of Rochester.

The Archbishop and Crumwel labour with the King about the new bishoprics.

Towards the latter end of this year several new bishoprics were founded out of old monasteries; and several deaneries and colleges of prebends out of divers priories belonging to cathedral churches. Herein as Crumwel, so Cranmer had a great hand: who laboured with the King that in these new foundations there should be readers of Divinity, Greek, and Hebrew, and students trained up in religion and learning; from whence, as a nursery, the bishops should supply their dioceses with honest and able ministers: and so every bishop should have a college of clergymen under his eye, to be preferred according to their merits: for it was our Archbishop's regret, that the prebendaries were bestowed as they were. This complaint Bishop Burnet tells us he saw in a long letter of Cranmer's own hand.

Hist. Ref. P. i. p. 301

Bishops confirmed.

Anno 1539. Bishops this year.

In Archbishop Cranmer's register I find these bishops confirmed, their consecrations being omitted.

John Bell.

August the 11th, John Bell, LL. D. brought up in Balliol 76 College, and Archdeacon of Glocester, was confirmed Bishop of Worcester, upon the resignation of Bishop Latimer, in the chapel of Lambeth. He is styled in the register, the *King's Chaplain and Councellor.*

John Skyp.

November the John Skyp, D. D. Archdeacon of Dorset, and once Chaplain to Queen Ann Bolen, was confirmed Bishop of Hereford. The King's letter to the Archbishop to consecrate him bears date November 8.

CHAP. XX.

The Archbishop in commission.

Anno 1540. The Archbishop's enemies accuse him.

THE next year, *viz.* 1540, the Archbishop lost his great friend and assistant in carrying on the reformation; I mean the Lord Crumwel. And when he was, by popish craft and malice, taken off, their next work was to sacrifice Cranmer. And many were the accusations that were put up against him: and trial was made many ways to bring him to his death, or at least to bring him in disgrace with the King.

His honesty and courage in discharge of a commission.

And first, they thought to compass their ends against him by occasion of a commission now issued out from the King to a select number of bishops, whereof the Archbishop was one, (which commission was confirmed by act of parliament,) for inspecting into matters of religion, and explaining some of the chief doctrines of it. These commissioners had drawn up a set of articles, favouring the old popish superstitions: and meeting together at Lambeth they produced them, and vehemently urged that they should be established, and that the Archbishop would yield to the allowance of them; especially seeing there was a signification, that it was the King's will and pleasure that the articles

Anno 1540.

should run in that tenor. But they could not win the Archbishop neither by fear nor flattery; no, though the Lord Crumwel at this very time lay in the Tower. There was not one commissioner now on his part, but all shrank away, and complied with the time: and even those he most trusted to, *viz.* Bishop Hethe of Rochester, and Bishop Skyp of Hereford. The Archbishop, as he disliked the book already drawn up by them, so he presented another book, wherein were divers amendments of theirs. After much arguing and disputing, nor could the Archbishop be brought off, Hethe and Skyp, with a friend or two more, walked down with him into his garden at Lambeth, and there used all the persuasion they could; urging to him, that the King was resolved to have it so, and the danger therefore of opposing it. But he honestly persisted in his constancy: telling them, "that there was but one truth in the Articles to "be concluded upon, which if they hid from his Majesty, "by consenting unto a contrary doctrine, his Highness "would in process of time perceive the truth, and see how "colourably they had dealt with him. And he knew, he "said, his Grace's nature so well, that he would never after "credit and trust them. And they being both his friends, 77 "he bad them beware in time, and discharge their consciences in maintenance of the truth." But though nothing of all this could stir them, yet what he said sufficiently confirmed the Archbishop to persist in his resolution.

And his success therein.

The Archbishop, standing thus alone, went himself to the King, and so wrought with him, that his Majesty joined with him against all the rest of them; and the book of Articles passed on his side. When indeed this stiffness of Canterbury was the very thing his enemies desired; thinking that for this opposition the King would certainly have thrown him into the Tower; and many wagers were laid in London about it. So that this ended in two good issues; that the Archbishop's enemies were clothed with shame and disappointment, and a very good book, chiefly of the Archbishop's composing, came forth for the instruction of the people, known by the name of *A Necessary Erudition of any Christian Man:* a particular account whereof may be read in the History of the Reformation. This vexed Winchester

Hist. Ref. P. i. p. 286.

Anno 1540. to the heart, that his plot took no better effect: but he put it up till he should find other opportunities to attack him, which after happened, as we shall see in the sequel of this story.

Questions of religion to be discussed by divines, by the King's command.

But this matter deserves to be a little more particularly treated of: the King had, as was said before, appointed several of the eminent divines of his realm to deliberate about sundry points of religion then in controversy, and to give in their sentences distinctly. And that in regard of the Germans, who the last year had sent over in writing the judgment of their divines respecting some articles of religion; and had offered his Majesty to appoint some of their divines to meet some others of the King's, in any place he should assign; or to come over into England to confer together. And also in regard of a more exact review of the *Institution of a Christian Man*, put forth about two or three years before, and now intended to be published again, as a more perfect piece of religious instruction for the people. The King therefore, being minded thoroughly to sift divers points of religion, then started and much controverted, commanded a particular number of bishops, and other his learned chaplains and dignitaries, to compare the rites and ceremonies, and tenets of the present Church, by the Scriptures, and by the most ancient writers; and to see how far the Scripture, or good antiquity, did allow of the same. And this I suppose he did by the instigation of Archbishop Cranmer.

The names of the commissioners.

The names of the commissioners were these; Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, Lee Archbishop of York, Boner Bishop of London, Tunstal Bishop of Durham, Barlow Bishop of St. David's, Aldrich Bishop of Carlisle, Skyp Bishop of Hereford, Hethe Bishop of Rochester, Thirleby Bishop elect of Westminster; Doctors, Cox, Robinson, Day, Oglethorp, Redman, Edgeworth, Symonds, Tresham, Leyghton, Curwen, Crayford; where we may wonder not to see the name of the Bishop of Winton[c]: but if we con-

Hist. Reform. vol. i. p. 274.

[c] Whereas I had said, that the Bishop of Winchester was not in a commission there specified; it appears by Crumwel's speech, set down by the Bishop of Sarum, that that Bishop was then indeed a commissioner. Here my MS. deceived me. But be it noted what the Lord Paget testified before the commissioners

sider the reason the King gave why he left him out of the number of his executors, *viz.* because (as he told several noblemen then about him) that bishop was a turbulent wilful man; and if he were joined with them, they should 78 have no quiet in their consultations: the same reason we may conclude moved the King now, in these deliberations about religion, to lay him aside. These persons were generally learned and moderate men, and such as we may conjecture the Archbishop had the nomination of to the King: however, we may be sure Winchester was not idle at this time.

Seventeen questions upon the sacrament.

And first the doctrine of the sacraments was examined, by propounding seventeen distinct questions, drawn up, as I have reason to conclude, by the Archbishop, on which the divines were to consult: but each one was to set down in writing his sense of every of these questions singly and succinctly. These questions are the same with those in the History of the Reformation. The right reverend Author hath set down there the several answers that those bishops and divines, that he met with in Bishop Stillingfleet's manuscript, made to each question; which I shall not now repeat after him. But I find in a Cotton book a few pages that deserve (according to my poor judgment) to be transcribed, of something which is not in that history, being the answers of other bishops and divines in the same commission. The first is nameless; but for some reasons I believe him to be the Bishop of Durham. Each page consisteth of three columns; the middle column contains the questions. On one side-column is writ his answer to each question; on the other side-column are the King's notes upon the answer, wrote by his own hand. I refer the reader to the Appendix for this. There follow in the Cotton book, solutions of each of these questions by another, omitted by the Bishop of Sarum in his History. He is nameless also, but appears to have been some popishly affected bishop, but yet one that conversed much with the Archbishop, the

Part i. Collect. xxi. p. 201.

Cleopatra E. 5. p. 36.

Numb. XXVII.

at that Bishop's trial in 1549; namely, that because he was so wilful in his opinion, and addicted to the popish part, the King left him out of the commission for compiling the last book of religion. And what that book was I know not, unless the *Necessary Erudition*. [*From the Errata and Emendations to the first Edition.*]

Acts and Mon. first edit. p. 815.

Anno 1540.

Bishop of St. David's, and Dr. Cox, and was, I suppose, Thirleby, elect of Westminster: for in many places in the margin of his paper are set the names of those men; for what purpose I do not know, unless to signify their judgments as agreeable with his; though in these very places sometimes their minds and his differ. This man's answer also was perused by the King, who sometimes writ his own objections in the margin. This also I have cast into the Appendix. Numb. XXVIII.

The Archbishop's judgment upon these questions.

In the conclusion of this famous consultation upon these seventeen articles concerning the sacraments, (their resolutions being drawn up in writing under their own hands,) the Archbishop, having these discourses given into his hand for the King's use, drew up a summary of each man's judgment; which, together with his own, he caused to be written fairly out by his secretary, and so presented to the King. The Bishop of Sarum hath saved me the trouble of writing them out in this work, having presented them already to the world in his History, from another manuscript than the Cotton book which I make use of, which is a true original. The Archbishop's summary may be found among the collections in the said History, against the word *Aggreement* in the margin, and the Archbishop's own judgment against his name in the margin. At the conclusion of his paper, which he sent to the King, he subscribed thus, most warily and modestly, with his own hand;

Vol. i. book 3. Collect. xxi. Cleopatra E. 5.

> " *T. Cantuarien.* This is mine opinion and sentence at
> " this present; which nevertheless I do not temerari-
> " ously define, but refer the judgment thereof unto
> " your Majesty."

The judgments of other learned men concerning other points.

Besides these seventeen questions, there are in this choice Cottonian manuscript divers others propounded to another combination of bishops and divines, perhaps about this time, or rather, I conceive, three years before, with their answers under their hands thereunto, being called together in order to the composing the book called *The Institution.* As, concerning confirmation; Whether this sacrament be a sacrament of the New Testament, instituted by Christ, or not? What is the outward sign, and invisible grace, that is conferred in the same? What promises be made, that the said graces shall be received by this sacrament? The Bishop of Sarum hath printed among his Collections the resolutions of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London to these queries; having taken them out of this manuscript volume which I use. But there be here the opinions of many more, both bishops and other dignitaries of the Church: as namely, the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Ely, Rochester, Lincoln, Bangor, and Sarum. Then follows the opinion of the Bishop of London, and next of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Then come the judgments of Dr. Wotton, Dean of Canterbury; Dr. Barber, Archdeacon of Cleveland, and Warden of All Souls, Oxon, and one of the convocation in 1562; Dr. Bell, a civilian, employed in the King's business against Queen Katharine, Archdeacon of Glocester, and soon after Bishop of Worcester; Dr. Wolman, Dean of Wells; Dr. Marshall, Archdeacon of Nottingham; Dr. Cliff, Treasurer of the church of York; Dr. Edmunds, the same, I suppose, that was Master of Peter House, Cambridge; Dr. Downs, Chancellor of the church of York; Dr. Marmaduke, the same probably that was called Marmaduke Waldeby; Dr. Robinson, for Robertson, I suppose, Archdeacon of Leicester; Dr. Smith, he probably that was Professor of Divinity in Oxon; Dr. Buckmaster, and another nameless.

And as these learned men treated of this point of confirmation, so, by the various heads and discourses I meet with here, they all gave their judgments of divers other chief points of religion; as *De Fide*, *De Salvatione*, *De Matrimonio*, *De Pœnitentia*, *De Sacramentorum usu*, and *De auriculari Confessione:* where is a letter of the King's own writing, in answer to somewhat the Bishop of Durham had writ upon that argument. This royal letter the Bishop of Sarum hath printed in his History. *Of Priests' marriage*; whereof the King wrote a short discourse. *Of Pilgrimages*; *Of Purgatory*; of this there is a discourse wrote by Latimer: and after follows another by the King. Latimer's discourse is animadverted upon by the King's pen in the margin; *De utraque specie*. Three or four large discourses thereupon in favour of receiving in one kind: one whereof was part of the

Part i. Addenda to the Collect. No. XI.

King's answer to the German ambassadors that were sent hither about a treaty in the years 1538 and 1539. The second is part of an apology, by an English divine, to those 80 German protestants, for communion in one kind, and for private mass. And this latter probably is the Bishop of Durham's, because the correction of the paper (transcribed, as it seems, by his Secretary) here and there is his own hand.

So that some of these discourses were, I make no doubt, drawn up by the divines for the King's use, in order to his answer to the writing which the German agents the last year had composed, before their voyage home. But these papers, some English and some Latin, are so large, that they would too much swell this volume, and entangle the thread of the discourse, if I should here insert them: and therefore I must omit them, and proceed to other matters.

An act to prevent divorces.

In this thirty-second year of the King, by a seasonable law, a stop was put to an evil that now mightily prevailed: namely, the frequency of divorces. For it was ordinary to annul marriages, and divide man and wife from each other, who it may be had lived long together, and had children in wedlock: when, upon any disgust of man or wife, they would withdraw from one another; and so in effect make their children bastards, upon pretence of some pre-contract or affinity: which by the Pope's law required a divorce. The King himself took particular care of this act, and there were two rough draughts of it, which I have seen in the Cotton library: both which he himself revised diligently, and corrected with his own pen. These divorces the Archbishop highly disliked; and might probably have laid before the King the great inconveniences, as well as scandal, thereof. It troubled him to see how common these divorces were grown in Germany, and after-marriages, and bigamy. There is a letter of his to Osiander, the German divine, concerning matrimony: in what year written appeareth not; unless perhaps in this year, or the following, now that the King was employing his thoughts about redress of this business.

The Archbishop to Osiander concerning the Germans' abuse of matrimony.

The sum of the letter is to desire Osiander to supply him with an answer to some things that seemed to reflect a fault upon those in Germany that professed the Gospel; and that was, that they allowed such as were divorced to marry again, both parties divorced being alive: and that they suffered, without any divorce, a man to have more wives than one. And Osiander had acknowledged as much expressly to Cranmer, in a letter, seeming to complain of it, and added, that Philip Melancthon himself was present at one of these marriages of a second wife, the first being alive.

Indeed if any thing were done among those protestants that seemed not just and fair, to be sure Cranmer should presently be twitted in the teeth for it. And then he was fain to make the best answers he could, either out of their books, or out of his own invention. And he was always asked about the affairs in those parts. And sometimes he was forced to confess some things, and be ready to blush at them, (such a concern had he for Germany,) as concerning their allowance of usury, and of concubines to their noblemen: as he wrote to the said German. But I will not longer detain the reader from perusing the excellent learned letter of the Archbishop, which he may find in the Appendix, concerning this subject. No. XXIX.

CHAP. XXI.

81

The largest Bible printed.

Some account of printing the English Bible.

THE largest English Bible coming forth in print this year, wherein our Archbishop, out of his zeal to God's glory, had so great an influence, I shall here take occasion to give some account of the translation of, as well as I can; there having been no exact story thereof any where given, as I know of.

New Testament printed in 1526.

The first time the holy Scripture was printed in English (for written copies thereof, of Wickliff's translation, there were long before, and many) was about the year 1526. And that was only the New Testament, translated by Tindal, assisted by Joy and Constantine, and printed in some foreign parts, I suppose at Hamburgh or Antwerp. For in this year I find that Cardinal Wolsey and the bishops consulted together for the prohibiting the New Testament

Anno 1540. of Tindal's translation to be read. And Tonstal Bishop of London issued out his commission to his archdeacons for calling in the New Testament. This year also Tonstal and Sir Thomas More bought up almost the whole impression, and burnt them at Paul's Cross. I think it was this first edition that Garret, alias Garrerd, Curate of Honylane, afterwards burnt for heresy, dispersed in London and Oxford.

And burnt. Fox's Acts, p. 929.

Reprinted about 1530.

Inter Foxii MSS.

Soon after Tindal revised his translation of the New Testament, and corrected it, and caused it again to be printed about the year 1530. The books finished were privily sent over to Tindal's brother, John Tindal, and Thomas Patmore, merchants, and another young man; who received them and dispersed them. For which having been taken up by the Bishop of London, they were adjudged in the Star-Chamber, Sir Thomas More being then Lord Chancellor, to ride with their faces to the horse tail, having papers on their heads, and the New Testaments and other books (which they dispersed) to be fastened thick about them, pinned or tacked to their gowns or cloaks, and at the standard in Cheap themselves to throw them into a fire made for that purpose: and then to be fined at the King's pleasure. Which penance they observed. The fine set upon them was heavy enough, *viz.* eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds and ten pence: as was extant to be seen in the records of the Star-Chamber.

Burnt again.

The Scripture prohibited, in a meeting at the Star-Chamber.

Anno 1531, the Bishops came into the Star-Chamber, and communing with the King's counsel, and alleging that this Testament was not truly translated, and that in it were prologues and prefaces of heresy and raillery against bishops; upon this complaint the Testament, and other such like books, were prohibited. But the King gave commandment to the bishops at the same time, that they, calling to them the best learned out of the Universities, should cause a new translation to be made; so that the people might not be ignorant in the law of God. But the bishops did nothing in obedience to this commandment. 82

New Testaments burnt the third time. Fox, p. 937.

The same year, *viz.* 1531, in the month of May, Stokesly, Bishop of London, (as Tonstal, his predecessor, had done four or five years before,) caused all the New Testaments of

Tindal, and many other books which he had bought up, to be brought to Paul's church-yard, and there openly burnt.

Anno 1540.

The whole Bible printed 1537.

In the year 1537, the Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, called Matthews's Bible, of Tindal's and Rogers's translation, was printed by Grafton and Whitchurch at Hamburgh, to the number of fifteen hundred copies. Which book obtained then so much favour of the King, by Crumwel's and Canterbury's means, that the King enjoined it to be had by all curates, and set up in all parish-churches throughout the realm. It was done by one John Rogers, who flourished a great while in Germany, and was superintendent of a church there; being afterwards a prebend of St. Paul's, and the first martyr in Queen Mary's days He is said by my author to have translated the Bible into English from Genesis to the end of the Revelations, making use of the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, and English [that is, Tyndal's] copies. He added prefaces, and notes out of Luther: and dedicated the whole book to King Henry, under the name of Thomas Matthews, by an epistle prefixed; minding to conceal his own name. Grafton, and the rest of the merchants concerned in the work, thinking that they had not stock enough to supply all the nation, and this book being of a volume not large enough, and considering the prologues and marginal notes gave offence to some, and being put on by those that favoured the Gospel, that as many as possible could be might be printed, for the dispersing the knowledge of Christ and his truth; they resolved to imprint it again, which they intended should be of a larger volume than any before: and therefore it was called, when it came forth, *The Bible in the largest volume.* They intended also, in order to this edition, to have the former translation revised, and to omit several prologues and annotations. And Miles Coverdale was the man now that compared the translation with the Hebrew, and mended it in divers places, and was the chief overseer of the work. But though they left out Matthews's, that is, Rogers's notes, yet they resolved to make hands and marks on the sides of the book: which meant, that they would have particular notice to be taken of those places, being such texts as did

Matthews' that is, Rogers's Bible.

Balæi Centur.

more especially strike at the errors and abuses of the Romish church.

Anno 1540.

About 1538. the Bible printing again in Paris.

Grafton resolved to print this Bible in Paris, if he could obtain leave, there being better paper and cheaper to be had in France, and more dexterous workmen. For this purpose the Lord Crumwel, who stood by him in this enterprise, procured letters of the King, as Fox relates, to Francis the French King, which were conveyed to Boner, then ambassador at that court, for him to present them to that King. The contents of which letters to King Henry were to this effect; "For a subject of his to imprint the Bible in English "in his dominion, both in regard of his paper and work-"men." The King at the same time wrote to his said ambassador to aid and assist the undertakers of this good work in all their reasonable suits. Boner did not only present this letter to Francis, and obtained with good words the license desired, but he shewed great friendship to the merchants and printers, and so encouraged them, that the work went on
83 with good speed and success. And to shew how well affected he was now to the holy Bible, he caused the English there in Paris to print the New Testament in English and Latin, and took off a great many of them himself, and distributed them to his friends. But the principle that moved Boner in all this was, that he might the better curry favour with Crumwel, and recommend himself to him, who, being the great favourite now with the King, was the fittest instrument for his rise. The letters patents that Boner procured of the French King for the printing this Bible may be seen in the Appendix: wherein indeed I do not find any specification of King Henry's letters to Francis, but only mention made that he had sufficient testimony that the said Henry had allowed them to print the Bible as well in Latin as English, and, being finished, to bring the impression safely over.

Fox, p. 1086.

No. XXX.

The printers fall into the inquisition.

But notwithstanding this royal license, such was the overswaying authority of the inquisition in Paris, that the printers were had up into the said inquisition. For in the year 1538, there was an instrument dated December the 17th, coming from Henry Garvais, S. Th. D. Prior of the

Anno 1540.

convent of the Friars Preachers, Paris, and Vicar-general of the venerable father Friar Matthew Ory, of the same order, and D.D. Inquisitor-general of heretical pravity in the whole kingdom of France, by apostolical and regal authority especially deputed: setting forth, "That since from the "translation of the sacred Scriptures, as well of the Old "Testament as New, into the mother-tongue, which cometh "to the hands of the simple, it is found in these last days "that some have taken occasion of error in the faith; and "that it is provided by edicts of the supreme court of "parliament, that none should print the Old and New Testa-"ment in his mother-tongue, or sell it being printed; and "that it was known to him, that one Francis Regnault, a "bookseller of the city of Paris in those days, did print the "Bible in the vulgar Britannic, or English language; by "reason of which, scandals and errors might arise in the "church: therefore he gave out his order to all priests, "vicars, curates, &c. to cite the said F. Regnault, and all "other that it might concern, to answer, &c. And to in-"hibit them under canonical pains to imprint the said "Bible, nor to make away, or conceal, from him or his "possession, the sheets that are already printed, unless they "were seen by him, and otherwise appointed. Dated at "Paris, under the seal used in such cases, and the sign "manual of the notary public, or sworn scribe of the said "holy inquisition.

Cleopatra E. 5.

"Le Tellier."

The Bible printed with French presses in London.

But before this happened, they were gone through even to the last part of the work. And then great troubles arose: the printer was sent for by the inquisitors, and charged with certain articles of heresy: and the Englishmen likewise that were at the cost and charges hereof, and the corrector Coverdale. Therefore finding it not safe to tarry any longer, they fled away as fast as they could, leaving behind them all their Bibles, the impression consisting of five and twenty hundred in number; which were seized. 84

The English Bible burnt the fourth time.

And if you would know what was done with them, the Lieutenant-criminal caused them to be burnt in Maubert-place, as heretical books. Only a few escaped, the Lieute-

Anno 1540.

nant selling them for waste paper to a haberdasher, being about four dry-fats full. But however, not long after, the English that were concerned in this work, by the encouragement of Crumwel, went back to Paris again, and got the presses, letters, and printing-servants, and brought them over to London, and so became printers themselves, which before they never intended. And so at length in this year 1540, they successfully printed off the Bible of the largest volume: and after that there were sundry other impressions also.

The largest Bible published in the year 1540.

To this impression of the Bible, that came forth in these troublesome times, and through extraordinary opposition, the King gave countenance, commanding the buying and setting it up. For as it had been printed about three years before; and Crumwel, the King's Vicar-general, in his injunctions in the King's name, had ordered all incumbents of livings to provide one, and to set it up publicly in their churches: so this year the King, by his proclamation in the month of May, did again command, that this Bible of the largest volume should be provided by the curates and parishioners of every parish, and set up in their churches. For as yet, notwithstanding the first injunctions, many parishes in the realm were destitute of them: whether it were by reason of the unwillingness of the priests to have the English Bible, or the people to be any ways acquainted with it, for fear it should make them heretics, as their curates told them. He stinted also the time, namely, that it should be every where provided before All-saints day next coming, and that upon a penalty of forty shillings a month, after the said feast, that they should be without it. The said proclamation also set the price at ten shillings a book unbound; and well bound and clasped, not above twelve shillings: and charged all ordinaries to take care for the seeing this command of the King the better executed.

Boner's admonitions for reading the Bible.

And upon this, Boner, being now newly Bishop of London, set up six Bibles in certain convenient places of St. Paul's church; together with an admonition to the readers, fastened upon the pillars to which the Bibles were chained, to this tenor: "That whosoever came there to read, should "prepare himself to be edified and made the better thereby.

"That he should join thereunto his readiness to obey the "King's injunctions made in that behalf. That he bring "with him discretion, honest intent, charity, reverence, and "quiet behaviour. That there should no such number meet "together there, as to make a multitude. That no exposition be made thereupon, but what is declared in the "book itself. That it be not read with noise in time of "divine service: or that any disputation or contention be "used at it."

The Bible suppressed again, an. $154\frac{2}{3}$.

But it was not much above two years after that the popish bishops obtained of the King the suppression of the Bible again. For after they had taken off the Lord Crumwel, they made great complaint to the King (their old complaint) of the translation, and of the prefaces: whereas indeed and in truth it was the text itself, rather than the 85
prefaces or translation, that disturbed them. Whereupon it was forbid again to be sold, the bishops promising the King to amend and correct it, but never performed it. And Grafton was now, so long after, summoned and charged with printing Matthews's Bible: which he, being timorous, made excuses for. Then he was examined about the great Bible, and what the notes were he intended to set thereto. He replied, that he added none to his Bible, when he perceived the King and the clergy not willing to have any. Yet Grafton was sent to the Fleet, and there remained six weeks; and, before he came out, was bound in three hundred pounds that he should neither sell nor imprint any more Bibles till the King and the clergy should agree upon a translation. And they procured an order from the King that the false translation of Tyndal, as they called it, should not be uttered either by printer or bookseller; and no other books to be retained that spoke against the sacrament of the altar: no annotations or preambles to be in Bibles or New Testaments in English, (that so they might keep Scripture still as obscure as they could :) nor the Bible to be read in the church, and nothing to be taught contrary to the King's instructions. And from henceforth the Bible was stopped during the remainder of King Henry's reign.

But however, for some certain ends, the King restrained now and then the use of the Scriptures, to comply with the

Anno 1540.

King Henry's judgment for the use of the Bible.

importunate suits of the popish bishops; yet his judgment always was for the free use of them among his subjects, and (in order to that) for the translating and printing them. For proof of which, I will recite the words of the translator of Erasmus's Paraphrase upon St. Luke, in his preface thereunto, *viz.* Nic. Udal, a man of eminency in those days, a Canon of Windsor, and a servant unto Queen Katharine, the King's last wife: "His most excellent Majesty, from the "first day that he wore the imperial crown of this realm, "foresaw that, to the executing the premises, [*viz.* to destroy "counterfeit religions, and to root up all idolatry done to "dead images,] it was necessary that his people should be "reduced to the sincerity of Christ's religion by knowing of "God's word. He considered, that requisite it was his "subjects were nursled in Christ by reading the Scriptures, "whose knowledge should easily induce them to the clear "espying of all the sleights of the Romish juggling. And "therefore, as soon as might be, his Highness, by most "wholesome and godly laws, provided that it might be "lawful for all his most faithful loving subjects to read the "word of God, and the rules of Christ's discipline, which "they professed. He provided that the Holy Bible should "be set forth in our own vulgar language, to the end that "England might the better attain to the sincerity of "Christ's doctrine, which they might draw out of the clear "fountain and spring of the Gospel."

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CHAP. XXII.

The Archbishop retired.

The Archbishop keeps himself more retired.

OUR Archbishop, after the unhappy death of the Lord Crumwel, so excellent an instrument in correcting the abuses of religion, out of sorrow and care of himself, betook himself to more retirement, and greater privacy. For in and after this year 1540, I find nothing in his register but the acts of confirmations, and elections, and consecrations of bishops, as bishoprics fell vacant; the Archbishop very seldom consecrating any himself, but commissionating others by his letters to confirm and consecrate: and nothing to be found a great way on in the register concerning giving ordinances and injunctions to the diocese or province. And no wonder, for there was now no Vicegerent in ecclesiasticals to be ready to hearken to the Archbishop's directions and counsels for reforming abuses, and to see them executed in the church. And his own sorrows, and the troubles he met with in these times from his enemies, made him judge it convenient for him now more warily to conceal himself till better days.

The Archbishop issues out his commission for the consecrating of Boner.

But before the death of Crumwel, when Boner, Bishop elect of London, was to be consecrated, the Archbishop probably not liking him, and seeing through him, whatever his pretences were; and therefore declining to have any hand in his preferment; sent his commission in April to Stephen Bishop of Winchester, Richard Bishop of Chichester, Robert Bishop of St. Asaph, and John Bishop of Hertford, [*i. e* Hereford] to consecrate him. Which, it is said in the register, they did accordingly, *per sacri chrismatis unctionem, et manuum suarum impositionem.* In this consecration, the Prior and Chapter of Canterbury insisted, it seems, upon an ancient privilege of their church, which I do not find in this register they had at other consecrations done; namely, that the consecration should be celebrated at the church of Canterbury, and at no other church or oratory, without their allowance. And so, in a formal instrument, they gave their license and consent, directed to the Archbishop, to proceed to the consecration elsewhere. The letter is from Thomas the Prior, and the Chapter of Canterbury; and it ran thus:

Cranm. Regist.

Licet antiquitus fuerit salubriter ordinatum, hactenusque in et per totam vestram Provinciam Cantuar' inconcusse observatum, quod quilibet Suffraganeus Ecclesiæ vestræ Metropoliticæ Christi Cantuar' memoratæ in Ecclesia vestra Metropolit' Cantuar' et non alibi, pntialiter consecrari et benedici debeat, &c. "Yet they gave their consent that he might "be consecrated in any other oratory: but yet so that "neither they nor the church received any prejudice, and "reserving to themselves a decent cope, as every suffragan

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"of the church of Canterbury, according as his profession "was, ought to give to the same church by right and "ancient custom; and the rights, liberties, privileges, and "other customs of the said church always, and in all things, "being safe." The renewing of this their old pretended privilege looked like some check to the Archbishop, and as 87 though they required of him a sort of dependence on them now more than before: and it shewed some secret ill-will towards him, which brake out more openly not long after, as we shall shew in the process of our story.

Boner's oath of fidelity.

In the register is also recorded Boner's oath of fidelity to the King against the Bishop of Rome: which I will add here, that men may see with what little affection to the Pope this man was let into the bishopric, which he afterwards made so much use of for him and his usurpations; though thereby he stands upon record for ever for perjury. But the oath was this:

"Ye shall never consent nor agree that the Bishop of "Rome shall practise, exercise, or have any manner of "authority, jurisdiction, or power, within this realm, or "any other the King's dominions, but that ye shall resist "the same at all times to the uttermost of your power: "and that from henceforth ye shall accept, repute, and "take the King's Majesty to be the only supreme head in "earth of the Church of England, &c. So help you God, "and all saints, and the holy evangelists."

Signed thus,
+ *In fidem præmissorum Ego* Edm. Boner
Elect. et Confirmat. Londoniens. *huic*
præsenti chartæ subscripsi.

The Archbishop makes a commissary in Calais.

By the Archbishop's letters, bearing date May 20, he made Robert Harvey, B. LL. his commissary in Calais, and in all the other neighbouring places in France, being his diocese. A man surely wherein the good Archbishop was mistaken, or else he would never have ventured to set such a substitute, of such bigoted cruel principles, in that place.

Fox, p. 1120.

This Harvey condemned a poor labouring man of Calais, who said he would never believe that any priest could make the Lord's body at his pleasure. Whereupon he was

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accused before the commissary, who roundly condemned him to be burnt, inveighing against him, and saying, he was an heretic, and should die a vile death. The poor man said, he should die a viler shortly. And so it came to pass; for half a year after, he was hanged, drawn, and quartered for treason.

Butler a better commissary.

He seemed to have succeeded in the room of a man of better principles, called Sir John Butler: who was deprived of his commissaryship by some bishops, commissioners from the King for the examining several persons suspect of religion in Calais. The council there had, about the year 1539, complained of him as a maintainer of Damplip, a learned and pious preacher there. So he was sent for into England, and charged to favour Damplip, because he preached so long there, and was not restrained nor punished by him. He answered warily and prudently, that the Lord Lisle, Lord Deputy, and his council, entertained and friendly used him, and countenanced him by hearing him preach; so that he could not do otherwise than he did. After long attendance upon the King's commissioners, he was discharged, and returned home, but discharged also of his commissary's place too. 88

His troubles.

And having been an officer of the Archbishop's, I will add a word or two more concerning him. About the year 1536, he was apprehended in Calais, and bound by sureties not to pass the gates of that town, upon the accusation of two soldiers, that he should have said, in contempt of the corporal presence, that "if the sacrament of the altar be "flesh, blood, and bone, then there is good aqua vitæ at "John Spicer's:" where probably was very bad. This Butler, and one Smith, were soon after brought by pursuivants into England; and there brought before the privy-council in the Star-Chamber for sedition and heresy, (which were charges ordinarily laid against the professors of the Gospel in those times,) and thence sent to the Fleet: and brought soon after to Bath-place, there sitting Clark Bishop of Bath, Sampson Bishop of Chichester, and Reps Bishop of Norwich, the King's commissioners.

And no wonder he met with these troubles: for he had raised up the hatred of the friars of Calais against him by

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The occasion thereof the discovery of a religious cheat.

being a discoverer and destroyer of one of their gross religious cheats. There had been great talk of a miracle in St. Nicholas church, for the conviction of men, that the wafer, after consecration, was indeed turned into the body, flesh, and bones of Christ. For in a tomb in that church, representing the sepulchre, there were lying upon a marble stone three hosts sprinkled with blood, and a bone representing some miracle. This miracle was in writing, with a Pope's bull of pardon annexed, to those, I suppose, that should visit that church. There was also a picture of the resurrection, bearing some relation to this miracle. This picture and story Damplip freely spake against in one of his sermons, saying, that "it was but an illusion of the French before "Calais was English." Upon this sermon, (the King also having ordered the taking away all superstitious shrines,) there came a commission to the Lord Deputy of Calais, to this Sir John Butler, the Archbishop's commissary, and one or two more, that they should search whether this were true; and if they found it not so, that immediately the shrine should be plucked down; and so it was. For breaking up a stone in the corner of the tomb, instead of the three hosts, the blood and the bone, they found soldered in the cross of marble lying under the sepulchre, three plain white counters, which they had painted like unto hosts, and a bone, that is in the tip of a sheep's tail. This Damplip shewed the next day, being Sunday, unto the people; and after that, they were sent to the King by the Lord Deputy. But this so angered the friars and their creatures, that it cost Damplip his life, and Commissary Butler much trouble, and the loss of his office.

Glazier commissary in Calais.

After Harvey, Hugh Glazier, B.D. and Canon of Christ's Church, Canterbury, succeeded in the office of commissary to the Archbishop for Calais. He was once a friar, but afterwards favoured the reformation. He was put up to preach at Paul's Cross the first Lent after King Edward came to the crown: and then asserted the observation of Lent to be but of human institution.

This year the cathedral church of Canterbury was altered from monks to secular men of the clergy, *viz.* prebendaries, or canons, petty-canons, choristers, and scholars. At this

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Archbishop's judgment of admission of scholars into the school belonging to the cathedral.

Foxii MSS.

erection were present Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop; the Lord Rich, Chancellor of the court of the augmentation of the revenues of the crown; Sir Christopher Hales, Knight, the King's attorney; Sir Anthony Sentleger, Knight; with divers other commissioners. And nominating and electing such convenient and fit persons, as should serve for the furniture of the said cathedral church, according to the new foundation, it came to pass, that when they should elect the children of the grammar-school, there were of the commissioners more than one or two, who would have none admitted but sons, or younger brethren, of gentlemen. As for other husbandmen's children, they were more meet, they said, for the plough, and to be artificers, than to occupy the place of the learned sort. So that they wished none else to be put to school, but only gentlemen's children. Whereunto the most reverend father the Archbishop, being of a contrary mind, said, "That he thought it not indif-"ferent so to order the matter: for," said he, "poor men's "children are many times endued with more singular gifts "of nature, which are also the gifts of God, as with eloquence, "memory, apt pronunciation, sobriety, and such like; and "also commonly more apt to apply their study, than is the "gentleman's son delicately educated." Hereunto it was on the other part replied, "That it was meet for the plough-"man's son to go to plough, and the artificer's son to "apply the trade of his parent's vocation; and the gentle-"man's children are meet to have the knowledge of govern-"ment and rule in the commonwealth. For we have," said they, "as much need of ploughmen as any other state: and "all sorts of men may not go to school." "I grant," replied the Archbishop, "much of your meaning herein as "needful in a commonwealth: but yet utterly to exclude "the ploughman's son and the poor man's son from the "benefit of learning, as though they were unworthy to have "the gifts of the Holy Ghost bestowed upon them, as well "as upon others, is as much to say, as that Almighty "God should not be at liberty to bestow his great gifts of "grace upon any person, nor no where else, but as we and "other men shall appoint them to be employed, according "to our fancy, and not according to his most godly will

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"and pleasure: who giveth his gifts both of learning, and "other perfections in all sciences, unto all kinds and states "of people indifferently. Even so doth he many times "withdraw from them and their posterity again those beneficial gifts, if they be not thankful. If we should shut up "into a strait corner the bountiful grace of the Holy Ghost, "and thereupon attempt to build our fancies, we should "make as perfect a work thereof as those that took upon "them to build the tower of Babel: for God would so "provide, that the offspring of our best-born children should "peradventure become most unapt to learn, and very dolts, "as I myself have seen no small number of them very dull, "and without all manner of capacity. And to say the truth, "I take it, that none of us all here being gentlemen born "(as I think) but had our beginning that way, from a low "and base parentage: and through the benefit of learning, "and other civil knowledge, for the most part all gentlemen ascend to their estate." Then it was again answered, 90 "That the most part of the nobility came up by feats of arms, "and martial acts." "As though," said the Archbishop, "that the noble captain was always unfurnished of good "learning and knowledge to persuade and dissuade his "army rhetorically: who rather that way is brought unto "authority, than else his manly looks. To conclude, the "poor man's son, by pains-taking, will for the most part be "learned, when the gentleman's son will not take the pains "to get it. And we are taught by the Scriptures, that Almighty God raiseth up from the dunghill, and setteth "him in high authority. And whensoever it pleaseth him "of his divine providence, he deposeth Princes unto a right "humble and poor estate. Wherefore if the gentleman's "son be apt to learning, let him be admitted; if not apt, "let the poor man's child that is apt enter his room." With words to the like effect. Such a seasonable patron of poor men was the Archbishop.

Bishops consecrated.

Edmond Boner. Nicholas Hethe.

April the 4th, Edmond Boner, LL. D. Bishop of Hereford, consecrated Bishop of London, and Nicholas Hethe, consecrated Bishop of Rochester, in a chapel in St. Paul's, on the north side of the nave, by Stephen Bishop of Winton, assisted by Richard Bishop of Chichester, Robert Bishop of St. Asaph, and John Bishop of Hereford; by virtue of commissional letters from the Archbishop. Anno 1540. Cranm. Regist.

December the 29th, Thomas Thirlby, consecrated the first Bishop of Westminster in St. Saviour's chapel, near the sepulchre of Henry VIII. in the church of Westminster, by the Bishop of London; assisted by Nicholas Bishop of Rochester, and John Suffragan of Bedford, by letters commissional from the Archbishop. Thomas Thirlby.

Dr. Butts, the King's physician, first moved him to take Dr. Thirlby into his service; for that the said Thirlby was accounted a favourer of all such as favoured sincere religion. The Archbishop soon became acquainted with him, and liked his learning and his qualities so well, that he became his good lord towards the King's Majesty, and commended him to him, to be a man worthy to serve a prince, for such singular qualities as were in him. And indeed the King soon employed him in embassies in France and elsewhere: so that he grew in the King's favour by the means of the Archbishop; who had a very extraordinary love for him, and thought nothing too much to give him, or to do for him. And we may conclude it was by his means that, after the dissolution of the bishopric of Westminster, he was preferred to Norwich, in the year 1550. He complied with King Edward's proceedings all his reign; and so he did with Queen Mary's during hers, being then translated to Ely: and was then made use of to be one of the bishops (Boner being the other) that were sent to Oxon to degrade the Archbishop, which he did with tears. If this Bishop "did not, to his uttermost endeavour, practise to save the "Archbishop's life, he not only did him much wrong, but "also abused his singular benevolence with overmuch in"gratitude." I use the words of Morice, the Archbishop's secretary, as though he suspected he did not. Some account of Thirlby's rise. In a letter to Day the printer, an. 1565.

BOOK I.

Anno 1541.

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CHAP. XXIII.

All-Souls College visited.

The Archbishop visits All-Souls College.

THE following year, the college of All-Souls, Oxon, underwent the Archbishop's visitation, by virtue of a commission, May 12, to John Cocks, the Archbishop's Vicar-general in spirituals, John Rokesby, LL. D. of the Arches, Walter Wright, LL. D. Public Notary, and John Warner, M. D. Warden of the college. This visitation was occasioned upon a complaint of the very ill and loose behaviour of the members of that house. The college grew scandalous for their factions, dissensions, and combinations one against another; for their compotations, ingurgitations, surfeitings, drunkennesses, enormous and excessive comessations. They kept boys in the college, under pretence of poor scholars. They entered not into orders, and became not priests after they were masters of art: nor observed their times of disputations. Their habit and apparel was gaudy. And other things there were among them contrary to the statutes of the college. This visitation was prorogued, and all the visitors were reduced to one, *viz.* Dr. Wright. And in conclusion, the Archbishop gave them a set of injunctions, declarations, and interpretations of their statutes, to the number of four and twenty. One was for the better frequenting chapel, and singing the service. Another for the residence of the Warden, not to be absent above sixty days in a year. The rest were, to observe, at the Dean's command, the solemn times of disputation. That such bachelors of arts that were fellows, should take their degrees of masters of arts, when they were standing for it. That several of them, being masters of arts, should take priests' orders. That the Master and the rest, fellows and scholars, should wear long gowns to their heels, plain shirts, and not gathered about the neck and arms, and adorned with silk; and the rest should wear decent garments. Concerning keeping boys, beside such as were servants; that if any of the fellows, scholars, or servants of the college, shall keep

Abp. Cranm. Regist.

any poor scholars, boy, or youth, to lodge with him in his chamber, or within the college, to nourish him with the fragments of the college, after such a day, that he be then admonished by the Warden or Sub-warden, &c. and such boys to be expelled the college.

Visits it a second time.

But it seems this visitation did not effect the good ends intended by it: for not long after another commission for the visitation of this college was given by the Archbishop to John Barbar, LL. D. Official of his court of Canterbury.

The Archbishop gives order about shrines.

In the month of October, there issued out the King's letters to our Archbishop for taking away superstitious shrines. Which I suppose the Archbishop himself procured, having complained to the King how little effect former orders from his Majesty had taken, (and particularly in his own Church,) for the images and bones of supposed saints, with all the monuments of their pretended miracles, to be taken away and defaced: and how his injunctions were 92 illuded, which commanded, that there should be no offerings nor setting up candles to them in any church, and specially in the cathedral church of Canterbury; which once before had been scoured of these superstitions, when Thomas a Becket's tomb, and the riches thereof, were taken away. The King in this letter commanded him to cause due search to be made in his cathedral church for shrines, and coverings of shrines, &c. and to take them away, that there remain no memory thereof; and to command all the curates and incumbents of livings to do the like.

The King's letters were as follow.

" *By the KING.*

The King to the Archbishop for searching after shrines. Abp. Cranm. Regist.

" MOST reverend father in God, right trusty, and right " intirely well-beloved, we greet you well: Letting you wit, " that whereas heretofore, upon the zeal and remembrance " which we had to our bounden duty towards Almighty " God, perceiving sundry superstitions and abuses to be used " and embraced by our people, whereby they grievously " offended him and his word; we did not only cause the " images and bones of such as they resorted and offered " unto, with the ornaments of the same; and all such writ-

Anno 1541. "ings and monuments of fained miracles, wherewith they "were illuded, to be taken away in all places of our realm; "but also by our injunctions commanded, that no offering, "or setting of lights or candles, should be suffered in any "church, but only to the blessed sacrament of the altar: "it is lately come to our knowledge, that, this our good intent and purpose notwithstanding, the shrines, coverings "of shrines, and monuments of those things, do yet remain "in sundry places of our realm, much to the slander of our "doings, and to the great displeasure of Almighty God, the "same being means to allure our subjects to their former "hypocrisies and superstition; and also that our injunctions be not kept, as appertaineth. Fro [for] the due "and speedy reformation whereof, we have thought meet "by these our letters expressly to will and command you, "that, incontinently upon the receipt hereof, you shall not "only cause due search to be made in your cathedral "church for those things; and if any shrine, covering of "shrine, table, monument of miracles, or other pilgrimage, "do there continue, to cause it to be taken away, so as "there remain no memory of it: but also that you shall "take order with all the curates, and others, having charge "within your diocese, to do the semblable. And to see "that our injunctions be duly kept, as appertaineth, without "failing, as we trust you, and as you woll answer to the "contrary. Yeven [under] our signet, at our town of Hull, "the iiii day of October, in the xxxiiii year of our reign."

This was dated from Hull, for the King was now in his progress towards Scotland, to meet the Scots King according to appointment; though he met him not.

93 Whereupon the Archbishop, by his letter dated from Lambeth, Oct. 15, to Richard Lyel, LL. D. Dean of the deaneries of Shoreham, Croyden, Bocking, Risburgh, Terring, and Pageham, enjoined him to take care to execute the King's will: to cite before him, with all speed, all and singular the ministers of the collegiate churches; and rectors, vicars, and priests of the parish-churches within the deaneries aforesaid; and then to declare to them the contents of the King's letters, and to command them to observe exactly the

The Archbishop's orders accordingly to his Dean, his Archdeacon, and Commissary.

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King's injunctions. The like letters he also sent to Edmond Cranmer, Archdeacon of Canterbury. An answer to which the said Edmond wrote to the Archbishop, dated Oct. 29, signifying his doing according to the Archbishop's commandment. The like were written to Hugh Glazier, the Archbishop's Commissary-general in the town of Calais, and the marches of the same. Who sent his answer to the Archbishop, Nov. 24, from the town of Calais.

I am apt to think that these letters of the King were circulary, and sent with the same command to all the bishops to see executed in their several dioceses; though the effect of them was, according as the bishops themselves stood affected.

The Archbishop lays Bekesburn to the see.

This year an exchange was made by the Archbishop of the manor of Bishopsburn for Bekesburn, with Sir John Gage, Comptroller of the King's household. Bekesburn, anciently called Livingsburn, was healthfully and conveniently seated, lying an easy distance from Canterbury, whensoever the Archbishops were minded to be retired. This place Archbishop Parker took a great delight in, and intended greatly to enlarge by buildings; but died before he began his purpose. Archbishop Cranmer made considerable buildings here, and probably would have done more, had he continued in his prelacy. In the year 1552, he finished the gate-house now standing; as appears from the north and south sides thereof, wherein are two stones set in the brick-work, with the letters of his name, T. C. and coat of arms, and motto, *Nosce Teipsum, et Deum;* together with the date, 1552. This manor now returned to the Church again, from whence it had been for some time severed; only the owners changed. For whereas, before the dissolution of the monasteries, it belonged to the Priors of Christ-Church, Canterbury; now it came to the Archbishops. This manor was not given to Christ Church till after the year 1400. Thomas Goldstone, a prior of that church, and a great builder, built the manor-house for a mansion for the priors, and a chapel annexed, and a new hall adjoining to the dormitory, and divers other edifices there; as we learn from the History of the Priors of Canterbury lately published. To which we may add a record in that church, to

Angl. Sacra, vol. i. p. 148.

Anno 1541.

Records of Chr. Ch. Cant.

direct us in the computation of the time: *viz.* Anno Dom. 1508. *In vigiliis S. Marci Capella dedicatur in Manerio de Lyvyngsborn, procurante Thoma Goldston.* At the dissolution this was alienated and given to Gage; and from him it came to Archbishop Cranmer and his successors. And the bargain was confirmed by act of parliament, anno Henr. 34.

Learned preachers preferred by the Archbishop.

The Archbishop, as he had opportunity, preferred learned and pious men in his diocese in the benefices of his church; and such who freely preached against the Pope and his superstitions, against images, and the worship of them. The chief of these were Nic. Ridley, (afterwards Bishop of London,) whom he made Vicar of Herne, and Prebend of Canterbury; and John Scory, (afterwards Bishop of Chichester,) whom he made one of the six preachers; Michael Drum, and Lancelot Ridley, worthy men, were two more of the six. These he preferred, and divers others about through his diocese, that set the abuses of popery open before the people's eyes in their sermons. This so angered the men of the old religion, and particularly some of his own church in Canterbury, that they detected them to the Archbishop, by articling against them for their doctrine. This they did this year, when the Archbishop visited his church. And about two years after they did so again, as shall be taken notice of in due season.

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The Archbishop makes some recant.

About this time it was that Serles and Shether, two of the six preachers of Canterbury, were by the Archbishop's censure put to recantation for some unsound passages they had preached. Which made them such enemies to the Archbishop, and such contrivers of his ruin, by devising and drawing up a great number of articles against him, if they could have accomplished their design, as shall be seen hereafter under the year 1543. It was observed of Shether at this time, that after the pronouncing his recantation, or declaration, he added these words; "Good Christians, I take "God to record, that I never preached any thing to you "in my life but the truth." And so in short gave himself the lie, and overthrew all the recantation he had made before.

A convocation.

The latter end of the year there was a convocation:

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Their business.

Fuller's Ch. Hist. from the records of Canterbury.

wherein one of the matters before them was concerning the procuring a true translation of the New Testament; which was indeed intended, not so much to do such a good work, as to hinder it. For having decried the present translation, on purpose to make it unlawful for any to use it, they pretended to set themselves about a new one. But it was merely to delay and put off the people from the common use of the Scripture: as appeared plainly enough, in that the bishops themselves undertook it. And so having it in their own hands, they might make what delays they pleased.. For in the third session, a proposition was made for the translation, and an assignation to each bishop of his task: as Matthew to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Mark to the Bishop of Lincoln, Luke to Winton, John to Ely: and so of the rest. But the Archbishop saw through all this: and therefore, in a sessions that followed after, told the house from the King, to whom I suppose he had discovered this intrigue, that the translation should be left to the learned of both universities. This was a surprise to the bishops, who all, except Ely and St. David's, protested against it, and began to undervalue the sufficiency of the universities, as much decayed of late; and that they were but young men: and that the greatest learning lay in the convocation-men. But the Archbishop roundly said, that *he would stick by his master's will and pleasure; and that the universities should examine the translation.*

Bishops consecrated. 95

William Knight.

May 29, being Sunday, William Knight was consecrated Bishop of Bath and Wells by Nicolas Bishop of Rochester, by virtue of the Archbishop's letters to him, assisted by Richard Suffragan of Dover, and John Suffragan of Bedford, in the chapel of the said Bishop of Bath's house, situate in the Minories without Aldgate.

John Wakeman.

September the 25th, John Wakeman, late Abbot of Teuksbury, was consecrated the first Bishop of Glocester by the Archbishop, Edmond Bishop of London, and Thomas Bishop of Westminster, assisting.

John Chambre.

John Chambre, B. D. was consecrated first Bishop of Peterburgh, October 23, in the cathedral church of Peter-

Anno 1541. burgh, in the presbytery there, by John Bishop of Lincoln, Thomas Bishop of Ely, and William Bishop of Norwich, by commission from the Archbishop.

Arthur Bulkeley. February the 19th, Arthur Bulkeley was consecrated in the chapel of John Incent, LL. D. Dean of St. Paul's, by John Bishop of Sarum, by virtue of letters commissional from the Archbishop, William Bishop of St. David's, and John Bishop of Glocester, assisting.

Robert King. Robert King, another abbot, and titular Bishop Reonen, suffragan to the Bishop of Lincoln, was this year consecrated Bishop of Oxford. The date, or his consecrators, I cannot assign, the act being omitted in the Archbishop's register. He was first a monk of Rewly, a priory without Oxford, of the Cistertian order; then Abbot of Bruerne in Oxfordshire; after, Abbot of Thame, of which he was also called Bishop; and lastly of Oseney: both which he surrendered to the King at the dissolution of monasteries. This man, when suffragan, preached at St. Mary's in Stamford, where he most fiercely inveighed against such as used the New Testament. In Queen Mary's reign he was a persecutor of the protestants, and died, 1557.

CHAP. XXIV.

The King's Book revised.

Anno 1542. The King's book revised by the Archbishop. THE Archbishop was this year, among other things, employed in the King's book, as it now was called, that is, *The Erudition of any Christian Man*, spoken of before. For the King was minded now to have it well reviewed, and if there were any errors, and less proper expressions, to have them corrected and amended: and so to have it recommended unto the people as a complete book of christian principles, in the stead of the Scripture; which, upon pretence of their abuse of, the King would not allow longer to be read. Accordingly a correction was made throughout the book; and the correct copy sent to Cranmer to peruse: which he did, and added his own annotations upon various passages in it at good length. And had it not been too long, I had transcribed it wholly out of a volume in the Benet College library. But for a taste take this that follows. In the title, under his own hand, was this written:

Animadversions upon the King's book. **96**

Upon the Chapter of Original Sin.

Miscellanea D. inter MSS. C.C.C.C.

For the first offence of our father Adam.] No man shall be damned for the offences of Adam, but for his own proper offences, either actual or original. Which original sin every man hath of his own, and is born in it, although it came from Adam.

The principal means (*viz.* God's favour) *whereby all sinners attain their justification.*] This sentence importeth, that the favour and love of the Father of heaven towards us is the means whereby we come to his favour and love. And so should one thing be the means to itself. And it is not the use of Scripture to call any other the means and mediator for us, but only Jesus Christ, by whom our access is to the Father.

Having assured hope and confidence in Christ's mercy, willing to enter into his perfect faith.] He that hath assured hope and confidence in Christ's mercy hath already entered into a perfect faith, and not only hath a will to enter into it: for perfect faith is nothing else but assured hope and confidence in Christ's mercy.

Upon the Explication of the Tenth Commandment.

Without due recompense.] This addition agrees not well with the coveting of another man's wife, wherein is no recompensation. And in the other things, although recompensation be made, yet the commandment nevertheless is transgressed and broken.

Upon another Chapter concerning Obedience to the Civil Power.

By his ordinate power.] This word *ordinate power* obscureth the sentence in the understanding of them that be simple and unlearned: and among the learned it gendereth contention and disputation, rather than it any thing edifieth. Therefore methinketh it better, and more plain as it is in the print; or else to say, *by his ordinance:* for the Scripture speaketh simply and plainly, *potestati ejus quis resistit?*

By these few passages, which I have carefully taken out of the Archbishop's own book, may be seen of what a critical and exact judgment he was.

Divers discourses of the Archbishop.

But besides these *adversaria* in these papers of the Archbishop's annotations, there be divers large discourses of his, upon several heads of religion, drawn up, as I conceive, upon the King's command, to be inserted into his book above mentioned. I have extracted some of these discourses; as upon faith, justification, and forgiveness of injuries: wherein may be seen his sound opinion in those great doctrines of Christian religion. I took also out of the same volume some specimen of three other discourses of his: one with this title, writ by his own hand, *De Consolatione* 97 *Christianorum contra metum mortis. Ex Doctoribus Ecclesiasticis.* Compiled, I guess, as well for his own use, being not inapprehensive of his ticklish station and danger, from so many and implacable enemies which he had, as to be inserted in the aforesaid book. The others were two exhortations, to take the pains of sickness well, and adversity patiently: the one taken out of Cyprian, the other out of St. Augustin, lib. *De visitatione infirmorum.* The specimen of them are in the Appendix; as also the discourses of faith, justification, and forgiveness of injuries.

No. XXXI. XXXII.

The goodly Primer.

This year Boner Bishop of London set forth injunctions for the clergy of his diocese, containing directions for their preaching and conversation; together with a catalogue of certain books prohibited: which the curates were to inquire after in their respective parishes, and to inform their ordinaries of them, and of those in whose possessions they found them. Among these books were the English Testament of Tindal, and divers other pieces of the said godly and learned man; some prefaces and marginal glosses of Thomas Matthews in his English Bible. A book of Friar Barnes. The Supplication of Beggars. The Practice of Prelates. The Revelation of Antichrist. The Church of John Rastal. The Disputation between the Father and the Son. The preface made in the English primers by Marshal. This

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Marshal was he, I suppose, whose christian name was Cutbert, and was D. D. and Archdeacon of Nottingham, and died about 1549. At this book I will stop a little, being a book of eminency and remark in those times; and that hath such a strain of truth and serious piety in it, that it seems very probable that the Archbishop had a considerable hand in it, and procured the publication of it, *cum privilegio Regali.* It was styled *A Goodly Primer,* or *Book of Prayers,* and called *The King's Primer.* I speak of the second edition, which was about the year 1535. It began with an admonition to the reader, containing very sharp and severe reflections upon the popish devotions, and praying to saints. And towards the conclusion, the writer professeth, "That this his "admonition proceded neither of blynde zele, or affection, "neyther of wyll or purpose to offend or displease any man, "moch less than to displease any saint in heven; and in no "wyse than our blessed Lady, but evin of very pure love to "the honour of God, and helth of mennes souls."

Then followeth a pious exposition of the Ten Commandments; and the Creed. Then is a general confession of sin; which goes according to the Commandments, after this manner: 1. I have not set my whole belief, confidence, trust and hope in thee, &c. 2. I have divided thy worship and honour from thee, and given it to thy creatures, and to dead things, imagined of my own fond fantasy; I mean, in the misusing of images. 3. I have abused thy name, &c. 4. In the sabbath-day I have not given myself to hearing, reading, and learning the holy Scriptures, &c. Then comes an exposition upon the Lord's Prayer, and the salutation. Some short prayers. Some graces before and after meat; 98 most of which are graces still retained in our English primers, after the catechism. And the method of the book is the same with our children's primer now in use. In this edition there was a litany added, with a preface before it, directly against praying to saints, and shewing the difference of the case, between presenting our petitions to God, and presenting a petition to an earthly King: that though this latter cannot be done without the mediation of some servant of the King, yet the former may be done immediately to God, in the name of Christ. Besides, he said, there were many

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doubtful saints: that many saints canonized by the Bishop of Rome, whether they were saints or no, he committed to the secret judgment of God. By this taste of the preface, you easily see, why Bishop Boner placed it among the prohibited books, to be diligently searched for. The litany the author added, for the sake of many people, that thought there could be no right prayers without they were in the old form of processions, which were by way of litany, or supplication to angels and saints. And so he writ in this preface, that it was for the contentation of such weak minds, and somewhat to bear their infirmities, that he had, at this his second edition of the primer, caused the litany to be printed. In this litany all doubtful saints are left out, and he addresseth only to the holy angels St. Michael, St. Raphael, &c. to pray for us; and the blessed apostles, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Andrew, &c. The prayer for the King nameth King Henry VIII. and his gracious son Prince Edward. In the calendar Thomas a Becket's days are still retained in red letters: but I suppose that was done of course by the printer, using the old calendar. In the same book is a large and pious paraphrase on Psalm li: a dialogue between the Father and the Son: Meditations on Christ's passion: and many other things.

The Archbishop instrumental to the reformation in Scotland.

By somewhat that happened this year, the Archbishop proved very instrumental in promoting the reformation of corrupt religion in the neighbouring nation of Scotland: which this year had received a great overthrow by the English army; and great numbers of Scottish noblemen and gentlemen were taken prisoners, and brought up to London, and after disposed of in the houses of the English nobility and gentry, under an easy restraint. The Earl of Cassillis was sent to Lambeth; where the good Archbishop shewed him all respects, in providing him with necessaries and conveniences, but especially in taking care of his soul. He detected to him the great errors of popery, and the reasons of those regulations that had been lately made in religion in England. And so successful was the Archbishop herein, that the Earl went home much enlightened in true religion; which that nation then had a great aversion to, for they highly misliked the courses King Henry took.

Hist. Reform. vol. i. p. 320.

Which prejudices the King understanding, endeavoured to take off, by sending Barlow, Bishop of St. David's, to Scotland, with the book of *The Institution of a Christian Man:* which nevertheless made no great impression upon that people. But this that happened to the Scottish nobility, that were now taken prisoners, and especially this guest of the Archbishop, becoming better inclined to religion by the knowledge they received while they remained here, had a happier effect, and brought on the reformation that after happened in that kingdom.

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An act procured by the Archbishop.

The parliament being summoned in January, in order to the King's making war with France, (whither he intended to go in person,) the Archbishop resolved to try this occasion to do some good service again for religion, which had of late received a great stop. His endeavour now was to moderate the severe acts about religion, and to get some liberty for the people's reading of the Scripture. Cranmer first made the motion, and four bishops, *viz.* Worcester, Hereford, Chichester, and Rochester, seconded him. But Winchester opposed the Archbishop's motion with all earnestness. And the faction combined with so much violence, that these bishops and all other fell off from the Archbishop; and two of them endeavoured to persuade the Archbishop to desist at present, and to stay for a better opportunity. But he refused, and followed his stroke with as much vigour as he could; and in fine, by his persuasion with the King and the Lords, a bill passed. And the King was the rather inclined thereunto, because he being now to go abroad upon a weighty expedition, thought convenient to leave his subjects at home as easy as might be. So with much struggling an act was passed, intituled, *An act for the advancement of true religion, and the abolishment of the contrary.* In this act, as Tindal's translation of the Scriptures was forbidden to be kept or used, so other Bibles were allowed to some persons, excepting the annotations and preambles, which were to be cut or dashed out. And the King's former proclamations and injunctions, with the primers, and other books printed in English, for the instruction of the people before the year 1540, were still to be in force, which it seems before were not. And that

Hist. Refor. vol. i. p. 321.

Anno 1542. every nobleman and gentleman might have the Bible read in their houses: and that noble ladies, and gentlewomen, and merchants, might read it themselves: but no men or women under those degrees. That every person might read and teach in their houses the book set out in the year 1540, (which was, *The necessary Erudition of a Christian Man*,) with the Psalter, Primer, Pater-noster, Ave, and Creed in English. But when Winchester and his party saw that they could not hinder the bill from passing, they clogged it with provisos, that it came short of what the Archbishop intended it: as, that the people of all sorts and conditions universally might not read the Scriptures, but only some few of the higher rank: and that no book should be printed about religion without the King's allowance: and that the act of the six Articles should be in the same force it was before.

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A Bishop consecrated.

Paul Bush.

June the 25th, being Sunday, Paul Bush, Provincial of the Bonhommes, was consecrated the first Bishop of Bristol by Nicolas Bishop of Rochester, assisted by Thomas Bishop of Westminster, and John Suffragan of Bedford. This consecration was celebrated in the parish-church of Hampton, in the diocese of Westminster.

CHAP. XXV.

Presentments at a Visitation.

Anno 1543.

The King's book published by authority.

BY the act above mentioned, the generality of the people were restrained from reading the holy Scriptures. But in lieu of it was set forth by the King and his clergy, in the year 1543, a doctrine for all his subjects to use and follow; which was the book abovesaid: and all books that were contrary to it were by authority of parliament condemned. It was printed in London by Thomas Barthelet. This book the Archbishop enjoined to be made public in his diocese, (as I suppose it was in all other dioceses throughout the kingdom,) and allowed no preaching or arguing against it. And when one Mr. Joseph, once a friar in Canterbury, now a learned and earnest preacher, (and who was afterward preferred to Bow-Church in London,) had attempted to preach against some things in the book, the Archbishop checked and forbad him: for indeed there were some points therein which the Archbishop himself did not approve of, foisted into it by Winchester's means and interest at that time with the King. Which bishop, politicly as well as flatteringly, called it *The King's Book*, a title which the Archbishop did not much like; for he knew well enough Winchester's hand was in it: and so he told him plainly in King Edward's time, when he might speak his mind; telling him in relation thereunto, that *he had seduced the King*. But because of the authority of the parliament ratifying the book, and the many good and useful things that were in it, the Archbishop introduced and countenanced it in his diocese, and would not allow open preaching against it.

A visitation at Canterbury.

The Archbishop, about the month of September, held a visitation in Canterbury: chiefly because of the jangling of the preachers, and the divers doctrines vented among them, according as their fancies, interests, or judgments led them. The visitation proceeded upon the King's injunctions, and other late ordinances. And here I shall set down before the reader some of the presentments, as I take them from an original in a volume that belonged to this Archbishop. Wherein notice may be taken, what ignorance was then in some of the priests; what bandying against one another, and what good progress the Gospel did begin to make, and what good numbers of priests and laymen there were that savoured of the Gospel-doctrine.

Intit. Accusatio Cranmer, inter MSS. C.C.C.C.

Presentments.

Sir Humphrey Chirden, Parson of St. Elphins, on a Sunday in Lent, said, "If Judas had gone to God and confessed "his fault, saying *Peccavi*, as he went unto the priests, he 101 "had not been damned." This passage was plain enough levelled against confessing to a priest. But this was presentable, because against the six Articles.

One Lancaster, the parson of Pluckley, was presented, because that when one Giles said, that he blessed himself

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daily and nightly, saying, *In nomine Patris, et Filii et Sp. Sancti;* and then said, in the honour of God and our Lady, and all the company of heaven, and for all christian souls that God would have prayed for, a Pater-noster, an Ave, and a Creed; the said parson said to him, that if he knew it of truth that the said Giles used the same form of prayer, he would not accompany him, nor once drink with him.

Vincent Ingeam (a justice of peace I suppose) commanded on Easter Monday, 33° of the King, that no man should read, or hear the Bible read, upon pain of imprisonment: and cast two into prison, the one for speaking against him therein, and the other for shewing him the King's injunctions concerning the same. He repugned against the doings of the commissary for taking down the image of St. John, by the King's commandment. Where I find, among other witnesses to this, one Daniel Cranmer, a relation doubtless of the Archbishop.

Sir Thomas, Curate of Sholden, and Thomas Sawier, set up again four images, which by the King's commandment were taken down, for abuses by pilgrimages and offerings: *viz.* St. Nicolas, St. Stephen, St. Laurence, and our Lady.

Another accused for forsaking his own parish-church at the time of Easter, two years together, [not liking his parish-priest for his affection to the Gospel,] and for going to Walsingham, [in pilgrimage:] and that he would at no time shew to the Vicar a lawful certificate that he had received the blessed sacrament at the time commonly accustomed, as a christian man ought to do. And obstinately refused to learn his Pater-noster, Ave, Credo, and Ten Commandments in English, according to the King's injunctions.

Sir Edward Sponer, Vicar of Boughton, had not declared to his parishioners the right use of ceremonies, neither shewed the difference between them and works commanded by God, as he is commanded by the King's proclamation. He had not preached against the Bishop of Rome his usurped power, and set forth the King's supremacy, as he is bound by the King's injunctions, and other his proceedings. He hath not preached his quarter's sermons, neither at Boughton nor at his benefice in the Mersh. He never declared, that the even of such saints, whose days be abrogated, be no fasting-days.

Anno 1543.

The Archdeacon of Canterbury, (that was Edmund, the Archbishop's brother,) the morrow after the Ascension was three years, took out of the church of St. Andrew's in Canterbury three lamp tapers brenning before the sacrament, and a coat from a rood, and did violently break the arms and legs of the rood.

Sir William Kemp, Vicar of Northgate, had not read the Bible since Pentecost, as he was commanded by the ordinary. He doth not declare to his parishioners the right use of holy water, holy bread, bearing of candles upon Candlemas- 102 day, giving of ashes, bearing of palms, creeping to the cross: for lack whereof the most part of the said parish be as ignorant in such things as ever they were. And many of them do abuse holy water, insomuch that against tempests of thunder and lightning many run to the church for holy water to cast about their houses, to drive away evil spirits and devils, notwithstanding the King's proclamations in the same. He hath not read to them the King's injunctions, as he ought to do, by reason whereof his parish be blind and ignorant in them.

Bartholomew Joy confessed to his Curate in general, saying, I am a sinner. And when the Vicar asked him wherein he had sinned, he answered, that he had confessed himself to the Lord already, and that he would make none other confession at that time; and so departed.

John Tofts, Christopher Levenysh, Bartholomew Joy, in the thirtieth of the King, pulled down all the pictures in the church of Northgate in Canterbury, except only the rood, Mary and John, the twelve Apostles, the picture of our Lady, and St. John Baptist. And in the thirty-fourth of the King, Tofts pulled down the picture of our Lady, and had her and the tabernacle home to his house, and there did hew her all to pieces. And at another time, the same Tofts openly, with a loud voice, read the Bible in English in the church to his wife, Sterkies wife, George Tofts' wife, to the midwife of the same parish, and to as many others as then were present.

Joanna Meriwether of St. Mildred's parish, for displea-

BOOK I. Anno 1543. sure that she bare towards a young maid named Elizabeth Celsay, and her mother, made a fire upon the dung of the said Elizabeth; and took a holy candle, and dropt upon the said dung. And she told unto her neighbours, that the said enchantment would make the cule of the said maid to divide into two parts.

Rafe, the bell-ringer of Christ Church, at the burial of Dr. Champion, [the Archbishop's chaplain,] after the priest had censed his grave, and a boy was bearing away the censers and the coals, called after the boy, and took the censers, and poured the hot coals upon him in his grave, to the great slander of the said Dr. Champion, as though he had been an heretic, worthy burning. Also he said, the King was content that all images should be honoured as they were wont to be.

Coxson, petty Canon of Christ Church, made his testament, by the advice of Mr. Parkhurst, Mr. Sandwich, and Mr. Mills, canons of the said church; and gave and bequeathed to every Vicar of Christ Church twenty pence, that had a pair of beads, and would say our Lady psalter for his soul departed. And this was executed according to the will.

The parson of Alyngton never preached in the church of Alyngton, nor declared against the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, nor set forth the King's supremacy according to the King's proclamations, letters, and injunctions. He hath been a great setter forth in his parish of the Maid of Kent, pilgrimages, feigned relics, and other such superstitions; and yet never recanted, and reproved the same, according to the King's Majesty's injunctions. He hath not declared to his parishioners, that the eves of such holy
103 days as be abrogate be no fasting-days, according to the King's injunctions. So upon the Sundays, Candlemas-day, Ash-Wednesday, Palm-Sunday, and Good-Friday, he hath not declared the true use of the ceremonies, used those days according to the King's proclamation.

The Curate of Stodmersh did dissuade men from eating of white-meats the last Lent, and rebuked them that did eat white-meats. About All-hallontide was twelvemonth he preached in St. Dunstan's church beside Canterbury, that "men should love God, and fear God, but not to trust him "too much."

Anno 1543.

Turnor, in the time of his being at Chartham, did cast no holy water, neither before the sacrament, nor upon any altar in the church (except the high altar). Nor also before the crucifix in the rood-loft, according to the laudable ceremony. He christened three children upon one day, and did not anoint them with holy oil, neither upon back nor belly. He neither incensed the crucifix in the rood-loft, nor any altar in the church, except the high altar: nor distributed any holy candles among his parishioners, as hath been accustomed.

Sir James Newman and one Lawrence took down an image of our Lady; to the which was no offering, except candles at the purification of women: nor any miracles noted to be done there by the said image.

Scory, one of the six preachers, said, that much superstitions were used in the church, as making of crosses upon Palm-Sunday, setting of them up, and blessing them with the holy candles; ringing of bells in the thunder. "For "think you," said he, "that the Devil will be afraid, or "flee away at cross-making, hurling of holy water, ringing "of bells, and such other ceremonies; when he was not "afraid to take Christ himself, and cast him on his back, "and set him on a pinnacle? Those things that be good of "themselves may not utterly be put away, although they "be abused. For then the holy sacrament of the altar "should be set aside, which is daily bought and sold."

Serles, one of the six preachers, in a sermon said, "If "the preacher preach error and erroneous doctrine, the "simple man, though he receive it and believe it, it doth "not infect nor corrupt him." And this he repeated twice. He said also, that "Moses sent letters from hell, to teach "the state thereof, and how men should live: and another "likewise out of heaven. *Item*, they say," said he, "that "only faith justifies, and that it maketh no matter how we "do live: Christ died for us, and by his blood hath washed "all our sins away; therefore what needeth us to fast or "pray?"

Sandwich, a Canon of Christ's Church, said in his sermon

Anno 1543. in the year 1542, "Whereas a good christian, or evil, "preached unto you truly the word of God, as I report me "to the conscience of you all; yet some that have evil "ears, did evil report of me. But if their ears were cut off, "as Malchus's was, and set up where every man might "wonder at them, I think therein a man should not wish "much against charity." At another time, in the year 1543, he said in his sermon, "Some, if they are given to "goodness, to follow the decrees of holy church, to kneel 104 "before the blessed sacrament, they will counsel them from "the same, and say, *Deus in manufactis templis non habitat.* "They will have none of the holy doctors. They will not "have St. Augustin, St. Ambrose, St. Hierom, St. Gregory, "Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, &c. Since the time we have "been given to new fangles, the spirit of new fangle hath "brought in the spirit of error. But what remedy then," said he, "to obtain the spirit of truth again? Of that," said he, "I spake the last time that I preached, and shewed "you that we must return where we went out. We must "return to our dog, to our conscience again; and that "will certify us where is the truth."

Shether, one of the six preachers, said, "That there was "one strait way to the truth, in which we and all men "have gone a long time; saving a few now of late, not "being content to follow that trade, have wandered in divers pathways to seek a nearer way to the truth. But "they are like unto one, that, being clean lost, was fain to "ask which way he might go to the end of his journey? "And to such it was answered, You be clean out of the "way, and there is none other means for you, but even to "turn back again, and to begin your journey again where "you left." Nothing at all, as the informer adds, admonishing the people of the way, which men had lost, by defending and retaining the usurpations of Rome: nor no mention that the King's Majesty hath reformed the abuses of superstitious religion. But even as one, that would have all things honestly reformed, to revert again into their superstition, for the maintenance of all blindness and error, commanded every man to turn back, and to begin where they left.

Dr. Willowby, the Vicar of Chilham, keepeth still in his church a certain shrine gilt, named St. Austin's shrine: which shrine was conveyed from St. Austin's of Canterbury unto the parish-church of Chilham, at the suppression of the monastery of St. Austin's. *Item*, a rood there, which had shoes of silver, being a monument of pilgrimage, or offering, standeth yet still, being only spoiled of the monument. He said, images had power of God to help sick people vowing unto them, the communication then being of our Lady of Cutupstreet, between the said Vicar and one Dawson of Chartham, a miller. *Memorandum*, that Potter's wife was banished out of Feversham for her suspect lying with Dr. Willowby, and also was compelled to forsake Chilham for the same, about two or three years past; and yet she remains in the company of the said Doctor.

Serles, mentioned before, in a sermon made in the chapter-house of Christ's Church, anno 1543, said, Some that occupy this place of preaching say no matins, mass, nor even-song, once in a quarter. They be never seen confessed, nor to occupy porteous nor mass-book. These use no vocal prayer: beware of their doctrine. In the church of Leneham, in the day of Assumption, he said, That as the moon is in the full at fourteen days, even so Mary was conceived fully with Christ when she was fourteen years old. *Item*, he said, That if one had looked in Mary, when she was full conceived with Christ, he should have perceived him in his mother's womb with a bush of thorns on his back: for he was crucified, crowned, and pricked with thorns. That Mary bare Christ poorly; for she had no fire, but begged 105 a coal of one, and a stick of another, to warm her child. He preached, that Mary nourished her son with milk, but not with material milk, but with milk that came from heaven: for no woman else can nourish her child with material milk, than she that is conceived by knowledge of man. [And no question this heavenly milk came along the milky way.] That all the whole faith of the world remained in Mary only for the space of three days and three nights. That faith was dead in the Apostles, and in all the world, from the death of Christ till his resurrection, and remained in the Virgin Mary whole and only. That the sorrows that

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she had were greater and more painful than Christ's, but for death only. That Christ descended into hell, and rose the third day and ascended into heaven, and many more with him; saying thus, *Multa corpora ascenderunt cum Christo, ut perhiberent testimonium*. In Ashford he preached, that prayer was not acceptable with God, but in the church only, and no where else; alleging this text, *Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur*. Then and there he said also, You fellows of the new trick, that go up and down with your Testaments in your hands, I pray you what profit take you by them? [This last passage relating to the Testament was interlined by Cranmer himself.] As Adam was expulsed out of Paradise for meddling with a tree of knowledge, even so be we for meddling with the Scripture of Christ. He said, There were some that said, that part of the Ave Maria was made to a strumpet. That Christ in the Gospel confounded Mary Magdalene with two parables, likening her to an alestake, and to a poor woman whom an Emperor had married, and in his presence did lie with a leprous lazar-man. Anno 1542, preaching in Kennyngton church on Good-Friday, he said, That as a man was creeping to the cross upon a Good-Friday, the image loosed itself off the cross, and met the man before he came to the cross, and kissed him. At the funeral of Mr. Boys he preached, That by the receiving of the sacraments and penance, all a man's deadly sins were forgiven clearly, but the venial sins remained; and for them they that died should be punished, except they were relieved by masses and dirges after their death. [This that follows is Cranmer's hand;] He preacheth no sermon, but one part of it is an invective against the other preachers of Christ's Church.

Shether preached at Sandwich in the year 1542, That baptism taketh away but only original sin. At another time there, that every man, since the passion of Christ, hath as much liberty and free-will as ever Adam had in Paradise before his fall. That the new preachers, with the liberty of the Gospel, have caused our livings to be worse than the Turks. That Zacharias, and Elizabeth his wife, kept all the commandments of God; and that it was a light thing for every man to keep them, if he would. That Christ and

baptism did nothing else but wash away original sin: and that if any man after baptism did fall, he must purchase remission of his sins by penance, as Mary Magdalene did. That a certain king was sick of a leprosy, and had a vision to go to Jordan to be washed, and should be whole. And as he was in his good intent going, he thought that he had as good and sweet water in his own country, as that was; 106
and so returned back and washed himself therein, but nothing at all he thereby mended: and then he went to Jordan, and so was made whole. He compared man's conscience to a dog. Beware of these false preachers, which preach to you new fangles. Will you know how to discern a true preacher from a false? You have a dog, which is your conscience: whensoever you shall come to any sermon, ask your dog, what he saith unto it? If he say, it be good, then follow it: but if your dog bark against it, and say it is naught, then beware and follow it not. Adding these words, If you will ask your conscience, what she thinks of such new fangles as are brought into the Church of God, she will say, that they be naught. He also preached, that men nowadays say, that holy water signifieth of Christ's blood. O! these are very glorious words. But it is not fit, good Christians, that such new fangles and fantasies of men should be brought into the Church of God. *Item*, In all his sermons he commonly useth to make invectives against the other preachers of this cathedral church; making the people believe that the preachers of the Church preach nothing but a carnal liberty, new fangles, new auricular confession, prayers, fasting, and all good works. This last is added by Cranmer's hand, as are also several other passages above, according as he himself took the examination.

And as the Gospellers thus articled against the Papists, so the Papists were as hot in drawing up articles against the Gospellers.

Scory, before mentioned, was accused, that he preached in a sermon at St. Elphy's, on Ascension-day 1541, That there was none in heaven but Christ only; [meaning, I suppose, as mediators there with God, in opposition to the intercession of saints.] Then followeth, writ by Cranmer's

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hand, these words; "The witnesses against him were Bradkirk, priest, Shether, Marden, Colman;" adding, "These "four be witnesses against all the articles of Ridley and "Scory, in the first detection made to me two years past." Then follow more accusations of Scory. He preached in August last, in the chapter-house of Christ's Church, That no man may pray in any wise in Latin, or other tongue, except he understand what he prayeth: and that priests and clerks do offend, taking any money or reward for saying *dirige* and mass. He said, that some preachers brought in their sermons *Gesta Romanorum*, persuading to the people, that it was the Gospel or the Bible. Another time, anno 1541, he preached in Lent in Christ's Church, Canterbury, That only faith justifies; and he that doth deny that only faith doth justify, would deny, if he durst be so bold, that Christ doth justify. He preached at Christ's Church another time, That the supper of the Lord, which is *Sacrificium et Hostia*, is not *Hostia pro peccatis*, but *Hostia Laudis*. He preached at Faversham, anno 1542, in the Feast of Dedication, That the dedication of material churches was instituted for the bishops' profits; and that he could not see by Scripture that they might use any such fashions for that purpose, as for conjuration. And then they must conjure the Devil out of the ground, or out of the lime and stones. And if so, then it were as necessary for every man's house to be
107 consecrate or dedicate. Admit, quoth he, that the dedication of the same were lawful, yet the bishops should always preach, (for that is their office;) and other men might and may consecrate them as well as they.

Item, This sumptuous adorning of churches is against the old fashion of the primitive church. They had no such copes, nor chalices, nor other jewels, nor gildings, nor paintings of images, as we now have. And therefore, if I were curate, I would sell all such things, or lay them to pledge to help the poor.

At Christmas last there was a general procession by the King's Majesty, and Mr. Scory preached these words: "Every country hath a custom to choose a patron. As Engd hath chosen St. George; Scotland, St. Andrew, &c. "thinking rather by intercession of saints to obtain the

" victory of their enemies. But, good people, quoth he, for-
" asmuch as saints be circumscript, it is not possible for the
" saint that is in the north to hear the prayer that is made
" in the south; nor that saint that is in the south to hear
" the prayer that is made in the north." But this last passage of the Christmas sermon hath a cross struck through it.

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Ridley, the prebendary, was charged, Sept. 22, 1543, that he preached at St. Stephen's, in the Rogation-week, anno Reg. 32, that auricular confession was but a mere positive law, and ordained as a godly means for the sinner to come to the priest for counsel; but he could not find it in Scripture. And that there was no meeter terms to be given to the ceremonies of the Church, than to call them *beggarly ceremonies*. That *Te Deum* hath been sung commonly in English at Herne, where the said Mr. Doctor is Vicar.

Brooks, one of the six preachers, was accused for preaching, That all masters and mistresses were bound to eat eggs, butter, and cheese in Lent, to give example to their households to do the same. [This the papists thought a breaking of Lent, to allow this eating of white-meats, whereas fish only ought to be eaten.] And he thought that the ceremonies of the Church were but *beggarly ceremonies*, and that was the meetest term he could give them.

Thomas Carden, Vicar of Lime, in a Lenten-sermon, anno 1543, said, He supposed St. Katharine was rather a devil in hell, than a saint in heaven. And that the people said naught, and that this term was naught to say, That they should receive their Maker at Easter; but they should say, we shall receive our housel. He preached, That the water in the font is no better than other water is.

Drum, one of the six preachers in the year 1543, preached in a sermon made in Christ's Church, that we may not pray in an unknown tongue; for if we do, we do but mock with God, and of God we be mocked. As if a man do come to a lord, and babble to him words he knoweth not, the lord will but mock him, and account him for a fool. So thy prayer, man, not understood, is but babbling; and for that before God thou art but a fool. Your psalmody and song in the church is so taken with God, if that you, which do occupy yourselves therein, do not understand it. And

Anno 1543. thou that so babblest dost break the command of God: for it is written, *Non accipies nomen Dei in vanum.* And you do call on God vainly, when you do call upon him in a 108 tongue that you understand not. Wherefore to such as know not the Latin it must be needful to pray in the mother-tongue. *Item*, That the material church is a thing made and ordained to content the affections of men, and is not the thing that pleaseth God, nor that God requires; but is a thing that God doth tolerate for the weakness of men. For as the father contenteth his child with an apple, or a hobby-horse; not because these things do delight the father, but because the child, ruled by affections, is more desirous of these things than the father is rejoiced in the deed: so Almighty God, condescending to the infirmities of man, and his weakness, doth tolerate material churches, gorgeously built, and richly decked; not because he requires, or is pleased with such things. This Drum was one of the Cambridge men that Cardinal Wolsey transplanted into his college at Oxon, and who suffered imprisonment there some time after with Cox and Frith, and divers others of the same college, for matters of religion. But however, Drum afterwards fell away into papistry.

Lancaster, Parson of Pluckley, useth not in the church-porch any hally-water, according to the laudable custom of the Church. A great part of his parish useth not to receive hally-bread. Going on procession, he useth not to rehearse *Sancta Maria*, nor any other saints' names.

The Curate of Much Mongam, going on procession, refuseth, and will in no wise sing nor say the Litany in such manner as all other curates do.

Reflections upon the former presentments.

All these collections I have made out of the original of this visitation of the Archbishop. Wherein may be seen the particular matters in these times vented and tossed about in the pulpits; the trifling way of popish preaching, consisting in ridiculous lying fables and stories, as is used still in the popish countries; and with how much more solidity, truth, and reason, the sermons of those who favoured the Gospel were replenished. We may observe here also, how diligent our Archbishop was in his care of his diocese, and the pains

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he took to come to a perfect detection of his clergy, in order to their regulation, and divers other things, which an ingenious reader will take notice of.

The prebendaries and preachers admonished by the Archbishop.

The Archbishop had all the prebendaries and preachers before him in his consistory at Croydon on Trinity-Sunday was twelvemonth; where he argued with them, instructed, rebuked, exhorted them, according as he saw needful for every man, with relation unto the articles above said. He told Serles, who had preached in favour of images in churches, as representatives of saints, and not idols, "That "*Imago* and *Idolum* was one thing; but the one was the "Latin, the other the Greek." To which Gardiner, a prebend of the Church, replied, "that he did not think that "an image and an idol was one, but that an image, not "abused with honour, is an image, and not an idol." This saying of the Archbishop did so gall them, that they took occasion after, in their sermons, to confute it. And they lyingly reported in Canterbury, that the Archbishop should say, he would be even with Gardiner, or that Gardiner should repent his reasoning with him. Whereas all that 109 Cranmer said was, that the communication that Gardiner had that day should be repeated again at his Grace's coming to Canterbury. The same day the Archbishop told them, that he had set in their church six preachers, three of the old learning, and three of the new. Now Gardiner told him, he thought that would not be for the most quietness in preachers. The Archbishop replied, that he had shewed the King's Grace what he had done in that matter, and that the King's pleasure was, that it should be so. He then also gave them warning, that none should inveigh against others in their sermons.

BOOK I.

CHAP. XXVI.

Anno 1543.

A black Cloud over the Archbishop.

The prebendaries plot against the Archbishop.

SOON after this, a great and black cloud hung over our Archbishop's head, that threatened to break upon him in thunder and lightning. The prebendaries and others of the church of Canterbury, for the most part, were addicted to the Pope and the old superstitions: which the Archbishop's endeavour to abolish, and to bring in truer knowledge of religion among them, caused them to do what they could to oppose him. And indeed they usually carried themselves disobligingly enough to him: which made him say to one of them, *viz.* Gardiner, alias Sandwich, "You and your company hold me short; but I will hold you as short." They seemed now to have a fair advantage against him, upon account of the statute of the six Articles: which the King at this time stood much upon the execution of; and did give out, that he required justices and others, his officers, in their several places, to give notice of all disobedience against it. The Bishop of Winchester also was now in great favour with the King, a constant adversary to Canterbury, and implacably set against the new learning, as it was then called. He thought to take this opportunity to deal so effectually with the King, as to get the Gospel destroyed, and all that adhered to it. And moreover, about this time was given out a saying ordinarily, that "the Bishop of Winchester had "bent his bow to shoot at some of the head deer:" meaning, as the issue made manifest, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Queen Katharine Par, and others of the court.

Winchester the chief manager.

And to carry on his purpose, he, being a privy-counsellor himself, had an understanding with some of the council, who were of his mind, and ready to second these his ends: as among the rest was Baker, the Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations. These were his confidents at home. Abroad, to be his solicitor and his great agitator, he had a very fit man for his purpose, one Dr. London, Warden of New College, Oxon, Prebend of Shipton in the church of

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Sarum, Canon of Windsor, and Dean of Osenay, a very busy zealot: who was in his time the great contriver and practiser of mischief against good men that could not comply with papal superstitions. He was one of the three that some years before now prosecuted most rigorously the good students in the Cardinal's college, when by imprisonment 110 and hard usage several of them died. But this man was met with; not long after this suffering public shame for perjury, and died in a jail. At one and the same time Winchester, with this his trusty partner London, was driving on two games together: the one was to bring into trouble several of the King's own court, that were favourers of the Gospel; not liking that such should be so near the King: and the other was to overthrow the good Archbishop, and his friends in his diocese of Canterbury, and to extinguish that light of the Gospel that began notably to shine there.

Winchester designs the death of divers of the court.

For the compassing the first, they procured among them a special sessions to be held at Windsor: wherein they not only, upon the six Articles, condemned four poor honest men, *viz.* Persons, Filmer, Testwood, and Marbeck, whereof the three former were burnt to death; but they drew up a bundle of indictments against a very great many, and some of eminency about the King, as Cardin and Hobby, knights, of the King's privy chamber; with the ladies Harman and Welden, Snowbal and his wife, and a great many more of the King's true and peaceable subjects. One Ockham, that served for clerk of the peace at that time, had these indictments ready to carry them to the chief patron of these plots, the Bishop of Winchester. But this design, notwithstanding the privacy and crafty contrivance of it, took not effect; but he rather brought himself into disgrace thereby. For one Fulk, belonging unto the Queen, being at sessions at Windsor at that time, and observing what was done, hastily rode to court, and discovered to the persons concerned what was hatching against them, letting them know, that Ockham was coming with his indictments to the Bishop of Winchester: who, as soon as he had received them, would without doubt have laid them before the King and his council, But by this seasonable notice they waylaid Ockham, and Cardin and others seized him, and all his papers, as soon as

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he came to court, before he got to Winchester. These papers were perused by some of the privy council; and seeing what large numbers, it may be, of themselves and of their friends, as well as others, were indicted, and designed for death, they thought fit to acquaint the King with it. And he, not liking such bloody doings, gave them all a pardon: and observing how Winchester was the great agent in all this, never liked him after.

And of the Archbishop and his friends.

But Winchester and London had other irons in the fire against the Archbishop and his friends at and about Canterbury: and particularly Dr. Ridley, a prebendary, Scory, Lancelot Ridley, and Drum, three of the preachers. And to bring mischief upon these, by the instigation of Winchester and practice of London, several of the prebendaries, and some of the six preachers, combine in a resolution to draw up accusations, both against the Archbishop and against his friends. But neither did this Winchester's second plot succeed, but rather drew shame upon himself, and those that assisted in it.

The papers relating to Archbishop Cranmer's accusation.

There is a volume in the Benet College library, entitled, *Accusatio Cranmeri:* wherein are contained the rough papers of the examinations that were taken of these accusers 111 of the Archbishop; the interrogatories put to them, their confessions and submissions to the Archbishop. Upon which papers this was writ by the hand of Archbishop Parker, in whose possession they afterwards came, *viz.*

"*Memorandum*, that King Henry, being divers times by "Bishop Gardiner informed against Bishop Cranmer, and "the said Gardiner having his instructions of one Dr. London, a stout and filthy prebendary of Windsor, who "there convicted [of perjury] did wear a paper openly, and "rode through the town with his face toward the horse-tail; and also had information of Mr. Moyles, Mr. "Baker, and of some others promoted by the said Cranmer; (whose tales he uttered to the King;) perceiving "the malice, trusted the said Cranmer with the examination of these matters; which he did of divers persons, as "by this doth appear."

The contents thereof.

Hence I have carefully extracted some particulars, that I may give a particular account of this exquisite piece of malice; which aimed at nothing less than this good man's life, and that they might make him tread the same path with his friend Crumwel two or three years before, as a reward of his endeavours in setting forward a reformation in the church.

The canons and preachers of Canterbury.

But first I will set down the names of the prebendaries and preachers of the cathedral church of Canterbury, because we shall have occasion often to mention divers of them.

Canons of Canterbury, anno 1543.

Richard Thornden, Suffragan of Dover; Arthur Sentleger; Richard Parkhurst, Parson of Leneham; Nicolas Ridley, John Meines, Hugh Glazier, William Hunt, William Gardiner, John Milles, John Daniel, Robert Goldson, John Baptist.

The six Preachers.

Robert Serles, Vicar of Charing, Michael Drum, Lancelot Ridley, John Scory, Edmund Shether, Thomas Brooke.

Many of these he had himself preferred, and was a special good lord unto. And yet such was the ingratitude of several of them, that they voluntarily yielded to be made tools to carry on this wicked machination against him. The names of the chief actors were Thornden, who lived in the Archbishop's family, and eat at his table, and with whom he used to converse most familiarly: Gardiner, whom Cranmer had taken as his own child; and he had resigned up himself to him with heart, body, and service, as he once solemnly professed to the Archbishop: Sentleger, Milles, Parkhurst, Serles, and Shether; and one Dr. Willoughby, beneficed in Kent, and the King's chaplain.

Cranmer's chaplains complained of at the sessions.

Their first attempt which they made was, to prefer bills of accusation against the Archbishop's chaplains and preachers, *viz.* the two Ridleys, Scory, Turner, Bland, Drum, Lancaster, and others; and slantingly through their sides striking at the Archbishop himself. This they did to the justices at their sessions, upon the statute of the six Articles. And that by the suggestion of London; who thought it convenient that the articles should first be carried to the sessions, and from thence returned to the council board. Wil- 112

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loughby, being the King's chaplain, and a man of some quality, was prevailed with to present the articles to the justices, and to make them willing to meddle in this affair, which otherwise they had no great stomach to do, fearing they might draw the King's displeasure upon themselves. Willoughby, by the direction of London, told Moyle and Thwaits, and the other their fellow-justices, that they should be shent for suffering such preaching and contention, without doing any thing therein to stop it. And this was that they drove at; that after these articles were preferred from the justices up to court, and seen and read by the King and council, a commission should then be obtained: and such put into the commission as might effectually take order with the preachers. And these three prebendaries, Parkhurst, Gardiner, and Mills, they laboured especially to be put in commissioners; and that the Archbishop himself should be left out: for so London had promised.

They prepare the articles, and prefer them.

Their next care was to prepare the articles. Gardiner and Serles are extraordinary diligent in this work, and had been gathering matter a good space before. The writings were finished at Justice Moyle's house: and Willoughby seems to be the man that offered the bill in court. They dealt earnestly with Baro, clerk of the peace, to draw up the indictment against the good men complained of in their bill of articles, (the chief whereof were John Bland, and Richard Turner,) but he denied it. And when the jury, that were to be sworn, came, they took them not orderly as they stood in the panel, but overleaped some of them, and left them unsworn, that they might be sure to have such men as would do their business. After they had proceeded thus far, their next care was to get their articles sent up to the court, and laid before the King and council.

They article against the Archbishop himself.

And to these aforesaid articles they drew up another book against the Archbishop himself, the matter being first plotted between Dr. London and Serles, a discontented man, lately imprisoned. And this created them a new diligence, and divers journeys from Kent to London, to take their instructions, and from London to Kent, to get their informations. And there was at last a parcel of articles (trifles for the most part) raked out of the dunghill, picked up any

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where, and from any person, without proof: for they had nothing to shew for the truth of them, but hearsay and report, and scarcely that. Serles inveigles Dr. Willoughby into this business, and brings him into acquaintance with Dr. London: in whose house the articles are first read, to whom it was propounded to present them. But when Serles had said, that the things mentioned in the articles were such as were openly spoken, Willoughby replied, "Though he heard such things, he was not sure they were "true; and there was no record to affirm them true, no "witnesses' hands being subscribed:" and so made a great boggle at presenting them, and put Serles upon that work. But London urged Willoughby to carry them to the council, telling him, that it would be a matter of great danger for him, being so near the King, if he should not give information of such ill things in that country where he lived; 113 especially knowing the King's pleasure that such matters should not be concealed, but that complaint should be made of them to him and his council. And he bad him not fear; for that he himself had made such a spectacle[d] at Windsor in bringing to light abominable heresies, (meaning in causing those three poor men to be burnt, and indicting so many more their maintainers,) whereat the King, he said, was astonished, and angry both with the doers and bearers. And therefore if he should now shrink, he should shew himself to be no true subject. Upon these words, which created some fear in Willoughby, if he should decline what London put him on to do, he was content to present them.

London's practices.

Thus having gotten a person ready for this part of the drudgery, to prefer the complaints against the Archbishop, London writ them over again, and added other new articles as he pleased. Which Serles himself liked not: but London said he meant, by putting in some things, to bring the matter before the justices, and certain of the spirituality, for his purpose. Matters, many of them, of mere untruth, and not so much as the pretence of a rumour for. But he told Willoughby and Serles, that it should never be known to be their doings. And so Willoughby took the old copy with him into Kent, to get it recorded, and signed with hands: and London sent a copy to the Bishop of Winchester. Willoughby being now at Canterbury about this business, requiring the prebendaries to sign the articles, they all refused. Up rode Willoughby to London again, and acquaints Dr. London therewith with a heavy heart. Then he began another practice, to tamper with the justices, bidding Willoughby let them know, that the King would be angry with them for taking no more notice of the disorders in Kent. London went also himself to Moyle's lodging, a leading justice then in Kent, and talked with him, exhorting him to forward this work against the Archbishop; telling him, that he himself had taken up my Lord of Canterbury before the council: meaning thereby to signify to him, that he needed not to fear him so much as he seemed to do, or his interest at the court. Upon this Moyle sent to several other gentlemen and justices to search out for any priests that wanted a crown, [as a reward for their information,] who should inquire about the country for what things were rumoured against the Archbishop: and so as many rumours and bruits as were brought, were presently turned into articles. But Moyle warily sent all the reports that came to his hand to the Archbishop, not so much out of good-will to him, as that he might pretend to discharge his duty in giving information to the diocesan of abuses in his diocese: thereby also reckoning to avert the displeasure of the Archbishop from himself. But this London liked not of, and told him he would mar all.

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[d] Little thinking what a spectacle he was soon after to make there, when he was carried on horseback through the town, with a paper upon his head declaring his perjury, and his face to the horse's tail.

A great mass of articles against the Archbishop procured.

At length Serles and Willoughby had got together a mass of accusations; whether true or false mattered not, but a great heap they made. For these two were the chief collectors of articles, both at Canterbury and other places in Kent: London having advised them to get as much matter as could be devised; for it would be the goodliest deed, as he said, and the most bounden act to the King, that
114 ever they did. These reports were digested into two or three books. Serles brought up some of the articles roughly drawn to London; and London transcribed them, and

brought them to the Bishop of Winchester: and there they were copied out by German Gardinér, his secretary, another busy man.

The chief instruments. Gardiner.

Gardiner, the prebendary, by this time had gotten a book of articles, signed by the rest of the prebendaries, and Willoughby brought them up: some of the prebendaries coming up too, being about to be the presenters of the book themselves. Winchester, and Baker, Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, gave the said prebendaries encouragement to proceed in what they went about. And busy London, to make the articles the better entertained, when they should be presented to the council, had officiously shewn the copy of them to several of the said council beforehand.

Serles.

I must here give this further note concerning Serles: that he was so zealous a man, that he had the year before put up to the council articles against the preachers of the Gospel: but they were such that the council thought not fit the King should see them. Which he complained of; and it seems at his return was clapt up in prison for his pains, for some either malicious insinuations or irrregular practices herein.

Shether.

Shether was another of the gang, and one of the forwardest in this invidious business against the innocent Archbishop. He was one of those that came up to London to present the bill. It may be guessed what a hotheaded man he was, by a passage we meet with concerning him when he was proctor at Oxford in the year 1535. In which year he made such a combustion betwixt the university and the townsmen, that they being enraged against him, he went in danger of his life. So that he and his company were fain to go armed when they went abroad. And when he was out of his proctorship, the university allowed him to defend himself from the townsmen at the university charge, if he should be set upon by them. This Shether brought up also his collections to one Ford, his brother-in-law, to write them out: which amounted to a great book of two days' labour. For they were resolved to have enough; and to make out in bulk what was wanting in truth.

Fasti Oxon. p. 686.

Take an hint or two here of Gardiner Bishop of Win-

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The Bishop of Winchester's discourse with a prebendary of Canterbury.

chester, the secret machine in all this ingrateful work. Coming once from the council, that then was beyond the sea at Calais, about the time of the breach with France, he, after hearing mass at the cathedral church at Canterbury, took his namesake Gardiner the prebendary by the hand, and asked him how he did, and how they did in Canterbury? meaning in relation to religion professed in the city. And when Gardiner answered, "But meetly;" he inquired, How they did within the house among themselves, with relation to the churchmen belonging to it? He told him, that they did not agree all in preaching. "So do I hear," said Winchester. Then he asked, wherein they did not agree? Gardiner then repeated somewhat of Ridley's and Scory's sermons: and this among other things, "That prayer ought "to be made in a tongue known, and not in a tongue un-
115 "known; for so it were but babbling." Winchester then said, "he missed: for the Germans themselves are now "against that saying. Well," said he, "this is not well. "My Lord of Canterbury will look after this, I doubt not, "or else such preaching will grow unto an evil inconvenience: I know well he will see remedy for it. Well, "how do you do with them?" Gardiner replied, "My Lord, "hardly: I am much marked in my sermons: and I cannot tell whether I be taken, or no. I pray your good "Lordship of your counsel, what were best for me to do. "I had rather leave preaching betimes, than to be taken in "my sermons." Then said Winchester, "Do thus: write "your sermons into a book, every word, as you will preach "it; and when you go into the pulpit, deliver your book "unto the chiefest man there that can read, and let him "take heed of your book while you do preach, and say "no more but that you have written and studied for; and "I warrant you you shall do well enough. And when "you do hear any man preach any otherwise than well, "hold you contented, and meddle not; so shall you do "best." Then he passed forth his time in communication concerning the ordinances of their choir, their statutes, their masses, and hours of them. And at the last sent for Ridley the prebendary, and had some conference with him: but what, it is uncertain.

Willoughby and London wait at the council-chamber.

The bulky articles being at last hammered out and made ready, London now required Willoughby to deliver them to the council; which he would fain have shrunk from. He then charged him upon his allegiance to go with him to the council-chamber-door, meaning to have him into the council. Having gotten him there, he went in, and informed some of the privy council, (and friends, I suppose, to the matter,) that Dr. Willoughby was without, desiring he might be called in. Willoughby was before instructed by London to use words to the council to this tenor, when he should deliver his articles: *viz.* "That the King and they "had been at great charges, and taken great pains to set a "good and godly way among them, [meaning the statute "of the six Articles:] and for all that they had with them "in Kent the most enormous heresies. And because he "heard, that it was the King's will and pleasure that every "man, on pain of his allegiance, should bring in what he "knew, or else, if he knew and did conceal it, it should be "his damage; therefore, in discharge of his duty, he came "to tender that bill of articles." But this speech was not delivered that day, the council not being at leisure. And lest some people, knowing the pragmatical temper of London, might be jealous what he did at the court, and suspect it was for no good to the professors of the Gospel, it was studiously given out, that he was there for some promotion from the King.

Willoughby brought to the Lord Privy Seal, and to Winchester.

The next day the sedulous man carried Willoughby to the Lord Privy Seal [Lord Russel, if I mistake not] with his articles; but neither would my Lord Privy Seal see them, having no leisure, as he pretended: I suppose, because he liked them not, and loved my Lord of Canterbury. The day after, London carried him to the Bishop of Winchester: into whom he went and tarried an hour, carrying in the copy of the articles: in which time, no question, the Bishop 116 and his trusty substitute contrived for the managing of the matter. Soon after Willoughby being with Winchester, and desiring him that he might not be put to present the articles, not being able to testify to the truth of them, Winchester bade him "fear not to do his duty: and that "if the matter were not to be abiden by, the doers should

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"bear the blame, and not the presenter. And that it was "all our duties to stand in such things as were contrary to "the King's injunctions." But notwithstanding Willoughby got himself excused, and delivered them not; but the prebendaries soon after Easter did.

The contents of the articles against the Archbishop.

The articles are not specified in the papers I use; but, by the interrogatories and other passages, it appears that some of them were these that follow: "That he rebuked "Serles for that he preached, that images might be permitted in the church as representatives of saints, and not "be idols. Item, that the Archbishop spake openly before "all the prebendaries and preachers in consistory, that the "King's pleasure was to have the six preachers consist of "three of the new learning and three of the old. Item, "that Serles and Shether underwent censure laid upon "them by the Archbishop for somewhat they had preached, "when the honesty of their audience offered themselves to "testify that they were falsely accused, and that that which "was laid against them was not true: and although they "were a great number, yet they could not be admitted. "That they were innocent preachers, and, being innocent, "were condemned, the one to prison, and the other to read "a declaration of false surmised articles. Item, that those "that would speak against evil opinions, dared not; for if "they did, they were complained of, and called seditious "persons, stirring the people to commotion: and complaining to their ordinary, they got nothing but displeasure; "and the evil preachers had much more favour and boldness. Item, that there were two images of Christ, and "two of our Lady, that were taken down; whereunto was "neither oblation, nor any lights standing before them."

More articles against his Commissary.

Other articles, which were of Serles his own collecting, as appears by the interrogatories that Cranmer under his own hand had prepared to put to him, were such as these, and were chiefly against the Archbishop's Commissary. "That "there were a great number of evil preachers in Canterbury "diocese. That the Archbishop's commissary [Dr. Leigh] "in his visitation commanded that the wax-candles, blessed "upon Candlemas-day, should not be delivered unto the "people. That holy-water should not be borne, nor cast into

" men's houses. That in some churches, by the Commissary's " command, all the images were pulled down, and hewed " with axes. That the Commissary was most conversant " with abjured persons, and other suspect of heresy, aiding, " maintaining, and succouring them. That Joanna Bochier " was delivered by the favour of the Commissary. [Where-" as indeed she was by the King's pardon. This is she " that was afterwards burnt for Arianism in King Edward's " days.] That one Giles came to Canterbury, in a courtier's " coat and a beard, being a priest, and there lodged ten " days. And one Hardes, a justice, complained of him to **117** " the Commissary, but the Commissary did nothing. [Where-" as in truth he was not a priest, but a layman.] That a " tailor in Canterbury did openly read and expound the " Scripture in his own house: and open resort thither was " suffered by the Commissary. That the Master of St. " John's in Canterbury at his death refused to receive, " and despised the blessed sacrament: and yet, by the suf-" ferance of the Commissary, was both buried like a true " christian, and also was of very many praised for a good " and holy man. That Mr. Bland, in communication with " Mr. Sponer, Vicar of Boughton, denied auricular confes-" sion to be requisite, and delivered his opinion to the said " Sponer in writing: which the Commissary hearing, de-" sired Sponer to let him see the writing, swearing that he " would not keep it from him: but when he had the bill, " he put it into his purse. That the Commissary resigned " a benefice to the said Bland, binding Bland and his suc-" cessor, by a writing made under the hand of my Lord of " Canterbury and the chapter, to pay unto him and his as-" signs a great part of the clear yearly value for many " years." This was the sum of Serles's articles: but most of them were found to be frivolous and false.

More still.

Articles yet more against our Archbishop were, "That he " held a constant correspondence with Germany, sending " letters thither, and receiving letters thence." That he gave out a great many exhibitions in Germany, and had many pensioners there. (In relation to which, there seemed to be a design carrying on, that the Bishop of Winchester should seize some of these letters of the Archbishop: for

Gardiner told him whose hands they passed through, namely, one Fuller of Canterbury, and that if the said bishop would send for him, and command him upon his allegiance, he should know more: or at least, that he might make use of Fuller for a witness to serve to prove this article.) Moreover, they put in their articles, "That his "Grace's sister was a milner's wife, and that she and her "husband lived nine or ten years together in Canterbury. "And then that she married to one Mr. Bingham, her "former husband being yet alive: and that Mr. Commis- "sary married her daughter. And though he were thus "a married priest, yet he was joined with Mr. Dean "[Wotton] to be one of the proctors of the clergy in "the convocation-house: and not of their election, but "that it was obtained by the interest of his affinity."

The witnesses.

The chief witnesses and persons concerned as vouchers and informers were, Roper, Balthazar a chirurgeon, Heywood, Moor, Beckinsal, German Gardiner.

The prebendaries deliver the Articles.

At length, after much ado, some of the prebendaries, in the name of the church of Canterbury, delivered into the council, not long after Easter, the articles swelled to a good quantity of paper. And so they came at last into the King's hand. Having received them, he bade Baker, the Chancellor of the Court of Augmentation, a Kentish man, being one of the privy council, and a privado in this matter, to send to Canterbury for some to prove the articles. The said Chancellor orders the Dean, ignorant of the matter, to send to Shether and Serles to come up as secretly as might be to London. Being come up, Shether repairs to the
118 Dean: who bad him, with Gardiner and Parkhurst, to go to the Chancellor, who sent for them. Being come before him, he said to them, "That the King had a book against "the Archbishop delivered to him; which he had himself "perused. And because that he perceived that they could "say somewhat, wishing also for Serles, (who was not yet "come,) he told them the King willed them to say what "they knew, fearing no person, but to dread only one "God and one King." Whereupon they took the book, and drew out such articles as they could witness of. He bad them return to Canterbury, and provide the witnesses

there; and that Shether the youngest should come back again, after he had perfected the book in the day and year, and to bring it with him. From him they applied again to the Bishop of Winchester, the great wheel, and shewed him what Baker had said to them.

CHAP. XXVII.

The King the Archbishop's friend in this danger.

The King himself discovers all to the Archbishop.

THE King well perceiving the malice of the men, and a plot contrived against an honest and innocent man, strengthened with the favour and aid of Winchester, and several of the counsellors, and the imminent danger the Archbishop was in, except he himself did interpose, it pleased God to turn the King's heart to him. So he put the book of articles in his sleeve; and passing one evening in his barge by Lambeth-bridge, the Archbishop standing at the stairs to do his duty to his Majesty, he called him into the barge to him; and, accosting him with these words, "O my "chaplain, now I know who is the greatest heretic in "Kent," communicated to him these matters, shewing him the book of articles against him and his chaplains, and bad him peruse it. This both surprised and troubled the Archbishop not a little: that those of his own church, and justices of the peace whom he had obliged, should deal so treacherously with him. He kneeled down to the King, and, well knowing how false the articles were, desired him to grant a commission to whomsoever it pleased him, to try the truth of these accusations, so as from the highest to the lowest they might be well punished, if they had done otherwise than became them. The King told him, "He "would grant a commission, and that such affiance and "confidence he had in his fidelity, that he should be the "chief commissioner himself, to whom he would wholly "commit the examination, with two or three more such as "he should choose." When the Archbishop replied, that it would not seem indifferent to make him a commissioner,

The Archbishop desires a commission.

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who was a party accused; the King told him, "That he "was sure he would not halt with him, although he were "driven to accuse himself; but would speak the truth of "himself, if he had offended." The King added, that he knew partly how the matter came about, [namely, by Winchester's subtile means,] and that if he handled the matter wisely, he should find a pretty conspiracy against him. The King named but one, *viz.* Dr. Belhouse, to be in the commission; and the Archbishop named Dr. John Cocks his 119 Vicar-general, and Anthony Hussey his Register. The commission was made out of hand, and he was commanded to go himself into Kent upon it: and the King commanded the commissioners particularly, that it should be sifted out who was the first occasion of this accusation. Presently every one that had meddled in this detection shrunk away, and gave over their hold.

The Archbishop in commission expostulates with his accusers.

The Archbishop came to Feversham himself, and there, as it seems, sat upon the commission, and drew up some interrogatories with his own hand for some of these informers; and having summoned these accusers before him, argued and expostulated meekly, and sometimes earnestly, with them; chiefly insisting upon their ingratitude and disingenuity with him. He asked Sentleger if he were at home on Palm-Sunday? (that was the day when the prebendaries signed the articles.) Sentleger saying, he was then at his benefice, the Archbishop declared the *procession done that day*, as he called it; and said, whether he and the rest were present that day, they were all knit in a bond among them, which he would break: adding, in a passionate way of expression, "O Mr. Sentleger, I had in you and Mr. "Parkhurst a good judgment, and especially in you; but "ye will not leave your old mumpsimus." To which Sentleger boldly replied, that he trusted they used no mumpsimuses but those that were consonant to the laws of God and the Prince. And with Shether, one of the busiest enemies the Archbishop had in this affair, the Archbishop so fatherly discoursed and argued, that Shether could not forbear weeping. He and Serles, two of the chief agents, were committed to custody.

But Shether presently dispatcheth his servant to the

Bishop of Winchester, declaring how he and Serles were in durance, and recommended their case to him. Winchester went into the council-chamber, probably to try his interest with the council to get them released. But it seems he soon perceived how the King stood affected, and so there was nothing yet to be done: and therefore he told the servant, he could give him no answer as yet. A day or two after, at the servant's departing, he told him, "That his "master was a child for weeping to the Archbishop, when "he should have answered; and that he should not weep "for shame, but answer like a man; and that he should "take a good heart, for he should have friends. That he "would not forget him: but he must know of the council "first what to do; and so desired the servant to have him "recommended to the prebendaries all in general; bidding "him tell them, that my Lord of Canterbury could not kill "them, and that therefore they should bear their sufferings; "for all he did was against himself, and that he should see "what would come of it." Ford, a brother-in-law of Shether's, and a party, told the servant, "That he should tell "his brother that he should never recant; for if he did, he "would never be his friend while he lived, nor none should "that he could let; and that my Lord of Winchester "should be his friend."

Shether in prison sends to Winchester.

But to return to the Archbishop's examination of them. When he asked them what the reason was of these their doings; they pretended one one thing, and another another. Gardiner said, that which moved him was, because he observed such jarrings among them, and so much unquietness 120 about matters of religion; and that he thought it was by the Archbishop's sufferance: which the Archbishop convinced him was false. Shether pretended that Baker, the Chancellor of the Augmentations, had willed him to mark the chief fautors of new opinions. Willoughby desired Dr. Thornton, who was very great with the Archbishop, but secretly false to him, that he would let his Lordship know, that he never put up article against any man in his life; for that he was charged to have put up, or ready to have put up the articles. Thornton bad him stick to it, and not be afraid; for, saith he, I have spoken my mind to the

Their reasons which they pretended for what they did.

council therein as I am bound, and so be you, being the King's chaplain.

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Cockes and Hussey commissioners, and his officers false.

But the Archbishop left the further discovery of this mischief to the diligence of Cockes and Hussey his officers: this was about August. They sat six weeks, saith my manuscript; but, being secret favourers of the papists, handled the matter so, that nothing would be disclosed and espied, but every thing colourably was hid. The Archbishop secretly observed this; but Morice his secretary wrote to Dr. Butts the King's physician, and Sir Anthony Denny of his bedchamber, That if the King sent not some others to assist the Archbishop than those that were with him, it was not possible any thing should come to light; wishing that Dr. Legh, or some such other stout man, that had been exercised in the King's ecclesiastical affairs in his visitation, might be sent to him. And Dr. Legh was soon dispatched with instructions from the King into Kent, with the King's ring, which he delivered to the Archbishop on Allhallow-even. And with Dr. Legh, Dr. Rowland Taylor, another civilian, a bold and stirring man, was joined; who afterwards was burnt for his constancy in religion.

New commissioners sent down.

These new commissioners startled the delinquents; and they began to be very uneasy, and full of anger, as well as fear. One cried, " Thank my Lord's Grace; that is a way " to have quietness in Kent, to have Dr. Legh there." Of Dr. Taylor they said, " he was a man of an evil judgment, " and notified for, and brought up in the same." And another, reflecting upon these men, said, " I would all ambi" tious knaves were hanged; I would all maintainers of " new opinions were hanged; I would all knaves that break " orders were hanged; I would all knaves that are against " the commonwealth were hanged."

The Register false.

Hussey the Register, who had the examinations of these men, had private conferences with them; and let Serles and Sandwich (alias Gardiner) have the copies of their accusations, before they were to be called before Legh, that they might the better know what answers to make.

The delinquents' chambers and chests searched.

But to proceed, to see what course Dr. Legh took. Immediately upon his coming, according to the King's advice, he gave commission to about nine or ten of the Archbishop's

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officers and gentlemen, such as were tried men of wit and audacity, to go and search the purses, chests, and houses of certain prebendaries and gentlemen, *viz.* such as were deemed or suspected to be of this confederacy, within the cathedral church and without; and what letters and writings they could find with them, to bring to the Archbishop and him.

They all went about their work in the same hour; and, 121 within four hours after, the whole conspiracy was discovered, by finding of letters, some from the Bishop of Winchester, some from Dr. London at Oxon, and from justices of the shire. In the chambers and chests of some gentlemen of the county were found letters serving to that purpose. And among the rest there came to the Archbishop's hand two letters, one of Thornton, and the other of Dr. Barber; whom the Archbishop retained with him in household for expedition of matters in suit before him, being his officer, and as a counsellor to him in the law when need required: both promoted by him; Thornton, who was suffragan of Dover, he made prebendary of his church, and whom he always set at his own mess. The Archbishop taking them apart, shewed them their letters, and upbraided them with their falseness and ingratitude. They fell down on their knees to the Archbishop, and with many tears begged his pardon, acknowledging that they had been a year ago tempted to do what they had done.

The treachery of Thornton and Barber.

The Archbishop before them, casting up his hands to heaven, applied himself to God, thanking him that he had, in the midst of so many enemies and false friends, vouchsafed him one great friend and master, meaning the King, without whose protection, as he said, he were not able to stand upright one day. He prayed God to make them good men, and bad them ask God forgiveness, seeing he had never deserved such usage at their hands. He added, that now he perceived there was no fidelity nor truth among men; and that he was brought to that point, that he feared his left hand would accuse his right: but that he needed not to marvel at it, seeing Christ prophesied of such a world to come in the latter days. He prayed God of his mercy to finish that time shortly: and so dismissed them with gentle

The Archbishop's discourse to them.

Mark xiii. 12. *The brother shall betray the brother to death, and*

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the father the son: and children shall rise up against their parents, &c.

and comfortable words. And it was observed that there never after appeared, neither in his countenance nor his words, any remembrance thereof. But he thought fit no more to trust them; and so discharged them of his service. And so he did one Mr. Talbot, another false man, which was also of his counsel and chamber. But Dr. London took occasion hence to say, that they could tell a shrewd tale, if they were examined; and that it was not for nought they were put out of service: as though the reason were, that they should no more have opportunity of knowing any of the Archbishop's doings or sayings.

The conspirators are imprisoned.

All the foresaid seized papers and writings were put into a chest, and brought up to Lambeth; the King being minded to peruse them, and to punish the principals. In fine, divers of the chief of the knot were committed to prison, where they remained till the next year, some more closely confined than others; all during the Archbishop's pleasure. All that the Archbishop required of them was repentance and recantation, and an ingenuous confession of their faults and falseness to him. Abiding for some time under affliction, their spirits began to mollify; and then, by supplicatory letters to the Archbishop, they begged his pardon, made their confessions, and desired their liberty.

Their release.

122 About which time a parliament was at hand. Then great labour was made by their friends for a general pardon from the King, procuring him a subsidy, the easier to obtain it. Which indeed followed, and wiped away all punishment and correction for their fault. But without the King's indulgence they were like suddenly to have had their liberty by the Archbishop's intercession for them, being a man that delighted not in revenge.

The confessions and letters.

In the before-mentioned manuscript volume, belonging to Benet College, whence I have extracted most of these relations, are remaining the interrogatories prepared for Dr. London, wrote by the Archbishop's own hand, together with the humble confessions and letters of Willoughby, Gardiner, Serles, Milles, Sentleger, and others concerned. Some of which I have transcribed into the Appendix. Gardiner's expressions seemed so penitent, styling the Archbishop his father, that it made such an impression upon the

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Archbishop's heart, that when he saw him next, he told him, "Ye call me father; in good faith I will be a father to you "indeed." Yet this very man, so ingrateful he was, that soon after this kind reconciliation of the Archbishop to him, and (as it seems) his deliverance out of prison, he and the rest had fresh communications together again: insomuch that the Archbishop was fain to enter upon a new trouble with them, putting them under restraint again, and interrogating them concerning their late communication. Unless this letter of Gardiner writ unto his Grace may admit of a more favourable interpretation:

"MOST honourable father; unadvisedly, as God shall "save me, I have offended your Grace; and I think not the "contrary, but that some back friend hath done me more "hurt and hindrance than I have at your Grace's hands "deserved. For I know well in mine own conscience I "have nothing so highly offended, as I do perceive that "your Grace is informed of me. In good faith I speak it "of my conscience, and before God, I would I were under "ground. For now have I lost that, which I never "thought to lose again: yea, that of which had I was as "glad as ever I was of benefit received in this world, as "knoweth my Saviour Christ Jesus: who preserve your "Grace.

"Yours, Will. Gardiner."

The ends of the conspirators.

But while these things were transacted at Canterbury, on the Archbishop's behalf, against these false accusers, Dr. London, one of the great incendiaries, was censured at Windsor. For he, and one Symons a lawyer, and Ockham, that laid traps for others, were catched at length themselves. They were men that busied themselves in framing indictments upon the six Articles, against great numbers of those that favoured or professed the Gospel, and in sending them to court to Winchester; who was to prefer the complaints to the council. The King being more and more informed of their base conspiracies, and disliking their bloody dispositions, commanded the council should search into the matters. And so London and his fellows, being examined before the 123
said council, were in the end found to be perjured in deny-

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ing, upon their oaths, what they had indeed done, and was proved manifestly to their faces. Hereupon they were adjudged perjured persons, and appointed to ride through Windsor, Reading, and Newbery, where they had done most mischief, with their faces towards the horse-tail, and a paper upon their heads, declaring their crime; and to stand upon the pillory in each of those towns. And that punishment they underwent, and then were sent to the Fleet. London not long after died there, probably out of shame and sorrow: this was the end of one of these conspirators. German Gardiner was a year after hanged, drawn, and quartered, as a traitor, for denying the King's supremacy. And the Bishop of Winchester after this never had favour or regard of the King more. And Heywood, another of the crew of the informers and witnesses, was condemned for treason with Gardiner; but making a recantation, his life was spared.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Archbishop falls into more Troubles.

AFTER this, the Archbishop received two terrible shocks more, if I am right in the placing them, as I think I am, though I leave Fox to follow Morice, the Archbishop's secretary, in his manuscript declaration of the said Archbishop. The former was a complaint that was made openly against him in parliament; and the latter, when the lords of the privy-council accused him unto the King, and required that he should be sent to the Tower.

The Archbishop accused before the Parliament. MS. Declaration of Archbishop Cranmer.

Sir John Gostwick, a knight for Bedfordshire, a man of great service in his time, but papistical, stood up in the house, and laid to his charge his sermons and lectures, both at Sandwich and Canterbury, containing, as he said, manifest heresy against the sacrament of the altar. Though it was much they should accuse him in that point, seeing he then held a corporal presence; but it displeased them that it was after the Lutheran way, rather than after theirs of transubstantiation. But the King perceived easily this proceeded of malice, for that he was a stranger in Kent, and had neither heard the Archbishop preach nor read there. Knowing thereby that he was set on, and made an instrument to serve other men's purposes; the King marvellously stormed at the matter, calling Gostwick openly *varlet*, and said, "That he had played a villainous part, to abuse in "open parliament the Primate of the realm, especially "being in favour with his Prince as he was. What will they "do with him," said he, "if I were gone?" Whereupon the King sent word unto Gostwick, by one of his privy-chamber, after this sort; "Tell the varlet Gostwick, that "if he do not acknowledge his fault unto my Lord of "Canterbury, and so reconcile himself towards him that he "may become his good lord, I will soon both make him a "poor Gostwick, and otherwise punish him, to the example "of others. He wondered," he said, "he could hear my "Lord of Canterbury preaching out of Kent: and that if 124 "he had been a Kentish-man, he might have had some "more shadow to put up an accusation against him." Now Gostwick, hearing of this grievous threat, came with all possible speed unto Lambeth, and there submitted himself in such sorrowful case, that my Lord out of hand not only forgave all his offences, but also went directly unto the King for the obtaining of the King's favour; which he obtained very hardly, and upon condition that the King might hear no more of his meddling that way. This happened, I suppose, in the parliament that began in January, and continued till March 29, 1544. The Archbishop's palace at Canterbury was this year burnt, and therein his brother-in-law, and other men, according to Stow.

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The palace of Canterbury burnt.

I find no bishops consecrated in this year.

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The council accuse the Archbishop.

At length the confederacy of the papists in the privy-council (whereof I suspect the Duke of Norfolk to be one, a great friend of Winchester's, by whose instigation this design was set on foot) came and accused him most grievously unto the King; "That he, with his learned men, had so "infected the whole realm with their unsavoury doctrine, "that three parts of the land were become abominable "heretics: and that it might prove dangerous to the King, Anno 1544. "being like to produce such commotions and uproars as "were sprung up in Germany. And therefore they desired, "that the Archbishop might be committed unto the Tower, "until he might be examined." The King was very strait in granting this. They told him, "That the Archbishop "being one of the privy-council, no man dared to object "matter against him, unless he were first committed to "durance: which being done, men would be bold to tell "the truth, and say their consciences." Upon this persuasion of theirs, the King granted unto them that they should call him the next day before them, and, as they saw cause, so to commit him to the Tower.

The King sends privately for the Archbishop.

At midnight, about eleven of the clock, before the day he should appear before the council, the King sent Mr. Denny to my Lord at Lambeth, willing him incontinently to come over to Westminster to him. The Archbishop was in bed, but rose straightway and repaired to the King, whom he found in the gallery at Whitehall. Being come, the King declared unto him what he had done, in giving liberty to the council to commit him to prison: for that they bare him in hand, that he and his learned men had sown such doctrine in the realm, that all men almost were infected with heresy; and that no man durst bring matter against him, being at liberty, and one of the council. And therefore I have granted to their request, said the King; but whether I have done well or no, what say you, my Lord? The Archbishop first humbly thanked the King that it had pleased him to give him that warning beforehand: and that he was very well content to be committed to the Tower for the trial of his doctrine, so that he might be indifferently heard; as he doubted not but that his Majesty would see him so to be used. Whereat the King cried out, "O Lord "God, what fond simplicity have you, so to permit yourself
125 "to be imprisoned, that every enemy of yours may take "advantage against you! Do not you know, that when "they have you once in prison, three or four false knaves "will soon be procured to witness against you, and condemn you; which else, now being at liberty, dare not "once open their lips, or appear before your face? No, not "so, my Lord," said the King, "I have better regard unto

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" you than to permit your enemies so to overthrow you: " and therefore I will have you to-morrow come to the " council, which no doubt will send for you: and, when " they break this matter unto you, require them, that, being " one of them, you may have so much favour as they would " have themselves; that is, to have your accusers brought " before you. And if they stand with you, without regard " of your allegations, and will in no condition condescend " unto your request, but will needs commit you to the " Tower, then appeal you from them to our person, and " give to them this my ring; (which he then delivered unto " the Archbishop; (by the which," said the King, " they shall " well understand that I have taken your cause into my " hand from them. Which ring they well know, that I use " it for no other purpose, but to call matters from the coun- " cil into mine own hands, to be ordered and determined." And with this good advice Cranmer, after most humble thanks, departed from the King's Majesty.

Comes before the council.

The next morning, according to the King's monition, and his own expectation, the council sent for him by eight of the clock in the morning. And when he came to the council-chamber-door, he was not permitted to enter into the council-chamber, but stood without among serving-men and lacquies above three quarters of an hour; many counsellors and others going in and out. The matter seemed strange unto his secretary, who then attended upon him; which made him slip away to Dr. Butts, to whom he related the manner of the thing: who by and by came, and kept my Lord company. And yet, ere he was called into the council, Dr. Butts went to the King, and told him, that he had seen a strange sight. What is that? said the King. Marry, said he, my Lord of Canterbury is become a lacquey, or a serving-man: for to my knowledge he hath stood among them this hour almost at the council-chamber-door. Have they served my Lord so? "It is well enough," said the King; " I shall talk with them by and by." Anon Cranmer was called into the council; there it was declared unto him, that a great complaint was made of him, both to the King and to them, That he, and others by his permission, had infected the whole realm with heresy: and therefore it was the

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King's pleasure that they should commit him to the Tower, and there for his trial, to be examined. Cranmer required, as is before declared, with many, both reasons and persuasions, that he might have his accusers come there before them, before they used any further extremity against him. In fine, there was no entreaty could serve, but that he must needs depart to the Tower. "I am sorry, my Lords," said Cranmer, "that you drive me unto this exigent, to appeal "from you to the King's Majesty; who by this token hath "resumed this matter into his own hand, and dischargeth 126 "you thereof:" and so delivered the King's ring unto them. By and by the Lord Russel swore a great oath, and said, "Did not I tell you, my Lords, what would come of "this matter? I know right well that the King would "never permit my Lord of Canterbury to have such a "blemish as to be imprisoned, unless it were for high-"treason." And so, as the manner was, when they had once received that ring, they left off their matter, and went all unto the King's person, both with his token and the cause.

The King rebukes the council for Cranmer.

When they came unto his Highness, the King said unto them, "Ah, my Lords, I thought that I had had a discreet "and wise council; but now I perceive that I am deceived. "How have you handled here my Lord of Canterbury? "What make ye of him? A slave? shutting him out of "the council-chamber among serving-men. Would ye be "so handled yourselves?" And after such taunting words as these spoken, the King added, "I would you should well "understand, that I account my Lord of Canterbury as "faithful a man towards me as ever was prelate in this "realm, and one to whom I am many ways beholden, by "the faith I owe unto God;" and so laid his hand upon his breast. "And therefore who loveth me," said he, "will "upon that account regard him." And with these words all, and especially my Lord of Norfolk, answered and said, "We meant no manner of hurt unto my Lord of Canter-"bury, that we requested to have him in durance: which "we only did, because he might, after his trial, be set at "liberty to his greater glory." "Well," said the King, "I "pray you use not my friends so. I perceive now well "enough how the world goeth among you. There remaineth malice among you one to another; let it be avoided out of hand, I would advise you." And so the King departed, and the Lords shook hands every man with the Archbishop: against whom never more after durst any man spurn during King Henry's life. And because the King would have love always nourished between the lords of the council and the Archbishop, he would send them divers times to dinner with him. And so he did after this reconciliation.

The King changes the Archbishop's arms.

Thus did the King interpose himself divers times between his Archbishop and his irreconcilable enemies the papists: and observing, by these essays against him, under what perils he was like to come hereafter for his religion, about this time it was, as I conjecture, that the King changed his coat of arms[e]. For unto the year 1543 he bore his paternal coat of three cranes sable, as I find by a date set under his arms, yet remaining in a window in Lambeth-house. For it is to be noted, that the King, perceiving how much ado Cranmer would have in the defence of his religion, altered the three cranes, which were parcel of his ancestors' arms, into three pelicans, declaring unto him, "That those birds should signify unto him, that he ought "to be ready, as the pelican is, to shed his blood for his "young ones, brought up in the faith of Christ. For," said the King, "you are like to be tasted, if you stand to your "tackling at length." As in very deed many and sundry times he was shouldered at, both in this King's reign, as you have heard, and under the two succeeding Princes.

CHAP. XXIX.

127

Occasional Prayers and Suffrages.

OCCASIONAL prayers and suffrages, to be used throughout all churches, began now to be more usual than formerly.

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[e] Whereas it was conjectured there, that the King changed Archbishop Cranmer's coat of arms about 1544, it must have been several years before: for his new coat of the Pelicans may be seen in the frontispiece of the great Eng-

Anno 1544.

For these common devotions were twice this year appointed by authority, as they had been once the last; which I look upon the Archbishop to be the great instrument in procuring: that he might by this means, by little and little, bring into use prayer in the English tongue, which he so much desired: and that the people, by understanding part of their prayers, might be the more desirous to have their whole service rendered intelligible; whereby God might be served with the more seriousness and true devotion.

Prayers to be made against immoderate rain.

The last year there was a plentiful crop upon the ground: but when the time of harvest drew near, there happened a great plague of rain. So in August letters were issued out from the King to the Archbishop, that he should appoint certain prayers to be used for the ceasing of the wet weather; and to write to the rest of the province to do the like. But hear the King's letter:

Cranm. Regist.

"Most reverend father in God, right trusty, and right "entirely beloved, we greet you well. And forasmuch as "there hath been now a late, and still continueth, much "rain, and other unseasonable weather, whereby is like to "ensue great hurt and damage to the corn and fruits now "ripe upon the ground, unless it shall please God, of his "infinite goodness, to stretch forth his holy hand over us: "considering, by sundry examples heretofore, that God, at "the contemplation of earnest and devout prayers, often"times extended his mercy and grace; and hath also "assuredly promised, that whensoever we call upon him "for things meet for us, he will grant unto us the same: "we, having the governance and charge of his people com"mitted unto us, have thought good to cause the same to "be exhorted by you, and other the prelates of this our "realm, with an earnest repentant heart for their iniquities, "to call unto God for mercy; and with devout and humble "prayer and supplication, every person, both by himself "apart, and also by Common Prayer, to beseech him to "send unto us such seasonable and temperate weather, to

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lish Bible, printed 1540. And how long before that time, I know not. [*From the Errata and Emendations to the first Edition.*]

" have in those fruits and corn on the ground, which hitherto " he hath caused so plenteously to grow.

Anno 1544.

" For the which purpose we require you, and nevertheless command you, to send unto all your brethren, the " bishops within your province, to cause such general rogations and processions to be made incontinently within " their dioceses, as in case like heretofore hath been accustomed in this behalf accordingly.

" Yevon under our signet, at our manor of the Moor, the " 20th day of August, the xxxv year of our reign."

The Archbishop accordingly sent his order, dated August 23, 1543, to Edmond Bishop of London, that there might be prayers and supplications in his diocese every fourth and sixth days of the week. And the like order was dispatched to all the other bishops in his province; " by their prayers, " as was accustomed, to implore God's mercy to avert his " wrath, that the people had justly deserved. And not to " cease their prayers and suffrages till further order from " him." 128

English suffrages commanded to be used.

It is not so evident that these prayers were in the English tongue: but in the year following, *viz.* 1544, there were, without controversy, certain suffrages drawn up in our mother-tongue by the Archbishop's means; which he intended to be universally observed every-where. Upon the Archbishop's pious motions, as it seems, the King issued out his letters to him, dated in June, for the publication of these prayers in English, to be from thenceforth continually used in the church; together with setting forth the King's injunctions, by preaching and good exhortation, that the people, who before did but slackly observe their devotions, for want of understanding the divine service, might henceforth more frequently and more fervently resort to religious worship.

The contents of the King's letter to that intent. Cranm. Regist. fol. 48.

I shall not here set down the King's letter, as I transcribed it out of Archbishop Cranmer's register, because Bishop Burnet hath printed it already in his first volume, among the Collections, pag. 264. It runs in such a pious strain, as though none but the Archbishop had been the suggester thereof: " That since at that time Christendom

"was plagued with wars, hatred, and dissensions, and in no "place was peace and agreement: and since it was out of "the power of man to redress these miseries, God alone "being able to restore peace, and unite men's hearts; "therefore the King was resolved to have general processions used in all churches, with all reverence and devotion "of the people. And because the not understanding the "prayers and suffrages formerly used caused that the people "came but slackly to the processions; therefore the King "now had published certain prayers in our native tongue: "which he, with his present letter, had sent to the Archbishop, for the special trust and confidence he had of his "godly mind, and the earnest desire that was in him for "the setting forth of God's glory, and the true worshipping "of his name. And that these prayers should not be observed for a month or two, as his other injunctions had "been, but that they, together with the injunctions, should "be earnestly set forth by preaching, good exhortation, "and otherwise; in such sort as they might feel the godly "taste thereof, and godly and joyously with thanks receive, "embrace, and frequent the same. Commanding the Archbishop, that he should not only cause the same suffrages "to be used in his own diocese, but signify the King's "pleasure in this regard to all other bishops of his province. "And that he should have a special respect hereunto; and "make report if any did not with good dexterity accomplish the same. It was given under the King's signet, "at his manor of St. James's, June 11, in the 36th of his "reign." I have not met with these suffrages; which if I
129 had, I should have been inclined to publish them here; and the rather, because I believe they were of Cranmer's own composing.

According to this letter, the Archbishop dispersed his letters to Edmond Bishop of London, and the other bishops, with a copy of the suffrages to be used: urging withal, the observation of all the King's injunctions heretofore promulgated for the confirming and establishing of sacred religion.

A procession for the King's expedition.

About August this year, the King was upon going himself in person to invade France, against which nation he was

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now in hostility; and had prepared a mighty army by land and sea for that purpose. Now the Archbishop was again called upon by the privy counsellors to appoint processions in the English tongue through the realm, for the King's good success in this great expedition. The council's letter ran in this tenor:

The council's letter to the Archbishop. Regist. Cranm.

" After our right-hearty commendations to your good " Lordship: these shall be to signify to the same, that the " King's Highness having so provided for the safety of his " Grace's realm, as the great malice of his enemies shall, " by the grace of God, take small effect: for the repulsing " of which, his Highness hath in a readiness to set abroad, " at the furthest on Wednesday next, such a puissant navy " as hath not been seen assembled in the remembrance of " man: considering nevertheless that all victories and good " successes come only at the direction and appointment of " God, following herein that trade of such a christian Prince, " as he is, hath devised to have processions throughout the " realm in such sort as in like cases hath heretofore laudably " been accustomed. Requiring your Lordship therefore to " take order incontinently, and from henceforth, through " your province, the said processions be kept continually " upon the accustomed days, and none otherwise; and sung " or said, as the number of the quoir shall serve for the " same, in the English tongue; to the intent that there " may be an uniformity in every place. Whereby it may " please God at all times to prosper his Majesty in all his " affairs: and the rather, to have regard at this time unto " the uprightness of his Grace's quarrel, and to send his " Highness victorious success of the same. And thus we " bid your Lordship most heartily well to fare. From Petworth, the 10th day of August.

" Your Lordship's assured loving friends,
" W. Essex, St. Wynton, Ant. Brown, Will. Paget."

The copy of this letter the Archbishop dispatched to the Bishop of London; and, in a letter of his own, he first stirred him up to take care of making due provisions for the religious performance of these prayers in his diocese, upon

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consideration of the King's great wars by land and sea, and his wars in France, in Scotland, and in the parts about Bulloign. Then he enjoined him, and all the bishops in his province, every fourth and sixth day, to retire to prayer and supplication to God; and that the people should, as 130 he wrote, *Concinna modulatione et una voce cunctipotentem Deum Sabaoth, omnis victoriæ largitorem unicum, sancte et pie, non labiis, sed corde puro adorent:* "In becoming harmony, and with one voice, holily and piously, not with "the lips, but with a pure heart, adore the almighty God "of Sabaoth, the only giver of all victory."

Popery prevails.

And in these smaller matters our Archbishop was fain now to be contented to busy himself, since about this juncture Winton or his party had the ascendant, and did all at court. Concerning these latter times of King Henry, when the popish bishops carried all before them again; and the acts of parliament that were made, whereby the bishops were empowered to call sessions as oft as they would, to try those that gave not due obedience to the superstitions of the church, and that upon pain of treason; thus John Bale complains, whose words may give us some light into the sad condition of these times: "Still remaineth there soul-"masses, of all abominations the principal; their prodigious "sacrifices, their censings of idols, their boyish processions, "their uncommanded worshippings, and their confessions "in the ear, of all traitery the fountain; with many other "strange observations, which the Scripture of God knoweth "not. Nothing is brought as yet to Christ's clear institu-"tion and sincere ordinance, but all remaineth still as the "antichrists left it. Nothing is tried by God's word, but "by the ancient authority of fathers. Now passeth all "under their title. Though the old bishops of Rome were "of late years proved antichrists, and their names razed "out of our books; yet must they thus properly, for old "acquaintance, be called still our fathers. If it were naught "afore, I think it is now much worse; for now are they "become laudable ceremonies, whereas beforetime they "were but ceremonies alone. Now are they become *neces-"sary rights*, *godly constitutions*, *seemly usages*, and *civil or-"dinances*, whereas afore they had no such names. And he

Image of both churches.

" that disobeyeth them shall not only be judged a felon, " and worthy to be hanged, by their new-forged laws, but " also condemned for a traitor against the King, though he " never in his life hindered, but rather to his power hath " forwarded, the common wealth. To put this, with such- " like, in execution, the bishops have authority, every month " in the year if they list, to call a session, to hang and burn " at their pleasure. And this is ratified and confirmed by " act of parliament, to stand the more in effect."

Gardiner and the bishops now carry all.

Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, had, by his policy and interest, brought things thus backward again, and exalted the power of the bishops, that of late years had been much eclipsed. And so he plainly told one Seton, a man of eminency in these times both for piety and learning in London, who met with troubles there, about the year 1541, for a sermon preached at St. Anthony's against justification by works. This Seton being now it seems fallen into new troubles, and brought before the aforesaid bishop; when he was able no longer to withstand the manifest truth, said to him, " Mr. Seton, we know ye are learned, and " plenteously endued with knowledge in the Scriptures; yet " think not that ye shall overcome us. No, no, set your " heart at rest, and look never to have it said, that ye have 131 " overcome the bishops: for it shall not be so."

Bishop of Landaff removed to York.

Robert Holgate, Bishop of Landaff, was this year preferred to the see of York. His confirmation is mentioned in the Archbishop of Canterbury's register: wherein is set down an oath, which he then took, of renunciation of the Pope, and acknowledgment of the King's supremacy, very full and large. Afterwards I find the same oath administered to Kitchin, elect of Landaff, and Ridley, elect of Rochester, and Farrar, of St. David's. But I think it not unworthy to be here set down as I find it, seeming to be a new form drawn up, to be henceforth taken by all bishops. And this Archbishop of York the first that took it.

The Archbishop's oath. Cranm. Regist.

" I Robert Archbishop of York elect, having now the vail " of darkness of the usurped power, authority, and jurisdic- " tion of the see and Bishop of Rome, clearly taken away " from mine eyes, do utterly testify and declare in my con-

BOOK I. Anno 1544. "science, that neither the see nor the Bishop of Rome, nor "any foreign potestate, hath, nor ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, or authority within this realm, neither by "God's law, nor by any just law or means. And though, "by sufferance and abusions in time past, they aforesaid "have usurped and vindicated a feigned and unlawful power "and jurisdiction within this realm, which hath been sup-"ported till few years past; therefore, because it might be "deemed and thought thereby that I took or take it for "just and good, I therefore do now clearly and frankly "renounce, forsake, refuse, and relinquish that pretended "authority, power, and jurisdiction, both of the see and "Bishop of Rome, and of all other foreign powers: and "that I shall never consent or agree that the foresaid see "or Bishop of Rome, or any of their successors, shall prac-"tise, exercise, or have any manner of authority, jurisdiction, "or power within this realm, or any other the King's "realms or dominions; nor any foreign potestate, of what "state, degree, or condition he be; but that I shall resist "the same to the uttermost of my power; and that I shall "bear faith, troth, and true allegiance to the King's Majesty, "and to his heirs and successors declared, or hereafter to "be declared, by the authority of the act made in the "sessions of his parliament holden at Westminster the "14th day of January, in the 35th year, and in the act "made in the 28th year of the King's Majesty's reign. And "that I shall accept, repute, and take the King's Majesty, "his heirs and successors, when they, or any of them, shall "enjoy his place, to be the only supreme head in earth, "under God, of the Church of England and Ireland, and "all other his Highness' dominions. And that with my "body, cunning, wit, and uttermost of my power, without "guile, fraud, or other undue means, I shall observe, keep, "maintain and defend all the King's Majesty's styles, titles, "and rights, with the whole effects and contents of the "acts provided for the same, and all other acts and statutes "made and to be made within the realm, in and for that "purpose, and the derogation, extirpation, and extinguish-"ment of the usurped and pretended authority, power, and
132 "jurisdiction of the see and Bishop of Rome, and all other

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" foreign potestates as afore. And also as well his statute " made in the said 28th year, as his statute made in the " parliament holden in the 35th year of the King's Majesty's " reign, for establishment and declaration of his Highness' " succession, and all acts and statutes made and to be " made in confirmation and corroboration of the King's " Majesty's power and supremacy in earth, of his Church " of England and of Ireland, and all other his Grace's dominions; I shall also defend and maintain, with my body " and goods, with all my wit and power. And thus I shall " do against all manner of persons, of what state, dignity, " degree, or condition soever they be; and in no wise do " nor attempt, nor to my power suffer, or know to be done " or attempted, directly or indirectly, any thing or things " privily or apertly to the let, hinderance, damage, or derogation of any of the said statutes, or any part thereof, by " any manner of means, or for or by any manner of pretence. And in case any oath hath been made by me to " any person or persons in maintenance, defence, or favour " of the Bishop of Rome, or his authority, jurisdiction, or " power, or against any the statutes aforesaid, I repute the " same as vain and adnichilate. I shall wholly observe and " keep this oath. So help me God, and all saints, and the " holy Evangeles."

And then, after this oath, followed the prayers before the benediction of the pall, and the ceremonies of delivering it.

CHAP. XXX.

The Archbishop reformeth the Canon Law.

Anno 1545.

The Archbishop sets upon reforming the canon law.

OUR Archbishop, seeing the great evil and inconvenience of canons and papal laws which were still in force, and studied much in the kingdom, had in his mind now a good while to get them suppressed, or to reduce them into a narrower compass, and to cull out of them a set of just and wholesome laws, that should serve for the government of the ecclesiastical state. And indeed there was great need

BOOK I.

Anno 1545.

of some reformation of these laws: for most of them extolled the Pope unmeasurably, and made his power to be above that of Emperors and Kings. Some of them were, "That he that acknowledged not himself to be under the "Bishop of Rome, and that the Pope is ordained of God to "have the primacy over the world, is an heretic. That "Princes' laws, if they be against the canons and decrees "of the Bishop of Rome, be of no force. That all the de- "crees of the Bishop of Rome ought to be kept perpetually, "as God's word spoken by the mouth of Peter. That all "kings, bishops, and noblemen, that believe or suffer the Bi- "shop of Rome's decrees in any thing to be violated, are ac- "cursed." That the see of Rome hath neither spot nor wrinkle: and abundance of the like, which the Archbishop himself drew out of the canon laws, and are set down by the Bishop of Sarum in his history.

Part i. Among the Collections, p. 257.

133 Therefore, by the Archbishop's motion and advice, the King had an act passed the last year, *viz.* 1544, "That his "Majesty should have authority, during his life, to name "thirty-two persons; that is to say, sixteen spiritual and "sixteen temporal, to examine all canons, constitutions, "and ordinances, provincial and synodal, and to draw up "such laws ecclesiastical as should be thought by the "King and them convenient to be used in all spiritual "courts." According to this act, though it seems this nomination happened some time before the making of the same, the King nominated several persons to study and prepare a scheme of good laws for the church: who brought their business to a conclusion, and so it rested for a time. The Archbishop being now to go down into Kent, to meet some commissioners at Sittingborn, went to Hampton-court to take his leave of the King: there he put him in mind of these ecclesiastical laws, and urged him to ratify them. So the King bad him dispatch to him the names of the persons, (which had been chiefly left to Cranmer's election,) and the book they had made. This care he, going out of town, left with Heth, Bishop of Rochester.

An act concerning it.

So that these laws, by the great pains of the Archbishop and some learned men about him, were brought to that good perfection, that they wanted nothing but the confirma-

The progress made by the Archbishop in this work.

Anno 1545.

tion of the King. And there was a letter drawn up ready for that purpose for the King to sign. It was directed to all archbishops, bishops, abbots, clerks, dukes, marquises, earls, barons, knights, and gentlemen, and all others, of whatsoever degree, his subjects and liegemen: giving them to understand, "That in the room of the corrupt laws, "decrees, and statutes, that proceeded from the Bishops of "Rome, which were all abolished, he had put forth by his "authority another set of ecclesiastical laws, which he required to be observed, under pain of his indignation." The copy of this letter may be read in the Appendix. But whatsoever the matter was, whether it were the King's other business, or the secret oppositions of Bishop Gardiner and the papists, this letter was not signed by the King. Num. XXXIV.

The MSS. of these laws. Inter Fox. MSS.

I have seen the digest of these ecclesiastical laws in a manuscript in folio, fairly written out by the Archbishop's secretary, with the title to each chapter prefixed, and the index of the chapters at the beginning, both of the Archbishop's own hand. In many places there be his own corrections and additions, and sometimes a cross by him struck through divers lines. And so he proceeded a good way in the book. And where the Archbishop left off, Peter Martyr went on, by his order, to revise the rest in the method he had begun. And in the title, *De Præscriptionibus*, the greatest part of the seventh chapter is Martyr's own writing, *viz.* beginning at this word *Rumpitur*, which is in pag. 248, of the printed book, line 23, and so to the end of the chapter. So that this manuscript, I conjecture, was the first draught of these laws, prepared in the reign of King Henry, and revised in the reign of King Edward his successor, when Peter Martyr was appointed by that King's letters to be one of those that were to be employed in this work; who was much at this time with the Archbishop. In this draught were several chapters afterwards added, partly by Cranmer, and partly by Martyr. There was yet a latter and more 134 perfect draught of these laws, as they were completed and finished in King Edward's reign. This draught fell into the possession of Archbishop Parker: from whence he published the book in the year 1571, intituling it, *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, &c. which was printed

Reformatio Legum Ecclesiast. Lond. 1640.

again in the year 1640. Both these manuscript draughts were diligently compared together by John Fox; and the main difference seemed to consist in putting the latter into a new method, and placing the titles differently.

The Archbishop labours in this work under King Edward.

For in this matter Cranmer was much busied in King Edward's reign also, being greatly desirous to bring that good work to perfection. For he thought it greatly inconvenient, when the Pope's power was abrogated, that his laws should remain in force; holding it highly necessary that the nation might have a body of wholesome laws for the good administration of justice in the spiritual courts. Wherefore he procured, in the fifth year of that King, letters commissional to him, and seven more, diligently to set about the perusal of the old church laws; and then to compile such a body of laws as should seem, in their judgments, most expedient to be practised in the ecclesiastical courts and jurisdictions: these seven were, Thomas Goodrick, Bishop of Ely; Richard Cox, the King's Almoner; Peter Martyr, William May, Rowland Taylour, John Lucas, and Richard Goodrick. But the matter was in effect wholly intrusted by the King to the Archbishop, who associated to himself in the active part of this work Taylor, Martyr, and Haddon. The method they observed in managing this affair was, that after they had finished a title, and drawn it up, it was then sent to Dr. Haddon, who was a civilian, and an accurate latinist, to peruse; and if any thing was less elegantly expressed, to correct it. So I find at the title *De Decimis*, these words writ by Cranmer; "This is finished "by us, but must be overseen again by Dr. Haddon." Thus, for instance, I observe these corrections by Haddon's pen in the chapter entitled, *De Commodis quæ perveniunt a Sacris ritibus;* instead of *Gratiarum actionis mulierum a partu*, he corrected it, *Levatarum puerperarum:* and in another place, *Cuicunque hoc Prærogativum est*, instead of *hoc Prærogativum*, he put, *hoc peculiare jus tribuitur*, *quod Prærogativum vocant*. But his corrections are very few, and but of words less proper: the work and words were mainly Cranmer's own. But all this great and long labour of the Archbishop came to no effect by reason of the King's untimely death, and, it may be, the secret opposition of papists.

Anno 1545.

The Archbishop employed in mending books of service.

At the same time that he, being at Hampton Court, dealt with the King concerning the reformation of the canon laws, he also gave him an account of a business his Majesty had employed him in, and with him also Heth and Day, Bishops of Worcester and Chichester, and some other of his chaplains, and learned men; whom he had of late appointed, with the Archbishop, to peruse certain books of service, delivered by the King to them, wherein there were many superstitions fit to be amended. Which the Archbishop, in the name of the rest, at this time acquainted the king with: as namely, the vigil, and ringing of bells all the night long upon Allhallow-night; and the covering of images in the 135 church in the time of Lent, with the lifting the vail that covereth the cross on Palm-Sunday, and kneeling to the cross at the same time. He moved the King in his own name, and the name of the rest, that these things might be abolished, and the superstitions, and other enormities and abuses of the same. And that because all other vigils, which in the beginning of the church were godly used; yet for the manifold superstitions and abuses, which did after grow by means of the same, were many years past taken away throughout Christendom, and there remained nothing but the name of the vigil in the calendar, saving only upon Allhallow-day at night, he moved that it might be observed no more. And because creeping to the cross was a greater abuse than any of the other, (for there the people said, *Crucem tuam adoramus, Domine:* and the ordinal saith, *Procedant clerici ad crucem adorandum nudis pedibus:* and it followeth in the said ordinal, *Ponatur crux ante aliquod altare, ubi a populo adoretur:* which by the Bishop's book, intituled, *A necessary Instruction*, is against the second commandment,) therefore he desired of the King, that the creeping to the cross might also cease hereafter.

The King consults with the Archbishop for the redress of certain superstitions.

These superstitious usages were allowed in the articles of religion put forth anno 1536, Cranmer then not having interest enough to procure the laying them aside, or thinking it then not a fitting season to attempt it, as being in vain to oppose what the King himself at that time approved of. But now the King listened to the Archbishop, and bad him confer with the Bishop of Worcester, and send to him

Anno 1545.

their thoughts, what course they would advise him to take for redress. The Archbishop accordingly consulted with the said Bishop, who then went along with Cranmer in the reformation. The effect of which was, as the Archbishop wrote to the King soon after from Bekesbourn, "That his "Majesty should send his letters to both the Archbishops "to reform these superstitions; and they to send in the "King's name to all the prelates within their respective "provinces to the same purpose." The Archbishop withal sent to the King the minutes of a letter to be sent to him, the said Archbishop, to that intent. He also advised the King, that at the same time that this alteration was commanded to be made, he should set forth some doctrine which should declare the cause of the abolishing these usages, for the satisfaction of the consciences of the people. For he knew well, as he wrote, that the people would think the honour of Christ was taken away, when this honouring of the cross was taken away: and therefore that they should need some good instruction herein. He nominated the Bishops of Worcester and Chichester, and some other his Grace's chaplains, for the preparing this: "and this," he said, "would make the people obey him without murmur"ing; nay, be thankful to him for shewing them the truth: "and it would be a satisfaction to other nations, when they "should see the King do nothing but by the authority of "God's word, and for the setting forth of God's honour, "and not the diminishing thereof." This letter of the Archbishop to the King is extant in the Paper-office, whence the Bishop of Sarum extracted a copy.

Hist. Ref. vol. ii. Collect. p. 236.

136 The opportunity of Winchester's absence taken.

These things were agitated in the Bishop of Winchester's absence, whom the King had sent ambassador this year, with the Bishop of Westminster, to Charles the Emperor, about the mediation of a peace between England and France. The Archbishop took this occasion to move the King in these good purposes for a further reformation of abuses in religion; towards the which the King appeared to be in so good a mind, Winchester being absent, who, if he had been at home, would undoubtedly have done his endeavour to put a check to these attempts. But it must be attributed to his being abroad, that the King gave an ear to the

Anno 1545.

Archbishop, and appointed a set of more moderate bishops and divines to prepare matter for his allowance and ratification. But Winchester, though at a distance, had information of these designs by his intelligencers; and by making the King believe that, if he suffered any innovations in religion to proceed, the Emperor would withdraw his mediation for a league; by these crafty means of this man, these good motions proceeded no further.

The Archbishop prevails with the King in two great points.

So that there were two abuses in religion which our Archbishop, by time and seasonable inculcation, brought the King off from. He had a very great esteem for images in churches, and for the worship used to the cross: and many disputations and discourses happened between the King and the Archbishop concerning them. Once at the King's palace at Newhal in Essex, Canterbury and Winchester being alone with the King, a talk happened about images, and the arguments that were used for abolishing them were considered. The Archbishop, who built all his arguments upon the word of God, produced the second commandment, and thence he raised his argument. But the King discussed it as a commandment relating only to the Jews, and not to us; as Winchester relates in one of his letters to the Duke of Somerset; adding, (because the reasoning was so much to his own mind,) "That the King so discussed it, "that all the clerks in Christendom could not amend it." And when, at another time, one had used arguments against the image of the Trinity, whether Cranmer, or some else, I know not, Winchester heard the King answer them too: so possessed was the King once with an opinion of retaining them; and yet at length, by the Archbishop's wise and moderate carriage and speeches, the King was brought to another opinion, and to give his orders for the abolishing of a great many of them; namely, of such as had been abused. But when he had done this, he would not forego the other, but commanded kneeling and creeping to the cross. And gross was the superstition that was committed in this blind devotion; which the King, by the Archbishop's means, being at length sensible of, was prevailed with that this also should no more be used, as you heard before.

There was one thing more this careful Archbishop re-

Anno 1545.

Seeks to redress alienation of the revenues of the cathedral.

commended to the King this year. He was troubled for his cathedral church of Canterbury, observing how the revenues of it were diminished and made away daily by the prebendaries thereof, to satisfy the insatiable greediness of the laity, and it may be their own too. And the courtiers and others were hard to be withstood, when they were minded to rake from the church. The practice was, that when any were minded to get a portion of land from the 137 church, they would first engage the King therein, and so the church was to make it over to him: and then by gift, or for some trifling consideration, as a sale, it was conveyed to them from the King. Nay, sometimes they would use the King's name, without his knowledge.

Cranmer had the honesty and the courage to make complaint of this abuse and injury done to the revenues of the cathedral. "That those of the church, to their disquiet-"ment, and also great charges, did alienate their lands daily, "as it was said, by the King's commandment; but he was "sure," he said, "that others had gotten the best lands, "and not his Majesty. Therefore he sued, that when his "Majesty was minded to have any of their lands, that they "might have some letters from him to declare his pleasure, "without the which they were sworn to make no aliena-"tion: and that the same alienations might not be made "at other men's pleasures, but only to his Majesty's use." By which means, it is likely, the prebendaries had more quiet possession of their lands for the time to come.

Scripture and sermons more common by the Archbishop's means.

By this time the Archbishop had compassed two very good things, in order to the furthering the common people in knowledge and true religion. The one was, that he brought in among the laity a more common use of the Scriptures; and the other, that sermons were more frequently preached than had been before. But both these, to the grief of the Archbishop, were sadly abused; for now the contending of preachers in their pulpits, one against another, grew more and more, and became most scandalous. So that few preached the word of God truly and sincerely, but ran almost wholly upon matters controverted; and in that railing manner, that their expressions were very provoking. So that this came to the sowing of discord among the people, instead of promoting love, unity, and solid religion. The laity, on the other hand, some of them railed much on the bishops, and spoke contemptibly of the priests, and taunted the preachers. The Scriptures were much read, but the effect of it appeared too much in their making use of it only for jangling and disputation upon points of religion, and to taunt at the ignorance or error of priests. Others, on the other hand, to be even with the gospellers, made it their business to derogate from the Scripture, to deal with it irreverently, and to rhyme and sing, and make sport with it in alehouses and taverns. These things came to King Henry's ears, which made him very earnestly blame both the laity and spirituality for it, in a speech which he made at the dissolution of his parliament this year.

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Vid. Herb. Hist. p. 600.

A Bishop confirmed.

Anthony Kitchin, alias Dunstan, D.D. was elected and confirmed Bishop of Landaff, May 2. The Archbishop sent his commissional letters, dated the same day, to Thomas Bishop of Westminster for his consecration: but the consecration is not entered in the register. His oath to the King began thus: "I Anthony Kitchin, elect Bishop of "Landaff, having now the vail of darkness of the usurped "power, authority, and jurisdiction of the see and Bishop of "Rome clearly taken away from mine eyes, do utterly testify and declare in my heart, that neither the see nor the "Bishop of Rome, nor any foreign potestate, hath, or "ought to have," &c. as before.

Anthony Kitchin.

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Another proclamation was set out the next year, (which was the last issued out under this King,) prohibiting again Tindal's and Coverdale's English New Testament, or any other than what was permitted by parliament; and also the English books of Wickliff, Frith, &c., the King being vexed with the contests and clamours of the people one against another, while they disputed so much of what they read, and practised so little.

Anno 1546. A proclamation against the English Testament.

A small matter oftentimes creates great brabblings and contentions in fraternities. Such a small thing now occurred in the Archbishop's church. Two of the prebends were

He interprets a statute of his church.

Anno 1546.

minded to change houses; but the rest, it seems, made some opposition, as reckoning it contrary to a certain statute of that church. The Archbishop hearing hereof, seasonably interposed, and interpreted their statute for them. The preachers also of this church seem not to have been fairly dealt with by the prebends, both as to their lodgings and benefits: but at a late chapter they had obtained an order in their behalf. This the Archbishop now, who favoured preaching, reminded them speedily to make good. Concerning both these affairs, he wrote this letter to them for the preserving quietness, peace, and good order in his church:

Ex Regist. Eccles. Christ. Cant.

"After my hearty commendations: whereas I am informed that you be in doubt whether any prebendary of "that my church may exchange his house or garden with "another prebend of the same church-living, and that you "be moved by this statute so to think, which here followeth; "*Statuimus ut canonicus de novo electus, et demissus in de-*"*mortui, aut resignantis, aut quovismodo cedentis ædes suc-*"*cedat.* These be to signify unto you, that neither this sta-"tute, nor any other reason that I know, maketh any thing "against the exchange between two prebends living, but "that they may change house, orchard, or garden during "their life, this statute or any other reason contrary not-"withstanding. And whereas you have appointed your "preachers at your last chapter their chambers and com-"modities, I require you that they may be indelayedly "admitted thereunto, according to that your order. Thus "fare you well. From my manor of Croyden, the 12th of "December, 1546.

"Th. Cantuariens.

"To my loving friends the Vice-dean and
"Prebendaries of my church in Canterbury."

The Archbishop, by the King's command, pens a form for a communion.

139 This was the last year of King Henry. And the two last things the Archbishop was concerned in by the King were these. The King commanded him to pen a form for the alteration of the mass into a communion. For a peace being concluded between Henry and the French King, while that King's ambassador, Dr. Annebault, was here, a

notable treaty was in hand by both Kings for the promoting that good piece of reformation in the churches of both kingdoms, of abolishing the mass. The Kings seemed to be firmly resolved thereon, intending to exhort the Emperor to do the same. The work our King committed to the Archbishop, who no question undertook it very gladly: but the death of the King prevented this taking effect.

Anno 1546.

His last office to the King.

The last office the Archbishop did for the King his master was to visit him in his last sickness, whom of all his bishops and chaplains he chose to have with him at that needful hour, to receive his last comfort and counsel. But the King was void of speech when he came, though not of sense and apprehension. For when the King took him by the hand, the Archbishop speaking comfortably to him, desired him to give him some token that he put his trust in God through Jesus Christ, according as he had advised him; and thereat the King presently wrung hard the Archbishop's hand, and soon after departed, *viz.* January the 28th.

The end of the first Book.

MEMORIALS

OF

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

He crowns King Edward.

Anno 1546.

Conceives great hopes of King Edward.

OUR Archbishop, having lost his old master, was not so sorrowful but the hopefulness of the new one did as much revive and solace him; because he concluded, that the matters requisite for the reformation of the Church were like now to go on more roundly, and with less impediment.

The Archbishop takes a commission to execute his office.

One of the very first things that was done in young King Edward the Sixth's reign, in relation to the Church, was, that the bishops, who had the care of ecclesiastical matters and the souls of men, should be made to depend entirely upon the King and his council, and to be subject to suspension from their office, and to have their whole episcopal power taken from them at his pleasure; which might serve as a bridle in case they should oppose the proceedings of a reformation. In this I suppose the Archbishop had his hand: for it was his judgment, that the exercie of all episcopal jurisdiction depended upon the Prince: and that, as he gave it, so he might restrain it at his pleasure. And therefore he began this matter with himself, petitioning, "That as he had exercised the authority of an Archbishop "during the reign of the former King; so that authority "ending with his life, it would please the present King "Edward to commit unto him that power again." For it

Anno 1546. seemed that he would not act as Archbishop, till he had a new commission from the new King for so doing. And that this was his judgment appeared in the first words of that commission granted to him; in the composing of which I make no question he had his hand. *Quandoquidem omnis juris dicendi autoritas, atque etiam jurisdictio omnimoda, tam illa quæ Ecclesiastica dicitur, quam Secularis, a Regia potestate, velut a supremo capite, ac omnium Magistratuum infra regnum nostrum fonte et scaturigine, primitus emanaverit*, &c. That is, "Since all authority of exercising jurisdiction, and

Cranm. Regist.

142 "also all kind of jurisdiction, as well that which is called "ecclesiastical, as secular, originally hath flowed from the "King's power, as from the supreme head, and the fountain and source of all magistracy within our kingdom: "we therefore in this part yielding to your humble supplications, and consulting for the good of our subjects, have "determined to commit our place to you, under the manner "and form hereunder described." And the King then licenseth him to ordain within his diocese, and to promote and present to ecclesiastical benefices; and to institute and invest; and, if occasion required, to deprive; to prove testaments, and the rest of the business of his courts. And so all the rest of his offices were reckoned. This was dated Feb. 7, 1546. But yet all these things were committed to him, with a power of revocation of the exercise of this authority reserved in the King, *et durante beneplacito*. Thus a formal commission was made to him; I do not transcribe it, because the Bishop of Sarum hath saved me that pains. And hence I find, that the Archbishop in some of his writings is styled, *The Commissary of our dread Soveraign Lord King Edward*.

Hist. Ref. P. ii. Coll. p. 90.

King Edward crowned by the Archbishop.

One of the first exercises of his episcopal power was the coronation of young King Edward: which was celebrated February the 20th, at the abbey of Westminster, the Archbishop assisting now at his coronation, as he had done about nine years before at his christening, when he stood his godfather. The form and solemnity of it, and wherein the Archbishop bore so great a part, was in this manner, as I collect and transcribe out of a manuscript in Benet College.

C. C. C. C. Library. Miscellan. B.

The manner of the coronation.

First, there was a goodly stage, richly hanged with cloth of gold and cloth of arras; and the steps from the choir contained two and twenty steps of height; and down to the high altar but fifteen steps, goodly carpeted, where the King's Grace should tread with his nobles.

Secondly, The high altar richly garnished with divers and costly jewels and ornaments of much estimation and value. And also the tombs on each side the high altar richly hanged with fine gold arras.

Thirdly, In the midst of the stage was a goodly thing made of seven steps of height, all round, where the King's Majesty's chair-royal stood; and he sat therein, after he was crowned, all the mass-while.

Fourthly, At nine of the clock all Westminster choir was in their copes, and three goodly crosses before them: and after them other three goodly rich crosses, and the King's chapel with his children, following all in scarlet, with surplices and copes on their backs. And after them ten bishops in scarlet with their rochets, and rich copes on their backs, and their mitres on their heads, did set forth at the west door of Westminster towards the King's palace, there to receive his Grace; and my Lord of Canterbury with his cross before him alone, and his mitre on his head. And so passed forth in order, as before is said. And within a certain space after were certain blue cloths laid abroad in the church-floor against the King's coming, and so all the palace, even to York-place.

Then is described the setting forward to Westminster 143 church to his coronation, unction, and confirmation.

After all the lords in order had kneeled down and kissed his Grace's right foot, and after held their hands between his Grace's hands, and kissed his Grace's left cheek, and so did their homage; then began a mass of the Holy Ghost by my Lord of Canterbury, with good singing in the choir, and organs playing. There at offering-time his Grace offered to the altar a pound of gold, a loaf of bread, and a chalice of wine.

Then, after the levation of the mass, there was read by my Lord Chancellor, in presence of all the nobles, a general pardon granted by King Henry the Eighth, father to our liege Lord the King, that all shall be pardoned that have offended before the 28th day of January last past.

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When the King's Majesty, with his nobles, came to the place of the coronation, within a while after, his Grace was removed into a chair of crimson velvet, and borne in the chair between two noblemen unto the north side of the stage, and shewed to the people; and these words spoken to the people by my Lord of Canterbury, in this manner, saying: " Sirs, here I present unto you King Edward, the " rightful inheritor to the crown of this realm. Wherefore " all ye, that be come this day to do your homage, service, " and bounden duty, be ye willing to do the same?" To the which all the people cried with a loud voice, and said, Yea, Yea, Yea; and cried, King Edward; and prayed, God save King Edward. And so to the south side in like manner, and to the east side, and to the west side.

After this, his Grace was borne again to the high altar in his chair, and there sat bareheaded: and all his nobles and peers of the realm were about his Grace, and my Lord of Canterbury principal. And there made certain prayers and godly psalms over his Grace; and the choir answered with goodly singing, the organs playing, and trumpets blowing.

Then, after a certain unction, blessing, and singing of his Grace, he was borne into a place by the high altar, where the Kings use always to kneel at the levation of the parliament-mass. And there his Grace was made ready of new garments; and after a certain space brought forth between two noblemen, and sat before the high altar bareheaded. Then after a while his Grace was anointed in the breast, his soles of his feet, his elbows, his wrists of his hands, and his crown of his head, with virtuous prayer said by the Bishop of Canterbury, and sung by the choir.

Then anon after this, a goodly fair cloth of red tinsel gold was hung over his head: and my Lord of Canterbury, kneeling on his knees, and his Grace lying prostrate afore the altar, anointed his back.

Then, after this, my Lord of Canterbury arose and stood up, and the fair cloth taken away. Then my Lord Protector, Duke of Somerset, held the crown in his hand a certain space; and immediately after began *Te Deum*, with the organs going, the choir singing, and the trumpets playing in the battlements of the church. Then, immediately after that, was the crown set on the King's Majesty's head by them two, [*viz.* Somerset, and the Archbishop of Canterbury.] And after that another crown; and so his Grace was crowned with three crowns. 144

The relation breaks off here abruptly. But what is wanting may be supplied by the order of the coronation, as Bishop Burnet hath taken it out of the council-book, and given it us in his History.

Hist. Ref. vol. ii. Collect. p. 93.

At this coronation there was no sermon, as I can find; but that was supplied by an excellent speech which was made by the Archbishop. It was found among the inestimable collections of Archbishop Usher; and though published of late years, yet I cannot but insert it here, tending so much to illustrate the memory of this great and good Archbishop.

The Archbishop's speech at the coronation. Foxes and Firebrands, part 2.

" Most dread and royal Soveraign: the promises your
" Highness hath made here, at your coronation, to forsake
" the devil and all his works, are not to be taken in the
" Bishop of Rome's sense, when you commit any thing distasteful to that see, to hit your Majesty in the teeth, as
" Pope Paul the Third, late Bishop of Rome, sent to your
" royal father, saying, *Didst thou not promise, at our permis-*
" *sion of thy coronation, to forsake the deviland all his works,*
" *and dost thou run to heresy? For the breach of this thy*
" *promise, knowest thou not, that it is in our power to dispose*
" *of thy sword and sceptre to whomwe please?* We, your
" Majesty's clergy, do humbly conceive that this promise
" reacheth not at your Highness' sword, spiritual or temporal, or in the least at your Highness swaying the
" sceptre of this your dominion, as you and your predecessors have had them from God. Neither could your ancestors lawfully resign up their crowns to the Bishop of
" Rome or his legates, according to their ancient oaths then
" taken upon that ceremony.

" The Bishops of Canterbury, for the most part, have
" crowned your predecessors, and anointed them Kings of

Anno 1546. "this land: yet it was not in their power to receive or reject them, neither did it give them authority to prescribe "them conditions to take or to leave their crowns, although "the Bishops of Rome would encroach upon your predecessors by their act and oil, that in the end they might "possess those bishops with an interest to dispose of their "crowns at their pleasure. But the wiser sort will look to "their claws, and clip them.

"The solemn rites of coronation have their ends and "utility; yet neither direct force or necessity: they be "good admonitions to put Kings in mind of their duty to "God, but no increasement of their dignity: for they be "God's anointed; not in respect of the oil which the bishop useth, but in consideration of their power, which is "ordained; of the sword, which is authorized; of their "persons, which are elected of God, and endued with the "gifts of his Spirit, for the better ruling and guiding of his "people.

"The oil, if added, is but a ceremony: if it be wanting, "that King is yet a perfect monarch notwithstanding, and
145 "God's anointed, as well as if he was inoiled. Now for "the person or bishop that doth anoint a King, it is proper "to be done by the chiefest. But if they cannot, or will "not, any bishop may perform this ceremony.

"To condition with monarchs upon these ceremonies, "the Bishop of Rome (or other bishops owning his supremacy) hath no authority: but he may faithfully declare "what God requires at the hands of kings and rulers, that "is, religion and virtue. Therefore not from the Bishop "of Rome, but as a messenger from my Saviour Jesus "Christ, I shall most humbly admonish your royal Majesty "what things your Highness is to perform.

"Your Majesty is God's Vicegerent and Christ's Vicar "within your own dominions, and to see, with your predecessor Josias, God truly worshipped, and idolatry destroyed; the tyranny of the Bishops of Rome banished "from your subjects, and images removed. These acts be "signs of a second Josias, who reformed the Church of God "in his days. You are to reward virtue, to revenge sin, "to justify the innocent, to relieve the poor, to procure

" peace, to repress violence, and to execute throughout your realms. For precedents on those Kings who " performed not these things, the old law shews how the " Lord revenged his quarrel; and on those Kings who " fulfilled these things he poured forth his blessings in " abundance. For example, it is written of Josiah, in the " book of the Kings, thus ; *Like unto him there was no King,* " *that turned to the Lord with all his heart, according to all* " *the law of Moses ; neither after him arose there any like him.* " This was to that Prince a perpetual fame of dignity, to " remain to the end of days.

" Being bound by my function to lay these things before " your Royal Highness ; the one as a reward, if you fulfil ; " the other as a judgment from God, if you neglect them: " yet I openly declare, before the living God, and before " these nobles of the land, that I have no commission to " denounce your Majesty deprived, if your Highness miss in " part, or in whole, of these performances: much less to " draw up indentures between God and your Majesty, or " to say you forfeit your crown with a clause for the Bishop " of Rome, as have been done by your Majesty's predecessors, King John, and his son Henry of this land. The " Almighty God of his mercy let the light of his countenance shine upon your Majesty, grant you a prosperous " and happy reign, defend you, and save you : and let your " subjects say, Amen.

" God save the King."

I find no bishop consecrated this year.

CHAP. II.

146

A royal Visitation.

A royal visitation on foot.

BY these and other pious instigations of the Archbishop, who was of high esteem with the King, he began early to think of the church, and to take care about rectifying the disorders of its members. For about April there was a royal visitation resolved upon all England over, for the better

Anno 1546. reformation of religion. And accordingly, in the beginning of May, letters were issued out from the King to the archbishops, that they and all their fellow-bishops should forbear their visitations, as was usually done in all royal and archiepiscopal visitations. And it was enjoined, that no ministers should preach in any churches but in their own.

Titus B. 2. In a volume in the Cotton library, there be extant the King's letters to Robert Archbishop of York, relating to this visitation; signed by our Archbishop, the Duke of Somerset the Protector, and his brother Sir Thomas Seymour, the Lord Russel, favourers of the reformation; the Lord St. Johns, Petres the Secretary, who went along with it; Gage, Controller of the Household, and Baker, Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, back-friends to it. I do not set down the letter itself, because the Bishop of Sarum hath already published it in his History. Hist. Ref. vol. ii. Collect. p. 103.

Very worthy, sober, and learned men were appointed for visitors, both of the laity and clergy: and there was a book of injunctions prepared, whereby the King's visitors were to govern their visitation. The original of which book of injunctions is extant in Benet College library: there I have seen them, being signed by Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Somerset, Sir Thomas Seymour, and divers others of the privy-council; but no bishop, save Cranmer only; he being, I suppose, the only bishop then a privy-counsellor; and now often appearing in the council for the better forwarding of religion. These injunctions are printed in Bishop Sparrow's Collection, and briefly epitomized in the History of the Reformation. Vol. ii. p. 28.

The visitors. The persons nominated for this present employment were these, as I find them set down in a manuscript formerly belonging to Archbishop Parker, but now in the Benet College library: where you may observe the visitors were divided into six sets, and to each set were apportioned particular episcopal sees, and a preacher and a register, in this exact method following. Vol. intit. Synodalia.

Visitors.	*Added by Archbishop Parker.*	*Counties visited.*
Dean of Westminster.	Boston.	York.
Sir John Herseley, Kt.		Durysme
Nicholas Ridley, preacher.		Carlyll.
Edward Plankney, register.		Chester.
Sir Anthony Coke, Kt.		
Sir John Godsalve, Kt.[f]		Westminster.
Dr. Christopher Nevison.	The elder.	London.
John Gosnold.	A lawyer.	Norwich.
Dr. Madewe, preacher.		Ely.
Peter Lylly, register.		
Sir John Hales, Kt.		
Sir John Mason, Kt.		Rochester.
Sir Anthony Cope, Kt.		Canterbury.
Dr. Cave.	A lawyer.	Chichester.
Mr. Briggs, preacher.	Once of Pembroke.	Winchester.
Rafe Morice, register.		
Dean of Paul's.	Dr. May.	Sarisbury.
Dean of Exeter.	Dr. Hains.	Exeter.
Sir Walter Buckler, Kt.		Bath.
Mr. Cotisford, preacher.		Bristow.
John Redman, register.	Of Haslingfeld.	Glocester.
Dean of Lincoln.	Dr. Taylor.	Peterburgh.
Dr. Rowland Taylor.		Lincoln.
Mr. John Joseph.	Once of Canterbury, a friar.	Oxford.
		Coventry.
John Old, register.		Litchfeld.
Mr. Morison.	Once husband to the Earl of Rutland's wife.	Worcester.
Mr. Syddel.		Hereford.
Mr. Ferrowr, preacher.	After Ld. Bishop of St. David's.	Landaff.
		St. David's.
George Constantine, register.		Bangor.
Hue Rawlins, preacher in the Welch tongue.		St. Asse.

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[f] He belonged to the office of the signet, and was prothonotary.

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Where we may observe, that in every company of visitors was joined one preacher, or more; whose business, in the respective circuits, was to preach to the people, to dehort them from the superstitious use of beads and such-like things, and to learn them to worship God truly in heart and mind, and to obey the Prince.

The method of this visitation.

The method which these commissioners used in their visitation, as we collect from what was done at St. Paul's, London, was this. They summoned the bishop, and the members of each cathedral; and first sware them to renounce the bishop of Rome, and to the King's supremacy: 148 and then, that they should present all things in their church and diocese needful to be reformed. Then certain interrogatories and articles of inquiry were read to them by the Register: to perform which, an oath was administered to them. After that, the printed Injunctions, and others not printed, with the book of Homilies, were delivered, both to the bishop for his church, and the archdeacons for their respective archdeaconries; strictly enjoining them to see them speedily executed, reserving other new injunctions to be ministered afterwards, as they should see cause. Their next work was to examine the canons and priests, by virtue of their oaths which they had taken, concerning their lives and doctrines. What was discovered in other places concerning the vices of the clergy, we may conclude from what was found among the dignitaries of St. Paul's: for when the canons and priests belonging to this church were examined, one of them, named Painter, openly confessed that he had often carnally used a certain married man's wife, whom he would not name: and divers others, both of the canons and priests, confessed the same of themselves.

Fox.

There be remaining, in the archives of the church of Canterbury, the Injunctions of the King's visitors to the Dean and Chapter there, bearing date September 22, an. 1. Edward VI. subscribed by the visitors' hands: which Injunctions do all relate to the particular statutes of the church, and are of no other moment.

The Homilies, and Erasmus's Paraphrase.

There was now a book of Homilies prepared for present use, to be read in all churches, for the instruction of the people: and Erasmus's Paraphrase upon the New Testament, in English, was to be set up in all churches, for the better instruction of priests in the sense and knowledge of the Scriptures. And both these books, by the King's Injunctions aforementioned, were commanded to be taught and learned.

CHAP. III.

Homilies, and Erasmus's Paraphrase.

The Archbishop to Winchester concerning the Homilies.

ARCHBISHOP Cranmer found it highly convenient to find out some means for the instruction of the people in true religion, till the church could be better supplied with learned priests and ministers. For which purpose he resolved upon having some good homilies or sermons composed, to be read to the people; which should in a plain manner teach the grounds and foundation of true religion, and deliver the people from popular errors and superstitions. When this was going in hand with, the Archbishop sent his letters to the Bishop of Winchester, to try if he could bring him to be willing to join in this business; shewing him, that it was no more than what was intended by the former King, and a convocation in the year 1542, wherein himself was a member, to make such a stay of errors, as were then by ignorant preachers spread among the people. But this bishop was not for Cranmer's turn; in his answer signifying to him, "That since that convocation the King his old "master's mind changed, and that God had afterwards 149 "given him the gift of pacification," (as he worded it,) meaning, that the King made a stop in his once intended reformation. He added, "that there was a convocation "that extinguished those devices, and this was still in force: "and therefore, that now nothing more ought to be done "in church matters." And a copy of this letter he sent to the Lord Protector, trying to persuade him also to be of his mind.

The Archbishop answered these letters of Winchester: wherein he again required these homilies to be made, by

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See his letters to the Protector, in Fox.

virtue of that convocation five years before; and desired Winchester to weigh things. But he replied, " It was true, they " communed then of such things, but they took not effect at " that time; nor needed they to be put in execution now. " And that in his judgment it could not be done without a " new authority and command from the King's Majesty." Then he used his politics, urging, " that it was not safe to " make new stirs in religion: that the Lord Protector did well " in putting out a proclamation to stop vain rumors; and " he thought it not best to enterprise any thing to tempt " the people with occasion of tales, whereby to break the " proclamation. And as in a natural body," he said, " rest " without trouble did confirm and strengthen; so it was in " a commonwealth, trouble travaileth, and bringeth things " to looseness." Then he suggested the danger the Archbishop might involve himself in by making alterations: " That he was not certain of his life, (when the old order " was broken, and a new brought in by homilies,) that he " should continue to see the new device executed : for it " was not done in a day; he wished there were nothing " else to do now. He suggested, that a new order engendered a new cause of punishment against them that " offend; and punishments were not pleasant to them that " have the execution : and yet they must be, for nothing " may be contemned." There were two letters Winchester sent to the Archbishop, in answer to as many from the Archbishop : in which he laboured to persuade the Archbishop not to innovate any thing in religion during the King's minority; and particularly to forbear making homilies, and refusing for himself to meddle therein. An imperfect part of one of these letters I have laid in the Appendix, as I transcribed it from the original.

No. XXXV.

So, when it was perceived that Winchester would not be brought to comply and join in with the Archbishop and the rest, they went about the composing the homilies themselves. Cranmer had a great hand in them : and that homily of Salvation particularly seems to be of his own doing. This, while he was in composing it, was shewn to Winchester by the Archbishop ; to which he made this objection : " That he would yield to him in this homily, if they

The Archbishop, &c. compose homilies.

"could shew him any old writer that wrote how faith excluded charity in the office of justification; and said that "it was against Scripture." Upon this Canterbury began to argue with him, and to shew him how faith excluded charity in the point of justifying. And Winchester denied his arguments. And, in fine, such was his sophistication, that the Archbishop at last told him, "He liked nothing, "unless he did it himself: and that he disliked the homily 150 "for that reason, because he was not a counsellor."

Winchester in the Fleet.

The council had now put this bishop in the Fleet for his refractoriness to the King's proceedings; where, if his complaint to the Lord Protector were true, he was somewhat straitly handled: for he was allowed no friend or servant, no chaplain, barber, tailor, nor physician: a sign he gave them high provocation. While he was here, the Archbishop sent for him once or twice to discourse with him, and to try to bring him to comply with their proceedings in reforming religion. He dealt very gently with him, and told him, "That he was a man, in his opinion, meet to be "called to the council again: but withal told him, that he "stood too much in obstinacy; that it was perverse frowardness, and not any zeal for the truth:" and laboured to bring him to allow the book, which was now finished, and the Paraphrase of Erasmus.

The Bishop of Winchester's censure of the homily of Salvation.

The former he could not allow of, because of the doctrine therein by Cranmer asserted of justification by faith without works: which Cranmer took pains to persuade him about; telling him, his intent was hereby only to set out the freedom of God's mercy. But Winchester challenged him to shew Scripture for it, or any one ancient writer, that faith in justifying excludeth charity. This Winchester afterward declared at large to the Lord Protector; and added, that the Archbishop in that homily of Salvation had taken such a matter in hand, and so handled it, as, if he were his extreme enemy, he would have wished him to have taken that piece in hand, and so to have handled it as he did. He represented one of the Archbishop's arguments for faith excluding charity to be thus, out of that homily; *We be justified by faith without all works of the law: Charity is a work of the law:* Ergo, *We are justified without charity.* But

I warn the reader to consult the homily itself before he pass his judgment upon Cranmer's argument, as it is here represented by one that was none of his friend. In fine, he said, "There were as many faults in that homily of "Salvation as he had been weeks in prison, and that was "seven, besides the matter, *viz.* making a trouble without "necessity."

And of the Archbishop for it.

In short, he charged the Archbishop "for troubling the "world with such a needless speculation as this is; because," he said, "that in baptism we are justified, being infants, "before we can talk of the justification we strive for. For "all men receive their justification in their infancy in baptism: and if they fall after baptism, they must arise again "by the sacrament of penance. And so this doctrine," he said, "was to be sent to the universities; where it is meet "to be talked and disputed of, and not fit for homilies." And, to disparage further the Archbishop's judgment, he told the Protector, "That if my Lord of Canterbury would "needs travail in this matter, he should never persuade "that faith excluded charity in justification, unless he "borrowed prisons of the Protector; and then he might "percase have some to agree to it: as poor men kneel "at Rome when the Bishop of Rome goeth by, or else "are knocked on the head with a halberd." And then he made some scoffing mention of the strength of God's spirit 151 in the Archbishop, and his learning in his laws, so as to be able to overthrow with his breath all untruths, and establish truths. I make no reflection upon all this unseemly language of this Bishop, but leave it to the reader to judge hereby of the learning and spirit that was in him. And could we have retrieved the Archbishop's own arguments and replies to these barkings of Winchester, they would have left to the world a full vindication of Cranmer and his doctrine.

Winchester's censure of Erasmus's Paraphrase.

As to Erasmus's Paraphrase, the said Bishop pretended, "He found divers things in it to condemn the work: and "that he agreed with them that said, Erasmus laid the "eggs, and Luther hatched them: and that of all the monstrous opinions that have risen, evil men had a wondrous "occasion ministered to them from that book." He also wrote to the Protector the particular objections he made

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against it. He said, "He might term it in one word *Abo-*"*mination*, both for the malice and untruth of much matter "out of Erasmus's pen; and also for the arrogant ignorance "of the translator of it: considering that book was author-"ized by the King, a charge was laid upon the realm of "twenty thousand pounds, by enjoining every parish to buy "one: whereof he had made an estimate by the probable "number of buyers, and the price of the book. He charged "the translator with ignorance, both in Latin and English; "a man," he said, "far unmeet to meddle with such a "matter, and not without malice on his part.

"Finally, the matter he had to shew in both the books "was in some part dangerous; and the concealment thereof "a great fault, if he did not utter it. And that, he pre-"tended, made him some while ago write to the council, "declaring his mind in relation thereunto." For which he was sent to the Fleet.

His account of his commitment.

Inter Foxii MSS.

The true occasion whereof, as I take it from his own letter, written with his own hand, which I have before me, was this. Upon the departure of the Lord Protector against the Scots, the King's visitors began their visitation. "Then, "as soon as the Bishop heard of the visitation, and the "books of Homilies and Injunctions were come to his "hands, he wrote to the council, trusting, upon such ear-"nest advertisements as he made, they would incontinently "have sent for him; and, upon knowledge of so evident "matter as he thought he had to shew, would have staid "till the Protector's return. He saw," as he said, "a "determination to do all things suddenly at one time. "Whereunto though the Protector had agreed, yet of his "wisdom, as the Bishop conjectured, he had rather these "matters should have tarried till his return, had he not "been *pressed on both sides*, (an expression which the Pro-"tector in a letter to him had used.) He reckoned, that if "he could have staid this matter in his absence, though by "bringing himself into extreme danger, besides his duty to "God and the King, he should have done the Protector a "pleasure, of whom he had this opinion, that willingly and "wittingly he would neither break the act of parliament, "nor command books to be bought by authority, that con-

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"Not long after these letters of the Bishop to the council, they sent for him. When he came before them, he "came furnished with his trinkets, his sleeves and bosom "trussed full of books, to furnish his former allegations. "He was heard very well, and gently. Then he shewed "matter that he thought would have moved them: for "there he shewed the two contrary books, [meaning the "Homilies, and Erasmus's Paraphrase.] But the council "told him they were not moved: and added, that their "consciences agreed not with his; using many good words "to bring him to conformity. After he had been aside "from them, and was returned again, they entered a precise order with him, either to receive the Injunctions, or "to refuse. In which case, they told him, that the Protector was privy to what was done there. The Bishop "answered, That he would receive them as far as God's law "and the King's would bind him. And because he saw "they drew to such preciseness, he told them, there were "three weeks of delay to the coming of the visitors to him. "In the mean time he offered to go to Oxford, to abide the "discussion there. That offer was not allowed. He desired to go to his house at London, and have learned men "speak with him there. That was not accepted. He en-

" tered then the allegation of the Gospel, of the servant " that said he would not do a thing, and yet did it: and " so, the bishop said, it might be, that although he then said " nay, as his conscience served him, yet he might change, " and was a man that might be tempted. But as his " conscience was then, he thought that God's laws and the " King's letted him. Then they asked him, if he had " spoken to any man of what he found in the books. To " which he answered truly, [acknowledging he had ;] but " told the Lords, that he thought it hard, unless there were " a greater matter than this, to send him to prison for " declaring his mind beforehand, what he minded to do, " before it had been by him done ; who had all the mean " time to repent himself."

In the end, the council committed him to the Fleet. Of his behaviour under this censure, he hath these words ; " That he had well digested it ; and so all might be well, " he cared not what became of his body. That he departed " as quietly from them as ever man did, and had endured " with as little grudge. He had learned this lesson in the " world, never to look backward, as St. Paul saith, *ne re-" member that is past.* That he would never grudge or com-" plain of any thing for himself."

To the Lord Protector, to whom he wrote all this account of himself, turning his discourse, he said, " That he " thought it very weighty to have these books recom-" mended to the realm in the King's name, by his (the Pro-" tector's) direction, since the King himself knew nothing " of them, and therefore nothing could be ascribed to him : " and his Grace had been so occupied, as all men knew, " that he had no leisure to peruse them. And yet of such " sort were the books, according to the account he had " before written ; and that if no man had advertised the " council, as he had, it was because they had not read them " as he had done." 153

Erasmus vindicated.

In vindication of the learned author of the Paraphrase, so bedashed by Winchester, I will here use the words of him that writ the Epistle Dedicatory before the translated Paraphrase on the Acts. " I cannot but judge, that whoso are " prompt and hasty condemners of Erasmus, or eager ad-

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" versaries unto his doctrine, do, under the name and colour of Erasmus, rather utter their stomach and hatred " against God's word, and the grace of the Gospel, which " Erasmus for his part most diligently and most simply la" boureth to bring to light." And to such as said that his doctrine was scarcely sincere, and that he did somewhat err, he answered, " That Erasmus, forasmuch as he was a man, " and so esteemed himself, would that his works should " none otherwise be read or accepted than the writings of " other mortal men. And that, after his judgment, a little " trip among so many notable good works for the interpre" tation of Scripture, and for the help of the simple, should " rather be borne withal, than so many good things to be " either rejected or kept away from the hungry christian " reader. It is a cold charity that can bear with nothing ; " and an eager malice it is, that for a trifle, or a matter of " nothing, would have the ignorant to lack so much good " edifying, as may be taken of Erasmus."

Winchester's letter to Somerset concerning these things. Numb. XXXVI.

Mention was made a little above of the Bishop of Winchester's objections against the Paraphrase of Erasmus, sent by him in a letter to the Lord Protector. This paper I have met with in Sir John Cotton's library; and being somewhat long, I have put it into the Appendix: wherein may be seen at large the Bishop's quarrels, both against the Paraphrase and the Homilies ; labouring here to shew, that the book of Homilies and Erasmus's Paraphrase did contradict each other, and therefore could not both be received ; and that there were errors in each, and so neither ought to be admitted. Moreover, he urged the danger of making alterations in religion contrary to the laws then in force ; designing thereby, if he could over-persuade the Protector, to enervate the King's late Injunctions : for the Papists, whose chief instrument was Winchester, saw it was time now to bestir themselves to overthrow these proceedings that were in hand, if it were possible.

The Archbishop appoints a thanksgiving for a victory.

When this affair happened between the council and the Bishop, for which they cast him into the Fleet, Somerset the Protector was absent in an expedition against the Scots : by whose conduct, in the month of September, God blessed the King with a very glorious victory, in a battle fought near

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Musselburrough. Which redounded much to the Protector's honour, wherein was more danger than he looked for, which gave him the greater occasion to shew his valour: for there were but few lost on the English side; but fifteen thousand Scots reckoned to be slain, and two thousand taken prisoners. For this victory a public thanksgiving was thought fit to be celebrated. And the Archbishop required of the Bishop of London to procure a sermon at St. Paul's, before the Mayor and Aldermen, and immediately after a procession in English, and *Te Deum.* The Archbishop's letter (which will shew what the court thought of that good success) was as followeth:

The Archbishop to the Bishop of London.

Cranm. Regist.

" AFTER our right hearty commendations: whereas it " hath pleased Almighty God to send the King's Majesty " such victory against the Scots, as was almost above the ex- " pectation of man, and such as hath not been heard of in " any part of Christendom this many years: in which vic- " tory above the number of 15000 Scots be slain, 2000 " taken prisoners; and among them many noblemen, and " others of good reputation; all their ordnance and bag- " gage of their camp also won from them: the King's Ma- " jesty, with advice of his Highness' privy-council, presently " attending upon his Majesty's most royal person, well " knowing this, as all other goodness, to be gifts of God, " hath and so doth account it; and therefore rendereth " unto him the only glory and praise for the same: and so " hath willed me, not only in his Majesty's cathedral " church, and other churches of my diocese, to give thanks " to Almighty God, but also to require, in his name, all " other bishops in the province of Canterbury to do, or " cause to be done, semblably in their course. Which his " Majesty's pleasure I have thought good to signify unto " you: requiring you, not only to cause a sermon to be " made in your cathedral church the next holy-day after " receipt hereof, declaring the goodness of God, and ex- " horting the people to faith and amendment of life; and " to give thanks to God for this victory; but also at the " same time, immediately after the sermon, and in presence " of the Mayor, Aldermen, and other the citizens of London,

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"to cause the procession in English, and *Te Deum*, to be "openly and devoutly sung. And that you do also cause "the like order to be given in every parish-church in your "diocese, upon some holy-day, when the parishioners shall "be there present, with as much speed as you may; not "failing, as you tender his Majesty's pleasure. Thus fare "you heartily well. From Oatlands, the 18th day of De-"cember[g], the year of our Lord God 1547.

"Your loving friend,
"Tho. Cantuarien.

"The counsellors' pleasure is, you shall see this executed "on Tuesday next, in St. Paul's in London. This be "given in haste."

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CHAP. IV.

A Convocation.

A convocation in the first year of the King. C. C. C. C. library. Vol. intit. Synodalia.

THE parliament now sat: and a convocation was held November the 5th. Some account of what was done here I will in this place set down, as I extracted it out of the notes of some member, as I conceive, then present at it.

Session I. No. 5.

"John Taylor, Dean of Lincoln, chosen Prolocutor by "universal consent."

Sess. II. Nov. 18.

"This day the Prolocutor was presented to the Arch-"bishop and Bishops in the upper house."

Sess. III. Nov. 22.

"It was then agreed, that the Prolocutor, in the name of "the whole house, should carry some petitions unto the "most reverend father in God the Archbishop, *viz.*

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[g] It should be September, I suppose.

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" I. That provision be made, that the ecclesiastical law " may be examined, and promulged, according to that statute of parliament in the 35th year of Henry VIII.

" II. That, for certain urgent causes, the convocation of " this clergy may be taken and chosen into the lower house " of parliament, as anciently it was wont to be.

" III. That the works of the bishops and others, who " by the command of the convocation have laboured in examining, reforming, and publishing the divine service, " may be produced, and laid before the examination of " this house.

" IV. That the rigour of the statute of paying the King " the first-fruits may be somewhat moderated in certain " urgent clauses, and may be reformed, if possible."

The fourth Session is omitted in the manuscript, the writer probably being then absent.

Sess. V. Nov. ult.

" This day Mr. Prolocutor exhibited, and caused to be " read publicly, a form of a certain ordinance, delivered by " the most reverend the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the " receiving of the body of our Lord under both kinds, *viz.* " of bread and wine. To which he himself subscribed, and " some others, *viz.* Mr. Prolocutor; Mr. Cranmer, Archdeacon of Canterbury; Mr. May, Mr. Jenyngs, Mr. " Williams, Wilson, Carleton, &c."

Sess. VI. Decemb. 2.

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" This session, all this whole session, in number sixty-four, by their mouths did approve the proposition made " the last session, of taking the Lord's body in both kinds, " *nullo reclamante.*

" The same day with consent were chosen Mr. Dr. Draycot, Bellasis, Dakyns, Jeffrey, Elize ap Rice, Oking, Pool, " and Ap Harry, to draw up a form of a statute for paying tithes in cities, &c."

This was a thing the clergy now were very intent upon. For I find in the Archbishop's reformation of the ecclesiasti-

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cal laws, there is a law made for paying tithes in cities, as was done in London.

Sess. VII. Decemb. 9.

" By common consent were nominated and assigned Mr. " Rowland Merick, John ap Harry, John Williams, and " Elizeus Price, DD.LL. to obtain the following effects, " *viz.* That the petition made to have this house adjoined " to the lower house of parliament, may be granted. " *Item*, That a mitigation of the sore penalty expressed in " the statutes against the recusants, for non-payment of " the perpetual tenths, may be also obtained.

" And the same day were likewise appointed, Mr. Dean " of Winchester, and Mr. Dr. Draycot, to accompany Mr. " Prolocutor to my Lord of Canterbury, to know a determinate answer, what indemnity and impunity this house " shall have to treat of matters of religion, in cases forbidden by the statutes of this realm to treat in."

Sess. VIII. Dec. 17.

" This day was exhibited a certain proposition under " these words, *viz.* That all such canons, laws, statutes, decrees, usages, and customs, heretofore made, had, or used, " that forbid any person to contract matrimony, or condemn matrimony already contracted by any person, for " any vow or promise of priesthood, chastity or widowhood, shall from henceforth cease, be utterly void, and " of none effect. To which proposition many subscribed, " partly in the affirmative, partly in the negative."

In the affirmative,	In the negative,
53 voices.	22 voices.

Defence of Priests' Marriage, p. 268.

And here I will insert a few words, which I take out of a book writ very near this time, and by one who was well acquainted with the affairs of this convocation. "The affirmants," saith he, "of this proposition were almost treble " so many as were the negants. Amongst which affirmants, " divers were then unmarried, and never afterwards did " take the liberty of marriage; as Dr. Taylor the Bishop, " Dr. Benson, Dr. Redman, Dr. Hugh Weston, Mr. Wot-

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" ton, &c. Of them that denied it, notwithstanding their " subscriptions to the contrary, as few as they were, yet " some of them took upon them the liberty of marriage not " long after, as Dr. Oken, Mr. Rayner, Mr. Wilson, &c."

Dr. Redman's judgment of priests' marriage.

This subscription following was made by the hand of John Redman, S. T. P. in this very convocation, who, being absent this session, (for his name is not among the 53,) was desired to declare his own sense in this point under his own hand, being so learned a man, and in such great credit universally for his ability in deciding questions of conscience.

" I think that although the word of God do exhort and " counsel priests to live in chastity, out of the cumber of " the flesh and the world, that thereby they may the more " wholly attend to their calling: yet the band of containing " from marriage doth only lie upon priests of this realm " by reason of canons and constitutions of the church, and " not by any precept of God's word; as in that they should " be bound by reason of any vow, which, in as far as my " conscience is, priests in this church of England do not " make: I think that it standeth well with God's word, that " a man which hath been, or is but once married, being " otherwise accordingly qualified, may be made a priest. " And I think that forasmuch as canons and rules made in " this behalf be neither universal nor everlasting, but upon " consideration may be altered and changed: therefore the " King's Majesty, and the higher powers of the church, " may, upon such reasons as shall move them, take away " the clog of perpetual continency from the priests; and " grant that it may be lawful to such as cannot, or will not " contain, to marry one wife. And if she die, then the said " priest to marry no more, remaining still in his ministration."

Irenic. p. 387.

Some larger account of this memorable convocation, especially as to some of these matters then under their hands, may be read in Bishop Stillingfleet's Irenicum, published by him from a manuscript volume once belonging to Archbishop Cranmer.

The Archbishop's influence on the parliament.

In this convocation the Archbishop bore the great sway; and what things were agitated herein were chiefly by his motion and direction: some whereof were turned into laws by the parliament, that was now si ing, through his active-

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ness and influence. As particularly that repeal of the statute of the six Articles, and of some other severe laws, decreeing divers things treason and felony, made in the former King's reign. For when the Archbishop in the convocation had made a speech to the clergy, exhorting them to give themselves to the study of the Scriptures, and to consider what things in the church needed reformation, that so the church might be discharged of all popish trash, not yet thrown out; some told him, that, as long as the six Articles remained, it was not safe for them to deliver their opinions. This he reported to the council: upon which they ordered this act of repeal.

Hist. Ref. vol. i. p. 40.

The communion in both kinds established.

Fox.

By his means also another great thing, moved in the convocation, was now ratified, and made a law by this parliament: which was, for the administration of the communion under both kinds throughout the kingdom of England and Ireland. And upon this the King appointed certain grave
158 and learned bishops, and others, to assemble at Windsor-castle, there to treat and confer together; and to conclude upon and set forth one perfect and uniform order of communion, according to the rules of Scripture, and the use of the primitive church. And this being framed, it was enjoined to be used throughout the realm by a proclamation, and all required to receive it with due reverence.

The Archbishop's queries concerning the mass.

I meet with a writing of the Archbishop, without date, consisting of queries concerning the mass, in order to the abolishing it, and changing it into a communion. Which I know not where so well to place as here, now the convocation was employed upon this matter: for it seems to have been drawn up by the Archbishop on purpose to be laid before the consideration of this house. The queries were these:

" What or wherein John, fasting, giving alms, being bap-" tized, or receiving the sacrament of the altar in England, " doth profit and avail Thomas, dwelling in Italy, and not " knowing what John in England doth?

" Whether it profit them that be in heaven, and where-" in?

" Whether it lieth in the faster, giver of alms, receiver of " the sacrament, him that is baptized, to defraud any mem-" ber of Christ's body of the benefit of fasting, almsdeeds, "baptism, or receiving of the sacrament; and to apply the "same benefit to one person more than to another.

"What thing is the presentation of the body and blood "of Christ in the mass, which you call the oblation and "sacrifice of Christ? And wherein standeth it in act, gesture, or word; and in what act, gesture, or word?

"Is there any rite or prayer, and expressed in the Scripture, which Christ used or commanded at the first institution of the mass, which we be now bound to use; and "what the same be?

"Whether in the primitive church there were any priests "that lived by saying of mass, mattens, and even-song, and "praying for souls, only? And where any such state of "priesthood be allowed in the Scriptures, or be meet to be "allowed now?

"For what cause were it not expedient nor convenient "to have the whole mass in the English tongue?

"Wherein consisteth the mass by Christ's institution?

"What time the accustomed order began first in the "church, that the priests alone should receive the sacrament?

"Whether it be convenient that the same custom continue still within this realm?

"Whether it be convenient that masses satisfactory "should continue; that is to say, priests hired to sing for "souls departed?

"Whether the Gospel ought to be taught at the time of "the mass to the understanding of the people being present?

"Whether in the mass it were convenient to use such "speech as the people may understand?"

The Archbishop assists at the funeral of the French King.

To proceed to some other things wherein our Archbishop was this year concerned. In June the church of St. Paul's was hanged with black, and a sumptuous hearse set up in the choir, and a *Dirige* there sung for the French King, who deceased the March precedent. And on the next day the 159 Archbishop, assisted with eight bishops more, all in rich mitres, and their other pontificals, did sing a mass of requiem; Stow. and the Bishop of Rochester preached a funeral sermon.

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The Marquis of Northampton's divorce committed to the Archbishop.

A nice matter was now put by the council to the Archbishop, having some other bishops and learned men joined with him, to the number of ten. The case was, "Whether "a man divorced from his wife for her adultery might not "lawfully marry again?" This was propounded upon the account of a great man in those times, namely, the brother of Queen Katherine Par, Marquis of Northampton; who had gotten a divorce from his wife, the daughter of Bourchier Earl of Essex, for adultery. The canon law would not allow marrying again upon a divorce, making divorce to be only a separation from bed and board, and not a dissolving the knot of marriage. This was a great question depending among the civilians: and it being committed to the determination of our Archbishop, and some other delegates, (though the Marquis staid not for their resolution, but in this interval married Elizabeth, daughter of the Lord Brook,) he searched so diligently into the Scriptures first, and then into the opinions of fathers and doctors, that his collections swelled into a volume, yet remaining in the hands of a learned bishop of this realm; the sum whereof is digested by the Bishop of Sarum. Cranmer seemed to allow of marriage in the innocent person.

Bishop of Wigorn. Hist. Ref. vol. ii. p. 56.

Processions forbid by his means.

He was a means also to the council of forbidding processions: wherein the people carried candles on Candlemas-day, ashes on Ash-Wednesday, palms on Palm-Sunday; because he saw they were used so much to superstition, and looked like festivals to the heathen gods. So that this year on Candlemas-day, the old custom of bearing candles in the church, and, on Ash-Wednesday following, giving ashes in the church, was left off through the whole city of London.

Stow.

Examines the offices of the church.

He was a member of a committee this winter, appointed to examine all the offices of the church, and to consider where they needed reformation, and accordingly to reform them. Of this commission were most of the bishops, and several others of the most learned divines in the nation. And a new office for the communion was by them prepared, and by authority set forth, as was observed before; and received all over England.

CHAP. V.

The Archbishop's Catechism.

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The Archbishop puts forth a Catechism.

THIS year the Archbishop put forth a very useful Catechism, intituled, *A short Instruction to Christian Religion, for the singular Profit of Children and young People.* This Catechism went not by way of question and answer, but contained an easy exposition of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the two Sacraments. The 160 first and second Commandments were put together as one, and the whole recital of the second omitted, according to the use in those times: but that Commandment is explained under the first. The substance of this book is grave, serious, and sound doctrine. It is said in the titlepage "to "be overseen and corrected by the Archbishop." Indeed it was a Catechism wrote originally in the German language, for the use of the younger sort in Norinberg; translated into Latin by Justus Jonas, junior, who now was entertained by the Archbishop in his family, and thence turned into our vulgar tongue by the said Archbishop, or his special order. But it is certain, so great a hand he had therein, that in the Archbishop's first book of the Sacrament, he said, that it was "translated by himself, and set forth." Bishop Gardiner, in his book against the Archbishop, takes advantage of two things in this Catechism against him, as though he himself, when he put it forth, was of the opinion of the corporal presence. The one was a picture that stood before the book, where was an altar with candles lighted, and the priest appareled after the old sort, putting the wafer into the communicant's mouth. The other is an expression or two used somewhere in the book, "that with our bodily "mouths we receive the body and blood of Christ:" and, "that in the sacrament we receive truly the body and "blood of Christ:" and, "this we must believe, if we will "be counted christian men." But to both Cranmer, in his next book against Gardiner, made answer, "That as for "the picture, it was that was set before the Dutch edition "of the book, and so none of his doing; but that he after-

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"wards caused the popish picture to be altered into a picture "representing Christ eating his last supper with his disciples. "As for the expressions," he said, "he taught, that we in "the sacrament do receive the body and blood of Christ "spiritually; and, that the words *really* and *substantially* "were not used, but *truly*." And in his answer to Dr. Richard Smith's preface, wrote against the said Archbishop, who it seems had twitted him also with this Catechism, he spake largely of these his expressions in his own vindication.

And a book against Unwritten Verities.

There was another book of the Archbishop's against Unwritten Verities, which I do by conjecture place here, as put forth under this year, or near this time: which I suppose Dr. Smith nibbled at in his book of Traditions, which this year he recanted. The book was in Latin, and consisted only of allegations out of the Bible and ancient writers. In Queen Mary's days the book was again published by an English exile, naming himself E. P. The title it now bore was, *A Confutation of Unwritten Verities, by divers Authorities, diligently and truly gathered out of the Holy Scripture and Ancient Fathers; by Tho. Cranmer, late Archbishop, and burned at Oxford for the Defence of the true Doctrine of our Saviour. Translated and set forth by E. P.* Before it is a preface of the translator to his countrymen and brethren in England. In it he lamented the woful state of things in England, by the restoring of popery, and the persecution of protestants there; and shewed what a kind of man the chief bishop then in England, *viz.* Cardinal Pool, was, who in the
161 last King's reign went from prince to prince, to excite them to make war against his own prince and country.

This treatise is but a bare collection of places of holy Scripture, and ancient fathers, to prove, "That the canon of "the Bible is a true, and sound, and perfect doctrine, con"taining all things necessary to salvation: that neither the "writing of the old fathers, without the word of God, nor "general councils, nor the oracles of angels, nor apparitions "from the dead, nor customs, can be sufficient in religion "to establish doctrine, or maintain new articles of faith." Then reasons are given against unwritten verities, and the places of holy Scripture, and other writers, which the Papists bring to maintain unwritten verities, are answered. At last

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the objections of the Papists are confuted, in a concluding chapter. Which last part was not writ by the Archbishop, but by the translator. For relating here the story of the holy maid of Kent, he saith, she was examined by Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. And at last he saith, "I have plainly and fully answered to all that I remember "the Papists do, or can allege by writing, preaching, or "reasoning, for the defence of their unwritten verities; on "which they build so many detestable idolatries and heresies. But yet, if any be able to answer so plainly and "truly to the Scriptures, authorities, and reasons rehearsed "by me, as I have done to theirs, and to prove their "doctrines by as plain testimonies and reasons as I have "done mine, I shall not only acknowledge my ignorance "and error, but I shall gladly return into England, recant "my heresies, &c." Hence it is plain, that the conclusion of the book, as well as the preface, was writ by the translator.

I will add one passage taken out of this book, about the middle, whereby it may be seen what a clergy was now in England. Having quoted the canons of the Apostles, *Let not a bishop or deacon put away his wife, &c.* he makes a heavy complaint against the frequent practice of beastly sins in the priests, adultery, sodomy, &c. and that they never were punished. "And in my memory," as he proceeds, "which is above thirty years, and also by the information "of others, that be twenty years elder than I, I could "never learn that one priest was punished."

Can. 3.

His care of Canterbury.

This is some account of the care he took for the church in general as metropolitan. But he had a particular care of his own diocese, now his power was not checked, as it was in the former reign, especially of the city of Canterbury; which had been formerly the backwardest in religion of any other place of his diocese. He supplied this city with store of excellent learned preachers, Turner, the two Ridleys, Becon, Besely, and John Joseph, who this year went along with the King's visitors, as one of their preachers. These converted not a few to sincere religion; as may appear by those numbers of Canterbury that in Queen Mary's reign suffered the torment of fire for their profession of the Gospel.

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But in that reign all the preachers fled, so that there was scarce one remaining in the city: which was looked upon as a particular sign of God's displeasure against that place, because the professors there, and others, reformed not
162 themselves according to those opportunities of grace, which God had put into their hands. And so I find in a letter to them, wrote by some eminent person in prison in Queen Mary's reign: "Alas! how few faithful servants hath the "Lord of life in these troublesome days within Canterbury, "to whom above all other people, in comparison of multi-"tude, he hath sent most plenteously his word, in the "mouths of most excellent preachers. But even as the "people were negligent, hard-hearted, nothing willing to "take the lively word unto their defence against the world, "the devil, and the flesh——even so hath he permitted the "same preachers to be dispersed, that not one of them "should be a comfortable example to such an unkind "people."

Fox's MSS.

CHAP. VI.

The Archbishop's Care of the University.

The Archbishop's influence upon the university.

THE Archbishop was a great patron of all solid learning, being a very learned man himself. And knowing very well how much the *libertas philosophandi*, and the knowledge of tongues, and the other parts of human learning, tended to the preparing men's minds for the reception of true religion, and for the detecting of the gross errors and frauds of popery, which could subsist only in the thick darkness of ignorance; these things made him always cast a favourable aspect upon the universities, and especially that of Cambridge, whereof he himself was once a member: which the governors, and the rest of the gremials, very well knew, and therefore did frequently apply to him, as often as they had need of the favour of the court or parliament. Roger Ascham, Fellow of St. John's College, and one of the floridest wits of this university, and who suc-

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ceeded Sir John Cheke in reading the Greek lecture, said of him in a letter he sent him, (wherein he styled him *Literarum decus et ornamentum*,) "That he was the man "who was accustomed to express great joy at the good "progress of learning, such was his singular good-will "towards it; and when it went otherwise than well with it, "he alone could apply a remedy; such was his sway and "authority." And so much was he the known Mecænas of learning, that according to the public encouragement or prejudice it received, so the vulgar accounted the praise or dispraise thereof to redound upon Cranmer. So that if learning were discountenanced, it was esteemed to cast some disparagement upon him; if it flourished, it was a sign that Cranmer prevailed at court. For to that purpose do those words of the said Ascham to the Archbishop, in another letter, seem to tend: *Nulla hoc tempore literis vel insperata clades, vel expectata commoditas accidere potest, cujus tu non aut author, ad magnam commendationem, aut particeps ad aliquam reprehensionem, voce ac sermone omnium jactatus eris.*

Some of St. John's College apply to him upon the apprehension of a danger.

In this year 1547, and in the month of October, there fell out an accident in St. John's College in Cambridge, which made those of that college that favoured learning and religion (as that house was the chief nursery thereof in that university) judge it highly necessary to apply themselves to the Archbishop, to divert a storm from them. The case was 163 this; a French lad of this college, cizer to one Mr. Stafford there, had one night, in hatred to the mass, secretly cut the string, whereby the pix hung above the altar in the chapel. The like to which was indeed done in other places of the nation by some zealous persons, who began this year, without any warrant, to pull down crucifixes and images out of the churches: as was particularly done in St. Martin's, Ironmonger-lane, London. This affront to the popish service made a great noise in the college: and the sober party among them feared the ill effect it might have upon the whole college, either to its disparagement or prejudice, when the news of it should come to court; especially by the means of such who stomached much the decay and downfal of superstition, and endeavoured what in them lay to obscure and eclipse the rising light of

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the Gospel. Therefore, after the matter had been taken into examination by themselves, quietly and without tumult, they thought fit, by consent, to acquaint the Archbishop with it in a letter; which one of their members, Thomas Lever, a learned and grave man, carried; who likewise should inform him of all circumstances: and so committed both the cause and person to his Grace's judgment and censure. But withal letting him know, that the youth was well learned, and before this had carried himself quietly and modestly; and that Mr. Stafford, who was a great student, could not tell how to be without him: but however, such was his prudence, that he was willing to leave his scholar and his fault to the Archbishop's discretion. By which message they warily avoided the odium of this action, as though they had countenanced any violent or illegal methods for the removal of superstition, before it were done by public authority; and likewise rescued their scholar from expulsion, or too rigorous punishment, which some in the college would have been apt to inflict upon him, had not the matter been thus prudently removed from them.

Offended with some of this college, and why.

Let me here insert another matter that happened the year after in the same college; whereat divers took occasion so to represent it to our Archbishop, as to create in him, as much as they could, an ill opinion of the better sort of the members thereof. About November or December, in the year 1548, some of the college got this question to be disputed in the chapel concerning the mass, *Ipsane cœna dominica fuerit, necne?* It was handled with great learning by two learned fellows of the house, Thomas Lever and Roger Hutchinson. The noise of this soon spread in the university; and many were much displeased at it. At last Ascham, being a very fit person to undertake it, was prevailed with by the rest to bring this question out of the private walls of the college, into the public schools: yet, as was pretended, with this mind and meaning, not dogmatically to assert any thing, but modestly and freely to learn from learned men what could be fetched out of the holy Scriptures to defend the mass, which had taken up, not only the chiefest place in religion, and men's consciences, but took away in effect all

164 the use and benefit of the faithful ministry of the word and

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sacraments from christians. This business they set about with quietness; they conferred their common studies together, propounded to themselves the canonical Scriptures, by the authority whereof they wished the whole might be decided: they took also along with them, concerning this matter, the ancient canons of the early church, the councils of fathers, the decrees of popes, the judgments of doctors, the great plenty of questionists, all the modern authors, both German and Roman. But this design of theirs was not only the subject of talk in the university, but noted in the public sermons; and such labour there was among some in opposition to it, that Dr. Madew, then Vicechancellor, was prevailed with by his letters to forbid the disputation. They obeyed, but took it hardly that they might not as well dispute in favour of the question, as others might preach as much as they would against it. But it ended not here; for their adversaries industriously carried the report hereof to our prelate, and did so blacken the business by their slanders, and loud and tragical clamours, that he became somewhat offended with the undertakers. These on the other hand, no question, applied themselves to him with their just defence: and not only to him, but to others, and particularly to Mr. Cecyl, one formerly their colleague, who was now Master of Requests to the Protector, letting him know the whole matter; that he might upon occasion represent the cause the more favourably to the Archbishop. And Ascham himself was their scribe; whose epistle, penned in a handsome Latin style, being not extant among his printed epistles, and being subservient to the history of the university in those times, I have thought worthy to be inserted among the originals. In this letter he charged the other party as well with malice as ignorance: for this their question was very agreeable to Thomas Aquinas, who proved that the mass exceeded the Lord's supper in many prerogatives, and much differed from it by many notes; as, women, children, bastards, maimed persons, were not allowed to partake of the mass, but they were received to the holy supper. So that should any say (as he proceeds in his letter) that the mass and the supper were the same, they might exclaim against them much more. Their adversaries had charged

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The ill condition and low estate of the university.

And as I have given an instance or two of the private address of a particular college to him in a particular case, so I will subjoin another more public of the university in general. In the year abovesaid, being the first year of the King, the university laboured under the fears of the encroachments of the town upon their privileges, and likewise under great suspicions of being spoiled of its revenues, or at least of having them much diminished; she having observed how
165 those of her sister, the church, were daily invaded by secular hands. These fears put Cambridge now in a decaying state, and the studies of good literature began to be but little minded. Add also hereunto, that ecclesiastical preferments, which formerly were the peculiar rewards of academics, were now ordinarily enjoyed by mere unlearned laymen. So the Earl of Hartford held a deanery, a treasurership of a cathedral church, and four of the best prebends; and his son three hundred pounds a year out of a bishoprick. And learned men were seldom taken notice of, or had honours conferred on them; and if they obtained any rewards, they were but small. Nor were scholars now in any repute or value: so that neither poor nor rich abode long at their studies in the university, to attain to any considerable degrees of learning. The poor could not, because the encouragements there were scarce capable to maintain them; and the richer sort would not, choosing rather to follow some other course, because of the obscure and neglected condition learning then lay under. The grammar schools also became disused, parents choosing any other calling for their children, rather than to bring them up to letters: as Roger Ascham, a man that well knew the state of the university, complains in a letter to the Marquis of Northampton. This was the

Hist. Reform. Part ii. p. 8.

cause that the said Ascham pensively thus writ unto our Archbishop not long after. " That the university was then " in so depressed and drooping a condition, that very few " had hope of coming thither at all, and fewer had any " comfort to make long tarrying when they were there: " and that abroad it retained not so much as the shadow of " its ancient dignity."

An address of the university to the Archbishop.

At this low ebb the university now was, when King Edward the Sixth came to the sceptre. But there being a parliament this year in the month of November, the chief officers thereof thought it advisable however to prevent it, if they could, from sinking lower, and to keep at least what they had, by getting their ancient privileges confirmed by that parliament. And for this purpose they writ their earnest letters to the Archbishop: John Madew their Vicechancellor, the bearer, urging to him, " not only that it was a " thing usual at the beginning of Princes' reigns, to shew " that favour to the university to have their privileges re" newed by parliament; but chiefly, that the favour his " Grace should do to it would be a true piece of service to " the religion which he had such a tender care of. That " every one knew how much it concerned the common" wealth that account should be made of learning; but how " much it concerned the pure religion, (as they styled that " of the reformation,) he alone did consider above all others. " That he knew how that about five hundred years past, or " more, the knowledge of letters, by the fault of Kings, " who ought to have cherished it, began to withdraw itself " from men, and to hide itself in darkness. In which dark " times, so involved in ignorance, that notable wild boar out " of the wood spoiled the vineyard of Christ above measure: " not only treading down the kings of the earth, and con" ferring upon himself the empire of the world, but so in" vaded and broke into the holy seat and temple of con" science, that now there were scarce any manners of men, " any course of life, any rite of ceremonies, any sacrament 166 " of the church, any footstep of Christ, which were not " either laid waste by his thunder, or defiled by his breath: " or, to speak in milder, but more significant terms with St. " Paul, which were not most foully corrupted and adulte-

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"rated by the wisdom of human will-worship. That it was "this night of discipline, and want of knowledge, which "robbed us of God's word, and advanced the empire of "man's doctrine to that arbitrary height, that, instead of "the true worship of God, the right using of things divine, "a holy and pure course of life; hypocrisy, idolatry, and "adultery were most cunningly conveyed and brought in. "That they did the more willingly mention this pest of ignorance, conceiving great hope that the honour of learning "would be restored anew, now when all things tended in a "wonderful manner to the illustrating of true religion, "which good learning did necessarily accompany. And "that since God had now raised him up on purpose for the "restoring of the Gospel, and had so long reserved him for "that end, they doubted not but he would give all his pains "and authority to preserve the welfare of learning. And "that somewhat for this reason, because at that time there "could happen no calamity or advantage thereunto, but "every man would be apt either to charge him with the "blame of the one, or attribute to him the praise of the "other." This eloquent letter, indited by the pen of Ascham, then the university orator, having some remarkable passages of the state of the university at that time, and of the great sway the Archbishop then carried in the public, and the marvellous good-will he was esteemed to bear towards learning, I have therefore placed in the Appendix, though printed before.

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The success of the university's address to him and others.

This favour of having their privileges confirmed, sued for in the forementioned letter, the university then got, partly by the means of their cordial patron the Archbishop, and partly by the intercession and friendship of Queen Katherine Par, a great favourer of learning and pure religion, of Wriothesly Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Warwick, the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Arundel, and Sir William Paget; to all whom at that time they addressed their letters: whether it were out of fear of the difficulty of getting the thing done, or to take this opportunity to obtain the countenance of the great men of the court.

Another address to him against the townsmen.

Some time after, upon another occasion, the heads of the university made another application to their patron the

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Archbishop; which was, to befriend them at court against the townsmen, their old enemies, who were now wresting from them one of their ancient undoubted privileges; namely, the use of the prisons of the Tollbooth and castle. The occasion was this: in the time of Sturbridge fair, the proctors, upon great complaints made to them, going their rounds one night, had taken certain evil persons in houses of sin, and had brought them to the Tollbooth, in order to the commitment of them there. But having sent to the Mayor for the keys, he absolutely refused to part with them. So they were fain to carry their prisoners to the castle, where they left them in custody. But the Mayor's son, after an hour or two, let them all out, to return, if they pleased, to their former lewdness; to the breach of law, and affront of 167 the magistrate. Upon this the university sent their letters to the Archbishop, making certain of their grave members the bearers, to relate the matter more fully; earnestly requiring that such insolence might be punished: and that the King and his council would make such men feel what it was to violate laws, and to cherish impunity, and to break their oaths, which they had taken to maintain the university privileges. They urged to him, "how serviceable and ready "their university had been to him in his pious labours and "counsels, in establishing the true doctrine in the church; "and what fit and worthy men they had sent him for his assistance in that good work. In like manner they required "and expected of him, that their dignity might be main-"tained and preserved by his aid and authority. That the "university was then but in a low condition, and that "abroad it scarcely retained the shadow of its former glory. "But if at home, and within itself, the bonds and sinews of "its safety should thus be cut, as not to have a power to "restrain vice by imprisonment, what could the kingdom, "religion, and the King's Majesty hope for any more from "that university? They inculcated, how learning and the "true religion rise and fall together; and that if it went "otherwise than well with the one, the other would feel "the smart of it. And truly," say they, "no remarkable "damage can light upon the studies of learning, which by "the same motion draws not along with it the true religion

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"into the same catastrophe." And these considerations they made use of, to excite his Grace to assist them in vindicating their privileges, and in having that gross infringement of them punished. Upon the same occasion they wrote their letters also to Sir William Paget, a great friend of theirs, and eminent patron of good learning. What the issue of these applications was, I find not; but may conclude, they received a success proportionable to the good will and authority of those to whom they were made.

Roger Ascham's application to him for a dispensation for eating flesh.

And as the whole body of the university knew what favour our prelate bore to it, so every single ingenious member confided in him, and applied to him in their needs. Roger Ascham, the university orator, whom I had occasion to mention before, was a man of a weak constitution, and had contracted more frailty by reason of a long ague that then hung about him, and his complexion became melancholy by the relics of that stubborn distemper. He had also in his nature a great averseness to the fish-diet. Upon these reasons he addressed his letters to the Archbishop with an humble suit, very handsomely penned, that he might be dispensed with as to abstinence from flesh-meats, Lent and fish-days, being then strictly observed in the colleges. And this license he desired might be not only temporary, but perpetual, as long as he lived; which was somewhat extraordinary. But to incline the Archbishop to yield to his suit, he told him, "That it was not to pamper his flesh, nor "out of an affectation of doing that which was unusual, or "against common custom, but only for the preserving his "health, and that he might the more freely pursue his "studies." He added, "That the air of Cambridge was 168 "naturally cold and moist, and so the fish-diet the more "unwholesome. He desired therefore, that by his authority "he might no longer be tied by that tradition, which forbad the use of certain meats at certain times." He said, "that those who granted this liberty to none but such as "laboured under a desperate disease, did like them who "never repaired their houses but when they were just ready "to fall down by age. Thrifty housekeepers did other-"wise: so did skilful physicians, who did not use to pre-"scribe their physic when it was too late, but always put a

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" stop to beginnings. That they who never would impart " the using of this liberty (of eating flesh) to any, but when " all health was despaired of, knew not what good a prudent foresight did in all commonwealths, and did too insolently abuse a good thing bestowed upon us by God, " when little or no use at all could be made of it. Nay, " that such a good was no good at all, being external, but " in that respect only, as there might some use be made of " it. That we ought not therefore unprofitably to abuse " food to diseases that are desperate, but to accommodate " it to the preservation of health. And so did St. Paul command, *Therefore I exhort you to take some food, for this is* "*for your health.*" Then he subjoins a passage of Herodotus in his Euterpe, concerning the Egyptian priests, from whom issued originally all kinds of learning and arts, and who were always conversant in learned studies. These, saith that author, religiously tied themselves ever to abstain from all eating of fish. " No doubt for this only cause," saith Ascham ; " *Ne ignea vis ingenii atque præstantia, ullo* "*frigido succo, quem esus piscium ingeneraret, extingueretur.* " That the wits of men, that have a noble fiery quality in " them, might not be quenched by some cold juice, " which the eating of fish might engender. And that it " was somewhat unjust," he adds, " that when so many " kinds of superstition flowed in such a plentiful measure " from the Egyptians, as might easily be proved, and " thence derived themselves, first to the Greeks, then to " the Romans, and afterwards to our times, through that " sink of popery, that that single worthy counsel and remedy of those most learned men, enjoined for the enlarging and spreading of learning, should be debarred us to " follow ; and that by such as were either unlearned them-selves, or superstitious men : whereby the best wits received so great prejudice and damage. That none knew " better than his Lordship whence this custom arose, by " whom cherished, and by what kind of men brought down " to us. And, lastly, how unwholesome and unfit all eating " of fish was in the spring-time. And that he might obtain this favour, he would use it without giving offence, "or making any common speech of it, with quietness and "silence, with abstinence and thanksgiving."

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Favourably granted by the Archbishop.

This letter he got his friend Poinet, the Archbishop's chaplain, (the same I suppose who after was Bishop of Winchester,) to put into his Grace's hand, and to further his request what he could. The issue whereof was to his heart's desire: for though the Archbishop knew him not, nor was easily drawn to dispense with the church's ancient discipline and rites; yet he received his suit with all humanity; 169 and such he found to be the modesty and ingenuity of the man, and what he requested to be grounded upon such reasonable and just causes, that he readily yielded to it. And whether he thought it out of his power to grant a license of that latitude, to discharge a person for all time to come from the obligation of keeping Lent, or to avert the censure he might incur if he should have done it by his own authority, or reckoning it a matter of law rather than religion, he put himself to the trouble of procuring the King's license under the Privy Seal for this man: and when he had done that, considering an academic's poverty, he released him of the whole charges of taking it out, paying all the fees himself: and so conveyed it to him by Dr. Tayler, the Master of his college.

The Archbishop's opinion concerning Lent.

And indeed the Archbishop's opinion concerning Lent made way for his more ready yielding to Ascham's request: for he held the keeping of Lent as founded in a positive law, rather than as a religious duty, and thought it necessary that so the people should be taught and instructed. As appears by his articles of visitation in the second year of King Edward: one whereof ran thus; "That inquiry should be "made, whether the curates had declared, and to their wit "and power had persuaded the people, that the manner and "kind of fasting in Lent, and other days in the year, was "but a mere positive law: and that therefore all persons, "having just cause of sickness, or other necessity, or being "licensed by the King's Majesty, may moderately eat all "kind of meat, without grudge or scruple of conscience."

Ascham acquaints him with the

The same Ascham, knowing well how the Archbishop's mind stood affected to Cambridge, his old nurse, and how well he wished it for the sake of religion, acquainted him with the state of the university about the beginning of King Edward's reign, and the course of the studies that were then used. "That there were very many began to affect the study "of divinity." [A new study, it seems, then; the Pope's laws and the schoolmen having before employed the heads of almost all.] "That the doctrines of original sin and "predestination were much canvassed: but many went "rather according to Pighius, highly applauding him, than "according to St. Augustin, though he exceeded all others "that either went before, or followed after him, for the "excellency of his wit and learning, and the greatness of "his industry and opportunities. That others among them "made the reading of God's word their daily exercise: and "for the helping their understandings in the sense of it, "they made use of, and adhered to, the judgment of St. "Augustin chiefly; and studied hard the tongues. The "knowledge of languages began to be affected: and such "as studied them were reckoned the best masters; as qualifying them best for teaching of others, or understanding "themselves. That for oratory, they plied Plato and Aristotle; from whose fountains among the Greeks, *loquens* "*illa prudentia*, (as he styled oratory,) *that speaking prudence* "might be fetched. And to these among the Latins they "added Cicero. They conversed also in Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, the three lights of chronology, "truth, and Greek eloquence; and which brought a great "lustre to their other studies. The Greek poets, which "they took delight in, were Homer, Sophocles, and Euripides; 170 the one the fountain, the two others the streams, "of all eloquence and learned poetry: which, they were "of opinion, did more largely water their other studies "than Terence or Virgil; which in some former years "were chiefly read." Thus was the method of university studies altered (so much for the better) from reading the schoolmen, and metaphysical niceties, the Pope's canons and decretals, to converse in politer and more manly learning, which tended so much to solid knowledge, and preparation of men's minds to the entertainment of the Gospel.

present state of the university, as to their studies.

Epistol. libro 2.

Anno 1547.

Sir John Cheke, the Archbishop's dear friend, the prime instrument of politer studies there.

The great setter on foot of this ingenuous learning in the university was Sir John Cheke, of St. John's College, now preferred to be the King's tutor; a person for whom the Archbishop had a very tender love and affectionate kindness. For so Ascham writ to him in his former letter: "That "many had addicted themselves to this course of study by "the aid and conduct, example and counsel, of that excellent "man: and that they bore the better his going from "them to the court, who had brought them on in so good "a course, because they knew their disprofit was abun-"dantly recompensed by the profit and safety that would "accrue to the whole commonwealth by him." Applying that of Plato to him, *Plurimum reipublicæ interesse, ut unus aliquis existat semper præstans excellensque vir, ad cujus virtutis imitationem, cæteri voluntate, industria, studio, et spe erecti, totos sese effingant et accommodent.*

The impediments of the university's flourishing state laid before him.

Afterwards he acquainted the most reverend person, to whom he wrote, with those things which proved great hinderances to the flourishing estate of the university; that by his counsel and authority, if possible, they might be redressed. And they were two. "The one was, that they "wanted elderly men, very few such remaining among "them, by whose example the younger sort might be ex-"cited to study, and by whose authority the manners of "the rest might be rightly formed and fashioned. The "other impediment was occasioned by such as were ad-"mitted: who were for the most part only the sons of rich "men, and such as never intended to pursue their studies to "that degree as to arrive at any eminent proficiency and "perfection in learning, but only the better to qualify "themselves for some places in the state, by a slighter and "more superficial knowledge. The injury accruing thence "to the university was double; both because, by this means, "all hope of ripe and completed learning was immaturely "cut off in the very bud; and also all the expectations of "the poorer sort, whose whole time was spent in good "studies, was eluded by these drones occupying those places "and preferments which more properly belonged unto "them: for parts, learning, poverty, and election, were of "no strength at home, where favour and countenance, and "the letters of noblemen, and such-like extraordinary and "illegal courses from abroad, bore all the sway."

CHAP. VII.

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Dr. Smith and others recant.

AND now, before I conclude this year, let me pass from more public matters, and present the reader with two or three passages, wherein the Archbishop had to do with private men.

Dr. Smith recants at Paul's Cross.

May the 15th, Richard Smith, D. D. Master of Whittington College, and reader of divinity in Oxford, a hot turbulent man, made his recantation at Paul's Cross, convinced and moved thereunto by the pains of the Archbishop. What his errors were, that he had publicly vented in the university, and in his writings, may be known by the words of his recantation, which were these:

"I do confess and acknowledge, that the authority, as "well of the Bishop of Rome, whose authority is justly and "lawfully abolished in this realm, as of other bishops, and "others called the ministers of the church, consisteth in "the dispensation and ministration of God's word, and not "in making laws, ordinances, and decrees over the people, "besides God's word, without the consent and authority of "the prince and people. I say and affirm, that within this "realm of England, and other the King's dominions, there "is no law, decree, ordinance, or constitution ecclesiastical, "in force, and available by any man's authority, but only "by the King's Majesty's authority, or of his parliament."

His books.

This man had wrote two books in favour of popish doctrine; and those he also now disclaimed, *viz.* A book of traditions, and another of the sacrifice of the mass. In the former of which he maintained, "That Christ and his "Apostles taught and left to the church many things without writing; which," he asserted, "were stedfastly to be "believed, and obediently fulfilled, under pain of damna-

"tion." In the other book he maintained, "that Christ "was not a priest after the order of Melchizedeck, when he "offered himself upon the cross fr our sins, but after "the order of Aaron: and that when Christ did offer his "body to his Father, after the order of Melchizedek, to appease his wrath, it was to be understood not of the sacrifice of the cross, but of the sacrifice that he made at his "maundy, in form of bread and wine." In which book were other errors. He that is minded to see his recantation of these his books, may have it in the Appendix, as I transcribed it out of an old book made by Becon, intituled, *Reports of certain Men.* This recantation he not long after made at Oxon, *viz.* in August following: where he also protested openly, "That he would abide in the sincere and "pure doctrine of Christ's Gospel, all human trifling traditions set apart, even unto death, though it should cost "him his life." And this recantation he also printed, for further satisfaction to the world.

Num. XXXIX.

Gardiner offended with this recantation.

Bishop Gardiner, who was now at Winchester, was very uneasy at the news of this recantation, which some took care to bring down to him. He signified to the Protector, "That Smith was a man with whom he had no familiarity, 172 "nor cared for his acquaintance: that he had not seen "him in three years, nor talked with him in seven. He "was greatly displeased with the first words of his recantation, (which yet were but the words of Scripture,) "*Omnis homo mendax:* making all the doctors in the church "(as he inferred) to be liars with himself: how it argued "his pride; for he that sought for such company in lying, "had small humility; and that he would hide himself by that "number: that his depraving of man's nature in that sort "was not the setting out of the authority of Scripture." He said, "he neither liked his tractation, nor yet his retractation. That he was mad to say in his book of Unwritten Verities, that bishops in this realm could make "laws, wherein," he said, "he lied loudly." About this time Chadsey, Standish, Yong, Oglethorp, and divers others, recanted, (whose recantations Fox had by him to shew,) as well as Smith, whom we have now before us.

Psal. cxvi. 11.

Other university-men recant.

After this recantation he carried not himself according to

Smith affronts the Archbishop.

it; but favoured the old errors: and in the year 1549, offered some affront unto Archbishop Cranmer, opposing him in the doctrine of the lawfulness of priests' marriage, and endeavoured to make a rout in Oxford, to the endangering Peter Martyr's life: and printed a book the same year against him, *De Votis Monasticis.* Whereupon incurring, as he apprehended, some danger, he fled into Scotland. But weary of being there, and willing to have his peace made in England, he wrote two letters to the Archbishop from thence; professing that he would out of hand, by open writing in the Latin tongue, revoke all that erroneous doctrine which he had before taught and published, and set forth the pure doctrine of Christ: and, for a proof hereof, he would straight after his return into England set forth a book in Latin, in defence of the most lawful marriage of priests. In the year 1550, he wrote certain treatises against Peter Martyr, printed at Lovain: and the same year came out his book against the Archbishop's treatise of the sacrament.

His inconstancy.

This man was of a most inconstant, as well as turbulent spirit: for in the reign of Queen Mary he turned to the religion then professed; and was great with Bishop Boner in those times, but greatly despised for his fickleness. He once attempted to discourse with Hawks in Boner's house in London; Hawks threw in his dish his recantation. To which when he said it was no recantation, but a declaration, the other gave him this rub: "To be short, I will know, "whether you will recant any more ere ever I talk with "you, or believe you?" and so departed from him. We shall hear of him again in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when he again complied, and submitted himself to Archbishop Parker: and last of all returned to his old opinions, and fled to Lovain.

The Archbishop's admonition to the Vicar of Stepney.

Pass we from this man to another of the same strain, with whom the Archbishop had to do. As the popish clergy in the former King's reign had made all the rudest and eagerest opposition they dared against the steps that were then made towards a reformation, so they ceased not to do in this King's; nay, and more, hoping to shelter themselves under a

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milder government. One instance of this appeared in what was done by the *quondam* Abbot of Tower-hill, London: who, for some recompense of the loss of his abbey, was made Vicar of Stepney-church; succeeding, I suppose, Mr. Hierom, burnt to death in the year 1540, with Dr. Barnes and Garret. He being a bold man, and addicted to the old superstition, would commonly disturb the preachers in his church, when he liked not their doctrine, by causing the bells to be rung when they were at the sermon; and sometimes beginning to sing in the choir before the sermon were half done; and sometimes by challenging the preacher in the pulpit: for he was a strong, stout, popish prelate. Whom therefore the godly-disposed of the parish were weary of, and especially some of the eminentest men at Limehurst, whose names were Driver, Ive, Poynter, March, and others. But they durst not meddle with him, until one Underhil, of the band of Gentlemen-Pensioners, of a good family, and well respected at court, came to live at Limehurst. He, being the King's servant, took upon him to reprehend this Abbot for these and such-like his doings: and by his authority carried him unto Croyden to the Archbishop there, the persons above named going along as witnesses. In fine, the mild Archbishop sent him away with a gentle rebuke, and bade him to do no more so. This lenity offended Underhil, who said, " My Lord, methinks you are " too gentle unto so stout a Papist." To which Cranmer replied, " Well, we have no law to punish them by." " No " law, my Lord?" said the other. " If I had your authority, " I would be so bold to unvicar him, or minister some sharp " punishment upon him, and such other. If ever it come to " their turn, they will shew you no such favour." " Well," said the good Archbishop, " if God so provide, we must " abide it." " Surely," replied the other again, " God will " never con you thanks for this, but rather take the sword " from such as will not use it upon his enemies." And so they parted. And this indeed was the constant behaviour of the Archbishop towards Papists, and such as were his enemies. For which he was now, and at other times, taxed by men of hotter spirits: but his opinion was, that clemency

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and goodness, as it was more agreeable to the Gospel, which he laboured to adorn, so was more likely to obtain the ends he desired, than rigour and austerity.

The Arch-bishop licenseth an eminent preacher.

The Archbishop did one thing more this year of good conducement to the promoting true religion, and exposing false: and that was in countenancing and licensing an earnest preacher in the south-west parts, named Thomas Hancock, a master of arts, whose mouth had been stopped by a strict inhibition from preaching in the former King's reign. The Archbishop saw well what a useful man he had been in those parts of England where he frequented, having been a very diligent preacher of the Gospel, and declaimer against papal abuses, in the dioceses of two bigoted bishops, Gardiner of Winchester, and Capon of Sarum. In this first year of the King, many zealous preachers of the Gospel, without staying for public orders from above, earnestly set forth the evangelical doctrine, in confutation of the sacrifice of the mass, and the corporal presence in the sacrament, and such like. And of the laity there were great numbers every where, especially in populous towns, of such as did now more openly shew their heads, and their good inclinations to the *new learning*, as it was then called. In Southampton, of the diocese of Winchester; in Salisbury, Pool, and Dorset, of the diocese of Sarum; did this Hancock chiefly converse and officiate in the latter end of King Henry: when he was suspended *a celebratione divinorum*, by Dr. Raynold, Commissary under Dr. Steward, then Chancellor to Bishop Gardiner, upon pretence of the breach of the act of six Articles; because he had taught, out of the ninth to the Hebrews, "That our Saviour Christ entered "once into the holy place, by the which he obtained unto "us everlasting redemption. That he once suffered, and "that his body was once offered, to take away the sins "of many people. And that one only oblation sufficed "for the sins of the whole world." And though all this was but mere Scripture, yet they found it to contradict their notions, and therefore they thought convenient to suspend him. But as these bishops did what they could to stifle all preaching of God's word, so the Archbishop's principle was to encourage and send forth preachers. So 174

Foxii MSS.

Hancock, notwithstanding his former suspension, obtained a license from our Archbishop to preach.

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Who preacheth against the errors and superstitions of the church. Foxii MSS.

Now to follow this preacher a little after his license obtained. At Christ-Church Twinham, in the county of Southampton, where he was born, (as I take it from his own narration,) he preached out of the sixteenth chapter of St. John, *The Holy Ghost shall reprove the world of sin, of righteousness, &c. because I go to the Father.* The priest being then at mass, Hancock declared unto the people, "That that the priest held over his head, they did see with "their bodily eyes; but our Saviour Christ doth here say "plainly, that we shall see him no more. Then you," saith he, "that do kneel unto it, pray unto it, and honour it as "God, do make an idol of it, and yourselves do commit "most horrible idolatry." Whereat the Vicar, Mr. Smith, sitting in his chair, in the face of the pulpit, spake these words; "Mr. Hancock, you have done well until "now; and now have you played an ill cow's part, which, "when she hath given a good mess of milk, overthroweth "all with her foot, and so all is lost." And with these words he got him out of the church.

Is bound to answer for his sermon at the assizes.

Also, in this first year of the King, the same person preached in St. Thomas church at Salisbury, Dr. Oking, Chancellor to Bishop Capon, and Dr. Steward, Chancellor to Bishop Gardiner, being present, with divers others of the clergy and laity. His place was, *Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out.* Whence he inveighed against the superstitious ceremonies, holy bread, holy water, images, copes, vestments, &c.: and at last against the idol of the altar, proving it to be an idol, and no God, by the first of St. John's Gospel, *No man hath seen God at any time;* with other places of the Old Testament. But "that the priest held over his head, they did "see, kneeled before it, honoured it; and so made an idol "of it: and therefore they were most horrible idolaters." Whereat the doctors, and certain of the clergy, went out of the church. Hancock, seeing them departing, charged them, "They were not of God, because they refused to "hear the word of God." But when the sermon was ended, Thomas Chaffen the Mayor, set on, as is likely, by some of the clergy, came to him, laying to his charge the breach of a proclamation, lately set forth by the Lord Protector, "That no nicknames should be given unto the sa- 175 "crament, as *Round Robin*, or *Jack in the box*." Whereto he replied, "That it was no sacrament, but an idol, as they "used it." But, for all this excuse, the Mayor had committed him to jail, had not six honest men been bound for his appearance the next assizes, to make his answer: as Dr. Jeffery about this time had committed two to prison for the like cause.

How far the reformation had proceeded.

So that now, if we look back upon this first year of the King, we may perceive how busy and diligent our Archbishop was in redressing abuses, and restoring the church to its true state of christian piety and devotion; by procuring a royal visitation over England for inspection into the manners and abilities of the clergy, and for taking away of superstitions; by getting a book of plain Homilies to teach the common people, (in the composing whereof he himself had a very great hand,) and Erasmus his Paraphrase in English upon the New Testament, for the better furnishing the clergy and others with a sound and sober understanding of the Scriptures; and by encouraging preachers, and suchlike means. So that if you would particularly know in what forwardness the Archbishop had already put religion, taking in his endeavours in the last King's reign hitherto, I recommend to your reading his homily or sermon *Of Good* **Part 3.** *Works:* shewing out of what abundance of superstitions the church was now emerged. "Briefly, to pass over the un- "godly and counterfeit religion, [he means, of monks and "friars,] let us rehearse some other kinds of papistical su- "perstitions and abuses, as of beads, of lady-psalters and "rosaries, of fifteen O's, of St. Bernard's Verses, of St. "Agathe's Letters, of purgatory, of masses satisfactory, of "stations and jubilees, of fained relics, or hallowed beads, "bells, bread, water, psalms, candles, fire, and such other. "Of superstitious fastings, of fraternities or brotherhoods, "of pardons, with such-like merchandize: which were so "esteemed or abused, to the great prejudice of God's glory "and commandments, that they were made most high and "most holy things; whereby to obtain to the everlasting

Anno 1547.

"life, or remission of sins. Yea also vain inventions, unfruitful ceremonies, and ungodly laws, decrees, and conceits of Rome; wherein such were advanced, that nothing "was thought comparable in authority, wisdom, learning, "and godliness unto them. So that the laws of Rome, as "they said, were to be received of all men, as the four "Evangelists: to the which all the laws of princes must "give place. And the laws of God also partly were left "off, and less esteemed, that the said laws, decrees, and "councils, with their traditions and ceremonies, might be "more duly kept, and had in greater reverence. Thus were "the people, through ignorance, so blinded with the godly "shew and appearance of those things, that they thought "the keeping of them to be more holiness, more perfect "service and honouring of God, and more pleasing to God, "than the keeping of God's commandments. Such have "been the corrupt inclinations of man, ever superstitiously "given to make new honouring of God of his own head; 176 "and then to have more affection and devotion to keep "that, than to search out God's holy commandments, and "to keep them. And furthermore, to take God's commandments for man's commandments, and man's commandments for God's commandments, yea, and for the "highest and most perfect and holiest of all God's commandments. And so was all confused, that scant well-"learned men, and but a small number of them, knew, or "at the least would know, and durst affirm the truth, to "separate or sever God's commandments from the commandments of men. Whereupon did grow such error, "superstition, and idolatry, vain religion, overthwart judgment, great contention, with all ungodly living."

A Bishop consecrated.

Ridley consecrated Bishop. Cranm. Regist. p. 321.

September the 5th, being Sunday, Nicolas Ridley, D. D. Prebend of Canterbury, was consecrated bishop of Rochester by Henry Bishop of Lincoln, assisted by John Suffragan of Bedford, and Thomas Suffragan of Sidon, in the chapel belonging to the house of May, Dean of St. Paul's. He was consecrated according to the old custom of the church, by the unction of holy chrism, as well as imposi-

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tion of hands. Present, among others, John Whytwel, the Archbishop's Almoner; Rich. Tayler, M. A. Nic. Bullingham, Gregory Tod, and Tho. Bernard, his chaplains.

CHAP. VIII.

The Church's Goods embezzled. New Opinions broached.

Anno 1548.

Churches profaned.

AS the reformation of abuses in religion went forward under such a King and such an Archbishop, so there wanted not for evils accompanying it, as there do commonly the best things; the profaneness of some, and the covetousness of others, giving occasion thereunto. Sacred places, set apart for divine worship, were now greatly profaned; and so probably had been before by ill custom: for in many churches, cathedral as well as other, and especially in London, many frays, quarrels, riots, bloodsheddings were committed. They used also commonly to bring horses and mules into and through churches, and shooting off handguns: "making the same, which were properly appointed "to God's service and common-prayer, like a stable or common inn, or rather a den or sink of all unchristiness;" as it was expressed in a proclamation which the King set forth about this time, as I suppose, (for I am left to conjecture for the date,) by reason of the insolency of great numbers using the said evil demeanors, and daily more and more increasing: "therein forbidding any such quarrelling, shooting, or bringing horses and mules into or through the "churches, or by any other means irreverently to use the "churches, upon pain of his Majesty's indignation, and imprisonment." For it was not thought fit that, when divine worship was now reforming, the places for the said worship should remain unreformed. 177

Cotton Lib. Titus B. 2.

Church ornaments embezzled.

Beside the profanation of churches, there prevailed now another evil, relating also to churches, *viz.* That the utensils and ornaments of these sacred places were spoiled, embezzled, and made away, partly by the churchwardens, and partly by other parishioners. Whether the cause were, that

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they would do that themselves, which they imagined would ere long be done by others, *viz.* robbing the churches: which, it may be, those that bore an ill-will to the reformation might give out, to render it the more odious. But certain it is, that it now became more or less practised all the nation over, to sell or take away chalices, crosses of silver, bells, and other ornaments. For the stopping of this, in the month of April, the Protector, and the lords of the council, writ to our Archbishop this letter, upon the information and complaint, as it is likely, of the said Archbishop himself, in whose diocese especially this sacrilege prevailed.

The council's letter to the Archbishop thereupon.

Cranm. Regist.

"AFTER our right hearty commendations. Whereas "we are informed that the church-wardens and parochians "of divers parishes do alienate and sell away their chalices, "crosses of silver, bells, and other ornaments of the church: "which were not given for that purpose, to be alienated at "their pleasure; but either to be used to the intent they "were at first given, or to some other necessary and convenient service of the church. Therefore this is to will "and require you immediately, upon the sight hereof, to "give strait charge and commandment, on the King's Majesty's behalf, to every parish-church within your diocese, "that they do in no wise sell, give, or otherwise alienate "any bells, or other ornaments, or jewels, belonging unto "their parish-church, upon pain of his highest displeasure, "as they will answer to the contrary at their peril. Thus "fare you well. From Westminster, the last day of April "1548.

"Your loving friends,

"E. Somerset.	Will. Seint-John.	J. Russell.
"H. Arundel.	Tho. Cheyney.	Will. Paget.
"Tho. Smith.	A. Denny.	Will. Herbert."
"Joh. Baker.		

It is not an improbable conjecture, that the Archbishop procured this letter to arm churchwardens with an answer to such greedy courtiers and gentlemen, as used often to resort to them; and in their own, or the council's name, required these goods of their churches to be yielded up to them; and threatened them if they did not.

Anno 1548.

A form of prayer sent to the Archbishop.

The next month the council sent the Archbishop a form of prayer, to be used by himself and those of his diocese. Wherein God was implored to grant the nation peace and victory over her enemies: for now all things round about appeared in a posture of war; and preparation of arms was making: which caused the King also to raise forces. And, for a blessing upon them, the privy-council sent to the Archbishop, together with the form, an order for the speedy using of it. The tenor of the letter follows:

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With the council's letter. Cranm. Regist.

" AFTER our hearty commendations to your good " Lordship. Hearing tell of great preparations made of " foreign Princes, and otherwise being enforced, for the " procurement and continuance of peace, to make prepara- " tion of war: forasmuch as all power and aid valuable " cometh of God; the which he granteth, as he hath pro- " mised by his holy word, by nothing so much as by hearty " prayers of good men: the which is also of more efficacy, " made of an whole congregation together, gathered in his " holy name: therefore this is to will and require you to " give advertisement and commandments to all the curates " in your diocese, that every Sunday and holy-day, in their " common-prayer, they make devout and hearty interces- " sions to Almighty God for victory and peace. And to " the intent that you should not be in doubts what sort " and manner thereof we do like, we have sent unto you " one: which we would that you and they should follow, " and read it instead of one of the collects of the King's " Majesty's procession. Thus we pray you not fail to do " with all speed, and bid you farewell. From Westmin- " ster, the 6th of May, 1548.

" Your loving friends,
" E. Somerset. R. Rich, Canc. W. Seint-John.
" J. Russel. Th. Cheyney."

New opinions broached.

Now that the liberty of the Gospel began to be allowed, divers false opinions and unsound doctrines began to be vented with it; of which public cognizance began now to be taken. As, "that the elect sinned not, and that they "could not sin. That they that be regenerate never fall "away from godly love. That the elect have a right to "take so much of the things of the world as may supply "their necessities." And there were some that openly preached these doctrines, and set forth and published books to the same tenor.

Cranm. Regist.

Several of these heretics, in the month of April, were convented before the Archbishop of Canterbury; Sir Thomas Smith; Richard Cox, Hugh Latimer, doctors of divinity; William May, Dean of St. Paul's; William Cook, Richard Lyel, doctors of law; and others the King's commissioners. Then did one John Champneys, of Stratford on the Bow, abjure. He taught, and wrote, and defended; "1. That a "man, after he is regenerate in Christ, cannot sin. 2. That "the outward man might sin, but the inward man could "not. 3. That the Gospel hath been so much persecuted "and hated ever since the Apostles' times, that no man "might be suffered openly to follow it. 4. That godly "love falleth never away from them which be regenerate "in Christ: wherefore they cannot do contrary to the "commandments of Christ. 5. That that was the most "principal of our marked men's doctrine, that make the "people believe that there was no such spirit given unto "men, whereby they should remain righteous, and always "in Christ. Which is [as he wrote and asserted] a most "devilish error. 6. That God doth permit to all his elect
179 "people their bodily necessities of all earthly things."

Champneys revokes six articles.

All these he revoked: granting or confessing now, "1. "That a man, after he is regenerate in Christ, may sin, being destitute of his spirit. 2. That the inner man doth "sin, when the outward man sinneth actually with the "consent of the mind. 3. That divers times, sithence the "Apostles' times, to follow the doctrine of Christ hath been "suffered openly. 4. That godly love falleth from them "that be regenerate in Christ, being destitute of the spirit: "and that then they may do contrary to the commands of "Christ. 5. That it is no erroneous doctrine, which he affirmed in his book to be a devilish error, and our marked "men's doctrine, *viz.* To make the people believe that "there was no such spirit given unto man, whereby he "should remain righteous always in Christ. But I confess, "[saith the abjurer,] that a man, having the spirit, may afterwards fall, and not be righteous. 6. That God doth "not permit to all his elect people their bodily necessities "of all worldly things to be taken, but by a law and order "approved by the civil policy: to which by me now spoken I mean ne understand any other sense than hath been "here opened;" to use again his very words in his abjuration. And so, touching the holy Gospel with his hand, before the King's commissioners, he abjured, promising, "That he should never hold, teach, or believe the said "errors, or damned opinions above rehearsed." And so subscribed his name.

And abjures.

Then the Archbishop in his own name, and in the name of the other commissioners, gave him his oath. "1. That he "should not by any means hereafter teach or preach to the "people, nor set forth any kind of books, in print or other-"wise, nor cause to be printed or set forth any such books, "that should contain any manner of doctrine, without a spe-"cial license thereunto of the King's Majesty, or some of "his Grace's privy council first had and obtained. 2. That "the said Champneys, with all speed convenient, and with "all his diligence, procure as many of his books, as are "passed forth in his name, to be called in again, and utterly "destroyed, as much as in him should lie. 3. That he "should the Sunday following attend at Paul's Cross upon "the preacher, all the time of the sermon, and there peni-"tently stand before the preacher with a faggot on his "shoulder." And then he had two sureties bound in five hundred pounds, that he should perform his penance. This was done April 27.

Other heresies vented.

There were other heresies also now vented abroad, as the denial of the Trinity, and of the deity of the Holy Ghost: and the assertion, That Jesus Christ was a mere man, and not true God, because he had the accidents of human nature; such as hungering and thirsting, and being visible: and that the benefit men receive by Jesus Christ was the bringing them to the true knowledge of God. There was one John Assheton, a priest, that preached these doctrines: who on the 28th of December was summoned to Lambeth,

Cranm. Regist.

BOOK II. Anno 1548. to appear there before the Archbishop. Where John Whitwel, the Archbishop's Almoner, and Thomas Langley, both priests, and his Grace's chaplains, exhibited a schedule of divers heresies and damned opinions against the said Assheton: which are recited in the abjuration which he made. The tenor whereof is as followeth:

Assheton's recantation.

" In the name of God, Amen. Before you, most learned 180 " father in God, Thomas, Archbishop, Primate, and Metropolitan of all England, Commissary of our most dread sovereign Lord, and excellent Prince, Edward VI. by the " grace of God, &c. I John Assheton, priest, of my pure " heart, free-will, voluntary and sincere knowledge, confess " and openly recognize, that in times past I thought, believed, said, heard, and affirmed these errors, heresies, and " damnable opinions following; that is to say, 1. That the " Trinity of Persons was established by the confession of " Athanasius, declared by a psalm, *Quicunque vult*, &c. " and that the Holy Ghost is not God, but only a certain " power of the Father. 2. That Jesus Christ, that was conceived of the Virgin Mary, was a holy Prophet, and especially beloved of God the Father; but that he was not " the true and living God: forasmuch as he was seen, and " lived, hungered and thirsted. 3. That this only is the " fruit of Jesus Christ's passion; that whereas we were " strangers from God, and had no knowledge of his testament, it pleased God by Christ to bring us to the acknowledging of his holy power by the testament.

" Wherefore I the said John Assheton, detesting and abhorring all and every my said errors, heresies, and damned " opinions, willingly, and with all my power, affecting hereafter firmly to believe in the true and perfect faith of " Christ and his holy church, purposing to follow the true " and sincere doctrine of holy church with a pure and free " heart, voluntarily mind, will, and intend utterly to forsake, relinquish, renounce, and despise the said detestable " errors, heresies, and abominable opinions: granting and " confessing now, 1. That the blessed Trinity consisteth in " three distinct Persons, and one Godhead; as God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, coequal in " power and might. 2. That Jesus Christ is both God and " man, after his holy nature eternally begotten of his

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" Father, of his own substance; and in his humanity was conceived by the Holy Ghost incarnate, and for our redemption, being very God, became man. 3. That by the death " of Jesus Christ we be not only made partakers of the " testament, and so disposed to the knowledge of his godly " will and power, but also that we have full redemption and " remission of our sins in his blood." Then he subscribed his hand to this confession before the Archbishop, exhibiting it for his act; and, lifting up his hand, beseeched his Grace to deal mercifully and graciously with him; and touching the Gospel, gave his faith that he would faithfully and humbly obey the commands of the holy mother-church, and whatsoever penance the said most reverend father should lay upon him.

Other errors still.

To these erroneous doctrines we must add others, that now also spread themselves: as, that Christ took not flesh of the Virgin: that the baptism of infants was not profitable. Of which error one Michael Thombe of London, butcher, recanted the year following, *viz.* 1549, May 11, having been then convented before the Archbishop at Lambeth.

" I Michael Thombe of London, bocher, of my pure **181** " heart and free-will, voluntarily and sincerely acknowledge " and confess, and openly recognise, that in times past I " thought, believed, said, heard, and affirmed, these errors " and heresies, and damnable opinions following: that is to " say, That Christ took no flesh of our Lady; and that the " baptism of infants is not profitable, because it goeth before faith. Wherefore I, the said Michael Thombe, detesting and abhorring all and every such my said errors, " heresies, and damned opinions; and with all my power " affecting hereafter firmly to believe in the true and perfect faith of Christ, and of the holy church, purposing to " follow the true and sincere doctrine of holy church with " a pure and free heart, voluntarily mind, will, and intend, " utterly to forsake, relinquish, renounce, and despise the " said detestable errors, heresies, and damnable opinions; " granting and confessing now, That Christ took flesh of the " Virgin Mary; and that the baptism of infants is profitable and necessary." And by this submission and penance doing, Thombe escaped.

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Joan Bocher's heresy.

But another of the same opinion, more obstinate, came to a sadder end, and was burnt; namely, Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent. Her opinion is in the instrument drawn up against her in the Archbishop's register: which ran thus; "That you believe that the Word was made flesh in the "Virgin's belly; but that Christ took flesh of the Virgin "you believe not, because the flesh of the Virgin, being the "outward man, was sinfully gotten, and born in sin. But "the Word, by the consent of the inward man of the Virgin, was made flesh." This she stood perversely in. So the Archbishop himself excommunicated her judicially; the sentence being read by him, April 1549, in St. Mary's chapel, within the cathedral church of Paul's, Sir Thomas Smith, William Cook, Dean of the Arches, Hugh Latimer, Richard Lyell, LL. D. the King's commissioners, assisting. She was committed afterwards to the secular arm; and certified so to be by an instrument made by the commissioners to the King. After she was condemned, she was a sevennight in the Lord Chancellor Rich his house; and every day the Archbishop and Bishop Ridley came and reasoned with her, that, if possible, they might save her from the fire: but nothing would do. I will here produce Latimer's censure of her, who well knew her case, being one of the commissioners that sat upon her. "She would say," saith he in his sermon on St. John Evangelist's day, "that our "Saviour was not very man, nor had received flesh of his "mother Mary: and yet she could shew no reason why "she should believe so. Her opinion was this; The Son "of God, said she, penetrated through her as through a "glass, taking no substance of her. This foolish woman "denied the common creed, *Natus ex Maria Virgine*, and "said that our Saviour had a fantastical body."

Latimer's censure of her.

George van Paris.

A Dutchman, an Arian, named George van Paris, denying Christ to be true God, came to a like end with Joan, namely, that of burning to death, being condemned for heresy; that was in the year 1551. But though I make some anticipation in my history, yet I do it that I may lay these heresies here together, that started up, or rather shewed themselves more visibly, in this reign.

CHAP. IX. 182

The Archbishop visits.

THE Archbishop in this year held a visitation in divers places throughout his diocese: wherein inquiry was to be made concerning the behaviour both of the priests and the people, in eighty-six articles. Whereby may be seen the Archbishop's conscientious care and solicitude for the abrogating of superstition, and the promoting of true religion: that he might reduce the clergy to learning, sobriety, and diligence in their vocation; and the people to loyalty and obedience to the King, and the sincere worshipping of God.

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The Archbishop visits his diocese.

Concerning the priests, he ordered inquiry to be made; "Whether they preached four times a year against the "usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, and in behalf of "the King's power and authority within his own realms. "Whether, in their common prayers, they used not the collects made for the King, and mentioned not his Majesty's "name in the same. Whether they had destroyed and "taken away out of the churches all images and shrines, "tables, candlesticks, trindals, or rolls of wax, and all other "monuments of feigned miracles, idolatry, and superstition; "and moved their parishioners to do the same in their own "houses. Inquiries were made concerning their due administration of the sacraments; concerning their preaching God's word once at least in a quarter; and then exhorting their parishioners to works commanded by Scripture, and not to works devised by men's fancies, as wearing and praying upon beads, and such like. Concerning "the plain reciting the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and Ten "Commandments in English, immediately after the Gospel, "as often as there were no sermon. Concerning the examining of every one that came to confession in Lent, whether they were able to say the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, "and Ten Commandments, in English. Concerning the "having learned curates, to be procured by such as were "absent from their benefices. Concerning having the whole

His articles for the clergy.

Anno 1548. "Bible of the largest volume in every church, and Erasmus's Paraphrase in English. Concerning teaching the "people of the nature of the fast of Lent, and other days in "the year, that it was but a mere positive law. Concerning "residence upon benefices, and keeping hospitality. Concerning finding a scholar in the universities, or some grammar-school, incumbent on such priests as had an hundred "pounds a year. Concerning moving the parishioners to "pray rather in English, than in a tongue unknown, and "not to put their trust in saying over a number of beads. "Concerning having the New Testament in Latin and English, and Erasmus's Paraphrase, which all priests under "the degree of bachelors in divinity were examined about. "Concerning putting out of the church-books the name of "Papa, and the name and service of Thomas Becket, and "the prayers that had rubrics, containing pardons and "indulgences." And many the like articles: which may
183 be seen by him that will have recourse to them, as they are printed in Bishop Sparrow's Collections.

And for the laity.

Those articles that related to the laity were, "Concerning the letters or hinderers of the Word of God read in "English, or preached sincerely. Concerning such as went "out of the church in time of the Litany, or common-prayer, or sermon. Concerning ringing bells at the same "time. Concerning such as abused the ceremonies, as casting holy-water upon their beds, bearing about them holy-bread, St. John's Gospel; keeping of private holy-days, "as taylors, bakers, brewers, smiths, shoemakers, &c. "did. Concerning the misbestowing of money arising from "cattle, or other moveable stocks of the church, as for "finding of lights, torches, tapers, or lamps, and not employed to the poor man's chest. Concerning abusing "priests and ministers. Concerning praying upon the English Primer, set forth by the King, and not the Latin, for "such as understand not Latin. Concerning keeping the "Church-holy-day, and the Dedication-day, any otherwise, "or at any other time, than was appointed. Concerning "commoning and jangling in the church at the time of "reading the common-prayer or homilies, or when there "was preaching. Concerning maintenance of error and

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"heresy. Concerning common swearers, drunkards, blasphemers, adulterers, bawds. Inquiries were also to be "made after such as were common brawlers, slanderers; "such as used charms, sorceries, inchantments, and witchcraft; such as contemned their own parish-church, and "went elsewhere. Concerning marrying within the degrees prohibited, and without asking the banns. Concerning the honest discharge of wills and testaments, in "such as were executors or administrators. Concerning "such as contemned married priests, and refused to receive the communion and other sacraments at their "hands. Concerning such as kept in their own houses "images, tables, pictures, painting, or monuments of "fained miracles undefaced, &c."

An exchange made between the Archbishop and the Lord Windsor.

In this year also the Archbishop, with the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, granted the patronage, rectory, &c. of Riceborough Monachorum, in the county of Bucks, to the Lord Windsor, for fourscore and nineteen years: and, in exchange, the said Lord granted to the Archbishop the advowson, patronage, and nomination of Midley in Kent, for the same duration of years.

Bishop of St. David's consecrated. Cranm. Regist. fol. 327.

September the 9th, being Sunday, Robert Farrar, D. D. was consecrated Bishop of St. David's, by Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, endued with his pontificals, and assisted by Henry Bishop of Lincoln, and Nicolas Bishop of Rochester, at Chertsey in the diocese of Winton, in the Archbishop's house there. Then certain hymns, psalms, and prayers being recited, together with a portion of Scripture read in the vulgar tongue out of St. Paul's Epistles, and the Gospel of St. Matthew, the Archbishop celebrated the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. There communicated the reverend fathers, Thomas Bishop of Ely, Thomas Bishop of Westminster, Henry Bishop of Lincoln, Nicolas Bishop of Rochester, and Farrar the new Bishop; together with William May, Dean of St. Paul's; Simon Hains, Dean of Exon; Thomas Robertson, and John Redman, professors 184 of divinity, and others. The Archbishop then distributed the communion in English words. This Bishop (as it is writ in the margin of the register) was the first that was consecrated upon the bare nomination of the King, accord-

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ing to the statute that for that purpose was published in the first year of his reign. The form of the King's letters patents, whereby he constituted Farrar bishop, is extant in the register, dated from Leghes, August 1, in the second year of his reign.

Some account of this Bishop.

At this Bishop of St. David's I will stay a little: proving unhappy by his preferment unto a church, whose corruptions while he endeavoured to correct, he sunk under his commendable endeavours. He was an active man, and made much use of in public affairs in King Henry and King Edward's days; having been first a Canon of St. Mary's in Oxon. He was with Bishop Barlow when he was by King Henry sent ambassador to Scotland, anno 1535. Another time employed in carrying old books of great value from St. Oswald's, a dissolved monastery, as it seems, unto the Archbishop of York. And in the royal visitation in the beginning of King Edward, he was one of the King's visitors, being appointed one of the preachers, for his great ability in that faculty: and being chaplain to the Duke of Somerset, was by his means advanced to be bishop; and upon his fall he fell into great troubles. This Bishop, not long after his first entrance upon his bishopric, resolved to visit his diocese, like a careful pastor, hearing of very great corruptions in it, and particularly among those that belonged to the chapter of the church of Carmarthen; and chiefly Thomas Young, chaunter, after Archbishop of York, (who pulled down the great hall in the palace there for lucre of the lead,) and Rowland Merick, one of the canons, after Bishop of the said see of St. David's, and father to Sir Gilly Merick, that came to an untimely death, by being in the business of the Earl of Essex. These two, having been before commissaries of this diocese, had spoiled the cathedral church of crosses, chalices, and censers; with other plate, jewels, and ornaments, to the value of five hundred marks or more; and converted them to their own private benefit: and had sealed many blanks (*sede vacante*) without the King's license or knowledge. Whereupon the Bishop issued out his commission to his Chancellor for visiting the chapter, as well as the rest of the diocese. But the commission was, it seems, drawn up amiss by the said Chancellor, to whom the Bishop

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left the forming the draught: for it ran in the old popish form, and so the King's supremacy not sufficiently acknowledged therein; though he professed to visit in the King's name and authority. This these two, in combination with his own ingrateful register, George Constantine, whom he had preferred, took their advantage of; not only to disobey the said commission, but to accuse the poor Bishop of a *præmunire:* for which he was fain to go down from London, whither they had before brought him up, to answer at the assizes of Carmarthen. And when, by reason of the molestations they gave him, and their detaining him in London, he could not be so exact in paying in the tenths, and first-fruits, and subsidies, due from the clergy of his diocese; they took hold of this as another crime to lay to his charge. And hereupon, in fine, he was kept in prison a 185 long time, and so remained when Queen Mary entered upon the government: upon which occasion he fell into the hands of the Pope's butchers: who at last, for maintaining the truth, sent him into his diocese, and burnt him at a stake. And thus these men became the instruments of his death.

The Archbishop swayed by Farrar's enemies.

In their vexatious suits against this good Bishop, undertaken the better to conceal their own faults, our Archbishop seemed to be engaged, giving too much credit to the ill reports that Farrar's enemies raised against him, in a great heap of frivolous and malicious articles, exhibited to the King's council: who appointed Sir John Mason and Dr. Wotton to examine them; though, I suppose, our pious Archbishop afterwards saw through this malice, and forbore any further to give influence to those that prosecuted this honest man: understanding by letters, which that afflicted man sent, both to him, and Bishop Goodrick, Lord Chancellor, his unjust vexations wrought by his adversaries. One whereof, I mean his register, remained register to that very popish Bishop that succeeded him; nay, and was assistant at his trial and condemnation. In short, hear what one writes that lived nearer those times, and might therefore be presumed to know more of these matters:

Sutclif's Answer to Parson's Threefold Convers. of England.

"This was a conspiracy of his enemies against him, and "of wicked fellows who had robbed the church, kept "concubines, falsified records, and committed many other

BOOK II. Anno 1548. "gross abuses." To conclude, I find, by a private letter written to John Fox, that these men, knowing how they had wronged the good Bishop, came to him before his death, and asked him forgiveness; and he, like a good Christian, forgave them, and was reconciled to them.

CHAP. X.

The Archbishop answers the Rebels' Articles.

Anno 1549. Rebellion in Devon.

THE commons this year brake out into a dangerous rebellion; and though they were once or twice appeased, and scattered in some places, yet they made insurrections in others: and chiefly in Devon, where they were very formidable for their numbers. The reason they pretended was double. The one was, the oppression of the gentry in enclosing of their commons from them: the other, the laying aside the old religion; which, because it was old, and the way their forefathers worshipped God, they were very fond of. The Lord Russel, Lord Privy Seal, who was sent against them, offering to receive their complaints, the rebels sent them to him, drawn up under fifteen articles: as before they had sent their demands in seven articles, and a protestation that they were the King's body and goods. In answer to which the King sent a message to them, that may be seen in Fox. They sent also a supplication to the King: to the which an answer was made by the King's learned counsel.

The Archbishop answers the rebels' articles.

I shall take notice only of the fifteen articles, unto which our Archbishop drew up an excellent answer at good length: for no man was thought so fit as he to open 186 and unravel these men's requests, and to unfold the unreasonableness of them; and to shew what real mischief they would pluck down upon themselves and the nation, should all the decrees of our forefathers, and the six Articles, be revived again: and what great injury religion would receive, should the Latin masses and images, and the worshipping the sacrament, and purgatory, and abbeys, be restored; and Cardinal Pole come home, and the English Bible be called in, and such-like things, which their demands consisted of. This answer of the Archbishop I judge worthy preserving; (and therefore, though somewhat long, I have laid in the Appendix;) because it will shew his wisdom, learning, and the knowledge of the state of the kingdom that he was furnished with. I met with these writings in the manuscript library of Benet College, being the rough draught of them, all under the Archbishop's own hand. He charged them with ignorance in putting up such articles: and concluded it not to be their own minds to have them granted, had they understood them, but that they were indeed devised by some priests, and rank papists and traitors to the realm; which he would not so much as think of them. So that he gently told them, that he must use the same expression to them, that Christ did to James and John, "They asked "they wot not what." Num. XL.

Some account thereof.

The Archbishop wrote this answer after the rout at Exeter given them by the Lord Russel, and the taking prisoners divers of their captains and priests, and between the condemnation and execution of Humphrey Arundel, and Bray, Mayor of Bodmin; whom he prayed God to make penitent before their deaths, to which they were adjudged. For which two the rebels, in one of their articles, had required safe conduct to make their grievances known to the King: as they had, in another article, demanded two divines of the same popish stamp, to be sent to them to preach, namely, Moreman and Crispin; who both seemed now, being priests of that country, to be under restraint upon suspicion: men, as the Archbishop told them, ignorant of God's word, but of notable craft, wilfulness, and dissimulation, and such as would poison them, instead of feeding them. Of Crispin I find little, but that he was once Proctor of the University of Oxon, and doctor of the faculty of physick, and of Oriel College. Moreman was beneficed in Cornwal in King Henry's time, and seemed to go along with that King in his steps of reformation, and was observed to be the first that taught his parishioners the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in English; yet shewing himself in

Crispin.

Moreman.

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the next King's reign a zealot for the old superstitions. Hence we perceive the reason why the Archbishop charged him to be a man full of craft and hypocrisy. In Queen Mary's time he was, for his popish merits, preferred to be Dean of Exeter, and was coadjutor to the Bishop of that diocese, (probably then superannuated,) and died in that Queen's reign. Besides these two, there was another clergyman the rebels spent another article in speaking for, namely, Cardinal Pole: whom they would have sent for home, and to be preferred to be of the privy council. But Cranmer told them his judgment; first, in general, of cardinals, that they never did good to this realm, but always

Cardinal Pole.

187 hurt: and then in particular of this Cardinal, that he had read once a virulent book of his writing against King Henry, exciting the Pope, the Emperor, the French King, and all other princes, to invade this realm: and therefore that he was so far from deserving to be called home, and to live in England, that he deserved not to live at all. In fine, in this excellent composition of the Archbishop, his design was, to expose the abuses and corruptions of popery, and to convince the nation what need there was that such matters should be abolished, as the Pope's decrees, solitary masses, Latin service, hanging the host over the altar, sacrament in one kind, holy bread, and holy water, palms, ashes, images, the old service-book, praying for souls in purgatory: and to vindicate the English service, the use of the holy Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, and other matters relating to the reformation, made in King Edward's time. Which he doth all along with that strain of happy perspicuity and easiness, that one shall scarcely meet with elsewhere; mixed every where with great gravity, seriousness, and compassion.

The Archbishop procures sermons to be made against the rebellion.

The Archbishop thought it highly convenient, in these commotions round about, to do his endeavour to keep those people, that were still and quiet as yet, in their duty. And for this purpose had sermons composed, to be now read by the curates to the people in their churches, to preserve them in their obedience, and to set out the evil and mischief of the present disturbances. I find in the same volume where Cranmer's answers aforesaid are, a sermon against the seditions arising now every where, with the Archbishop's

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interlinings, and marginal notes and corrections. This sermon was first wrote in Latin by Peter Martyr, (as a note of Archbishop Parker's hand testifieth,) at Archbishop Cranmer's request to the said learned man, no question; and so by his order translated into English, and printed, I suppose, for the common use in those times. It begins thus:

Peter Martyr's sermon upon this occasion.

"The common sorrow of this present time, dear beloved brethren in Christ, if I should be more led thereby "than by reason and zeal to my country, would move me "rather to hold my peace than to speak: for the great evils "which we now suffer are to be bewailed with tears and "silence, rather than with words. And hereunto I might "allege for me the example of Job, who, when he came "to his extreme misery, he lying upon a dunghill, and "three of his friends sitting upon the ground by him for "the space of seven days, for great sorrow, not one of "them opened his mouth to speak a word to another. If "then the miserable estate of Job, like a hard and sharp "bit, stopped his mouth from speaking; and the lamentable "case of their friend staid these three men, being of speech "most eloquent, that they could not utter their words; "surely it seems that I have a much more cause to be still, "and hold my peace. For there was the piteous lamentation of no more but one man, or one household, and that "only concerning temporal and worldly substance; but we "have cause to bewail a whole realm, and that most noble, "which lately being in that state, that all other realms envied our wealth, and feared our force, is now so troubled, "so vexed, so tossed and deformed, and that by sedition "among ourselves, of such as be members of the same, that 188 "nothing is left unattempted to the utter ruin and subversion thereof: and besides this, the everlasting punishment "of God threateneth as well the authors and procurers of "these seditions, as all others that join themselves unto "them, &c."

Besides this sermon of Peter Martyr's, there is another discourse penned by him under his own hand, on the same occasion, designed as it seems to be translated into English, and sent to the rebels; thus beginning:

Tantum voluit Deus vim charitatis et amoris magnitudinem,

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inter populum et magistratum intercedere, ut per Hieremiam admonuerit plebem Israeliticam, quod pro Rege Nebuchadnezzar orarent, qui eorum rempublicam everterat, illosque adhuc captivitate Babylonica premebat.

Dominus tametsi voluit suos, instar columbarum, simplices degere, idem nihilominus admonuit, ut serpentum prudentiam imitarentur, qua suas actiones literarum sacrarum præceptis regerent et moderarentur, caverentque ne aliena consilia, ut Papistarum vel seditiosorum, se in transversum auferrent.

Si potuissetis (quod est prudentium) in longinquum prospicere, omnino vidissetis cæteros hostes (uti nunc res ipsa declarat) fretos vestris tumultibus in vestrum regnum arma sumpturos, et ausuros impune, qui nunquam, si in officio mansissetis, tentassent, &c.

The French take occasion at this rebellion.

This last paragraph respected the French King, who, taking occasion from these broils at home, brake out into open hostility against the kingdom, recalling his ambassador, and on a sudden brought his ships against the isles of Jersey and Guernsey, with an intent to have conquered them. But, by the valour of the inhabitants, and some of the King's ships, he was beaten off with great loss. This was in the month of August.

Bucer's discourse against the sedition.

Martin Bucer also wrote a discourse against this sedition, as well as Martyr. Both of them were now, I suppose, under the Archbishop's roof, entertained by him: and he thought it convenient that these learned foreigners should give some public testimony of their dislike of these doings. Bucer's discourse, subjoined to Martyr's, began in this tenor:

Quæ dici possunt ad sedandos animos plebis, et ab omni conatu seditioso absterrendos (quod ad rem ipsam attinet) inscripta sunt omnia, in reverendissimi D. N. M. Ven. Collegæ nostri Pet. Martyris Schedis, ut nostra adjectione nulla sit opus, tamen ut consensum spiritus testemur, hæc subjecta libuit annotare, &c.

The Archbishop's prayer, composed for this occasion.

An office of fasting was composed for this rebellion, which, being allayed in the west, grew more formidable in Norfolk and Yorkshire. For I find a prayer composed by the Archbishop, with these words preceding; *The Exhortation to Penance, or the Supplication, may end with*

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this or some other-like prayer. And then the prayer followeth:

"O LORD, whose goodness far exceedeth our naughti-
"ness, and whose mercy passeth all measure, we confess
"thy judgment to be most just, and that we worthily have
"deserved this rod wherewith thou hast now beaten us.
"We have offended the Lord God: we have lived wickedly:
"we have gone out of the way: we have not heard thy 189
"prophets which thou hast sent unto us, to teach us thy
"word, nor have done as thou hast commanded us: where-
"fore we be most worthy to suffer all these plagues. Thou
"hast done justly, and we be worthy to be confounded.
"But we provoke unto thy goodness; we appeal unto thy
"mercy; we humble ourselves; we knowledge our faults.
"We turn to thee, O Lord, with our whole hearts, in
"praying, in fasting, in lamenting and sorrowing for our
"offences. Have mercy upon us, cast us not away accord-
"ing to our deserts; but hear us, and deliver us with
"speed, and call us to thee again, according to thy mercy:
"that we with one consent, and one mind, may evermore
"glorify thee, world without end. Amen."

After this follow some rude draughts, written by Archbishop Cranmer's own hand, for the composing, as I suppose, of an homily, or homilies, to be used for the office aforesaid: which may be read in the Appendix. Num. XLI.

CHAP. XI.

Bishop Boner deprived.

The Archbishop deprives Boner.

ON the eighth of September, a commission was issued out from the King to our Archbishop, together with Ridley Bishop of Rochester, Petre and Smith, the two secretaries, and Dr. May, Dean of Paul's, to examine Boner, Bishop of London, for several matters of contempt of the King's order. The witnesses against him were William Latimer and John Hoper. After the patience of seven sessions at

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Lambeth, in all which he carried himself disdainfully, making excuses and protestations, first against Sir Thomas Smith, and then against them all, and appealing to the King, the Archbishop, in the name of the rest, declared him obstinate, and pronounced a sentence of deprivation against him: and committed him to the Marshalsea for his extraordinary rudeness to the King's commissioners; and there he abode all this King's reign. I will only mention somewhat of his behaviour towards the good Archbishop.

Discourse between the Archbishop and him concerning his book.

At his first appearance before the commissioners, which was on the tenth of September, when they told him the reason of their commission, *viz.* "To call him to account "for a sermon lately by him made at Paul's Cross; for "that he did not publish to the people the article he was "commanded to preach upon, that is, of the King's autho- "rity during his minority:" he after a bold scoffing manner gave no direct answer to this, but turned his speech to the Archbishop, swearing, "That he wished one thing were "had in more reverence than it was, namely, the blessed "mass," as he styled it: and telling the Archbishop withal, "That he had written very well of the sacrament: but he "marvelled he did not more honour it." The Archbishop, perceiving his gross ignorance concerning his book, by his commending that which was contrary to his opinion, said to Boner, "That if he thought it well, it was because he "understood it not." Boner after his rude manner replied, 190 "He thought he understood it better than he that wrote "it." To which the Archbishop subjoined, "That truly "he would make a child of ten years old understand as "much as he. But what is that," said he, "to our present "matter?"

Concerning the sacrament.

At this first session, when Boner had said, "That he "perceived the cause of his present trouble was, for that "in the sermon made at Paul's Cross, before mentioned, "he had asserted the true presence of the body and blood "of Christ in the sacrament of the altar;" the Archbishop said, "That he spake much of a presence in the sacrament; "but he asked him, What presence is there, and what "presence he meant?" Boner then in heat said, "My

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"Lord, I say and believe, that there is the very true presence of the body and blood of Christ. What, and how "do you believe?" said he to the Archbishop. Then the Archbishop, not minding to answer his question at this time, asked him further, "Whether Christ were there, "face, nose, mouth, eyes, arms, and lips, with other lineaments of his body?" At which Boner shook his head, and said, "He was right sorry to hear his Grace speak those "words, and urged the Archbishop to shew his mind." But the Archbishop wisely waved it, saying, "That their "being there at that time was not to dispute of those "matters, but to prosecute their commission against him."

Chargeth the Archbishop concerning the preachers he allowed.

At another of these sessions, staying at the chamber-door where the commissioners sat, perceiving some of the Archbishop's gentlemen standing by, he applied himself to them, requiring and charging them, in God's behalf, and in his name, "That where they should chance to see and "hear corrupt and erroneous preachers against the blessed "sacrament of the altar, they should tell their lord and "master of the same, and of these his sayings also to "them, as they were christian men, and should answer before God for the contrary." And being committed by the delegates to the under-marshal, and going away, he turned again, and told the Archbishop, "That he was sorry that he, "being a bishop, should be so handled at his hands; but "more sorry that he suffered abominable heretics to "practise as they did in London and elsewhere, infecting "and disquieting the King's liege people. And therefore "he required him, as he would answer to God and the "King, that he would henceforth abstain thus to do. And "if he did not," he said, "he would accuse him before "God and the King's Majesty. Answer to it," added he, "as well as you can." And so departed.

The Archbishop's answers to Boner's declaration.

When Boner, after the sentence of deprivation, made a solemn declaration there against their proceedings, saying, "That he came compelled, and not of his own free will, "being brought as a prisoner:" and so appealed again from them to the King. The Archbishop answered his declaration; and told him, "That whereas he said, he came "coacted, or else he would not have appeared: he mar-

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"velled at him, for that he would thereby make them "and the audience to believe, that because he was a "prisoner, he ought not therefore to answer. Which if "it were true, were enough to confound the whole state "of the realm: for I dare say," said the Archbishop, "that "of the greatest prisoners and rebels that ever the keeper "there hath had under him, he cannot shew me one that
191 "hath used such defence as you have here done." To which Boner said, "That if his keeper were learned in the "laws, he could shew him his mind therein." The Archbishop said, "that he had read over all the laws as well as he, "but to another end and purpose than he did; and yet he "could find no such privilege in this matter." He was deprived in the beginning of October, and the see remained void for some months till the next year, when Ridley was translated thither, as we shall see by and by.

Papists insist upon the invalidity of the laws made in the King's minority.

Indeed this was the most plausible pretence the Papists had, and which they made much use of, (which Boner and Gardiner had cunningly invented ;) *viz.* "That though the "King were to be obeyed, and all were bound to submit "to his laws, yet not to the orders and placits of his counsellors, who made what innovations they pleased in his "name, and were none of his laws: and that therefore "things should remain in the state wherein the former King "left them, till the King, now a child, came to years of "discretion to make laws himself." This the rebels in Devon made use of: and this also the Lady Mary urged very boldly to the lords of the council, for her incompliance with the communion-book, and for continuance of the use of the mass; telling them in a letter, "That she was "resolved to remain obedient to her father's laws, till the "King her brother should have perfect years of discretion "to order that power that God had given him." Which letter, whereof I have the original, may be seen in the Appendix. For the satisfying therefore of the people in this, the preachers were fain to do their endeavours in the pulpits: shewing them, that those that were in office under the King, were by the word of God to be obeyed as the King himself. "There be some men that say, (as Latimer in one "of his sermons in these days,) when the King's Majesty

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Lat. Serm. fol. 25.

"himself commandeth me so to do, then I will do it, not "afore. This is a wicked saying, and damnable: for we "may not so be excused. Scripture is plain in it, and "sheweth us that we ought to obey his officers, having "authority from the King, as well as unto the King him-"self. Therefore this excuse will not, nor cannot serve "afore God. Yet let the magistrates take heed to their "office and duty."

An ordination of priests and deacons.

This year the Archbishop celebrated a great ordination, consisting of such chiefly as shewed themselves favourers of the King's proceedings, to be sent abroad to preach the Gospel, and to serve in the ministry of the church. At this ordination Bishop Ridley also assisted the Archbishop. The old popish order of conferring of holy orders was yet in force, the new office as yet not being prepared and established: but this ordination nevertheless was celebrated after that order that was soon after established. At this ordination great favour was shewn, and connivance to such who, otherwise being well qualified for piety and learning, scrupled wearing the habits used by the popish priests. I meet with two famous men now ordained: the one was Robert Drakes, who was Deacon to Dr. Tayler, Parson of Hadley, at the commandment of Archbishop Cranmer, afterwards Parson of Thundersley in Essex, and in the year 1556 burnt to death in Smithfield for his constant profession of Christ's religion. The other was Thomas Sampson, Parson of Bread-street, London, and successively Dean 192 of Chichester and Christ's Church, Oxon: who in a letter of his, written to Secretary Cecyl in Queen Elizabeth's reign, said, "That at his ordination he excepted against "the apparel; and by the Archbishop, and Bishop Ridley, "he was nevertheless permitted and admitted."

The office of ordination reformed.

All the divine offices were now reformed, but only that for ordination of ministers. Therefore, for the doing of this, the council appointed twelve learned men, consisting half of bishops, and half of other inferior divines; whose names I do not meet with, excepting Hethe, Bishop of Worcester: who, because he would not assist in this work, was sent to prison. The chief of them no doubt was the Archbishop. After mature deliberation, this office was agreed upon, and

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finished: and Ponet was the first bishop consecrated after this new form. And that I suppose may be the reason, that it is set down at length in the Archbishop's register in that manner as it is there to be seen: as we shall see under the next year.

The Archbishop visits some vacant churches.

St. David's.

Upon the vacancy of cathedral churches the Archbishop used to visit. So now the church of St. David's being vacant, upon the remove of Barlow to Bath and Wells, the Archbishop issued out a commission to Eliseus Price to visit that church. And upon the vacancy of Glocester by the death of Wakeman, there was a commission to J. Williams, LL.D. and prebendary there, to be his commissary, and to visit that church, and to be keeper of the spiritualties of the city and diocese of Glocester, in this third year of the King. This year also the church of Norwich being become vacant by the resignation of Repps, the Archbishop granted a commission to John, Bishop Suffragan of Thetford, and Dean of the church of the Holy Trinity, Norwich, to be his deputy and commissary for visitation and jurisdiction. But, somewhat before this, he constituted Roland Taylor, LL. D. and William Wakefeld, D. D. to be keepers of the spiritualties of Norwich: from whose jurisdiction he protested not to derogate by those his commissional letters to the Suffragan, nor to withdraw from them any authority of jurisdiction. This was dated February 15. Also the church of London being vacant by the deprivation and destitution of Boner, the Archbishop constituted Gabriel Donne, Residentiary of St. Paul's, to be his official, and keeper of the spiritualties, to exercise all manner of episcopal jurisdiction in the said city and diocese.

Glocester.

Norwich.

London.

A new Dean of the Arches.

This year he made Griffin Leyson, LL. D. Dean of the Arches.

CHAP. XII.

Duke of Somerset's Troubles. The Common Prayer ratified.

Anno 1549. The Archbishop writes to the Lords at Ely-house.

WHEN most of the council had combined together, in the month of October, against the protector of the King's person, the Duke of Somerset, and had withdrawn themselves to Ely-house, the King then being at Hampton Court, and suddenly conveyed by the said Duke to Windsor, upon the fear of tumult; then I find the Archbishop, and but two 193 privy-counsellors more, with the King and the Protector there. Being here, the good Archbishop, though he would not forsake his friend the Duke, nor the King his master, yet he did what lay in him to appease and pacify these heats. And so he, with the Lord Paget and Secretary Smith, in their own and the King's name, wrote an earnest letter to the separating counsellors, and sent it by Sir Philip Hoby: wherein, as appears by their answer, "they were "charged by the Archbishop with creating much care and "sorrow to the King, and that he thought they had not that "care that beseemed them of pacifying the present uproars, "and for the preservation of the state from danger: that "they forgat the benefits they had received from the King's "father, nor were mindful of their duty of allegiance: that "their doings bespake wilfulness; and that the Protector "meant nothing but the safety and protection of the King "in what he had done; and that he had that consideration "of his duty to God, that the promise and oath he made "required." They were advised to do as they would be done unto: and mention was made of cruelty more than once, charging them obliquely therewith. And in fine he wrote, that he, and those with him, knew more than they did, to whom they writ. Probably he meant, that he knew that this anger against the Duke arose from the private malice of some of them, or their hatred of the reformation, notwithstanding all the fair pretences of their care of the King, and the Protector's misgovernment.

Their answer.

This letter the Lords from Ely-house answered, charging

Anno 1549. and commanding the Archbishop, and those with him, to have a continual earnest watch of the King's person, and that he be not removed from Windsor-castle, as they would answer the same at their utmost perils. They wondered much, they said, that they would suffer the King's royal person to remain in the guard of the Duke's men, and that strangers should be armed with the King's armour, and be nearest about his person: for, it seems, many of the King's servants, in this fear, were removed away. They advised the Archbishop and the Lord Paget to come over to their side, and to leave the poor Duke alone. Upon this the Archbishop and the others wrote a second letter, dated October the 10th: wherein they assured the Lords, that they could, whensoever they pleased to require it, give such very good reasons for their so often mentioning cruelty in their other letter, as, they questioned not, they would be well satisfied with. And so, upon the Lords' propounding a meeting with the King and them, they accorded thereunto, in great prudence willing, for peace and quietness in that dangerous time, so to do. These letters are recorded in the History of the Reformation.

Vol. ii. Collect. p. 187, 188.

The Archbishop gets the Common Prayer-Book confirmed.

The Common Prayer-Book, and Administration of the Sacraments, by the great care and study of the Archbishop, was now finished, and settled by act of parliament: which would not down with a great many. But upon the taking up of the Duke of Somerset in the month of October, and laying him in the Tower, it was generally said that now the old Latin service should come in again, the common
194 opinion being, that the Common Prayer was peculiarly of his procuring. And that there were such designs among Somerset's enemies, who were generally favourers of the old religion, it is not improbable. The good Archbishop thought it now time to interpose in this thing, and to obtain from the privy-council somewhat to confirm the book of Common Prayer. So there was in December 25, a general letter drawn up to all the bishops of England: letting them understand, "That there was no intention of bringing in "again Latin service, conjured bread and water, nor any "such abrogated ceremonies: and that the abolishing of "these, and the setting forth of the book of Common

" Prayer, was done by the whole state of the realm. That " the book was grounded upon the holy Scripture, and was " agreeable to the order of the primitive church, and much " to the edifying of the subject: and therefore that the " changing of that for the old Latin service would be a " preferring of ignorance to knowledge, darkness to light, " and a preparation to bring in papistry and superstition " again. The bishops therefore were bid with all speed to " command their deans and prebendaries, and all parsons, " vicars, and curates, to bring to such places as the bishops " should appoint, all antiphoners, missals, &c. and all other " books of service: and that they be defaced and abolished, " that they be no let to that godly and uniform order set " forth. And to commit to ward any stubborn and disobedient persons that brought not the said books, and " to certify the council of their misbehaviour. That they " should make search, if any of these superstitious books " were withdrawn or hid. That whereas there were some " persons who refused to contribute to the buying of bread " and wine for the communion, according to the order of " the book, whereby many times the holy communion was " fain to be omitted; to convent such persons before them, " and admonish them: and if they refused to do accordingly, to punish them by suspension, excommunication, " or other censure." This was signed by the Archbishop and the Lord Chancellor Rich, and four more.

CHAP. XIII.

The Archbishop entertains learned Foreigners.

The Archbishop harbours learned strangers.

THE Archbishop had now in his family several learned men. Some he sent for from beyond sea, and some in pity he entertained, being exiles for religion. Among the former sort was Martin Bucer, a man of great learning and moderation, and who bore a great part in the reformation of Germany. While he and the rest abode under his roof, the Archbishop still employed them, sometimes in learned

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conferences and consultations held with them, sometimes in writing their judgment upon some subjects in divinity. Here Bucer wrote to the Lady Elizabeth a letter, bearing date the 6th of the calends of September, commending her study in piety and learning, and exciting her to proceed therein: incited so to do, I make no doubt, by the Archbishop, whom Bucer in that letter makes mention of, and styleth *Patrem suum, et benignissimum hospitem.* Hence also he wrote another letter to the Marquis of Northampton (who was a patron of learning, and a professor of religion) in the behalf of Sleidan, who was promised a pension by the King, to enable him to write the history of the progress of religion, beginning at Luther. A part of the letter, translated into English, ran thus:

MSS. C.C.C.C. Miscellan. A.

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" Therefore, if we should not take care that this so great " act of divine goodness towards us [*viz.* the reformation " began in the year 1517] should be most diligently written " and consecrated to posterity, we should lie under the " crime of the neglect of God's glory, and most foul in- " gratitude. Therefore John Sleidan, a very learned and " eloquent man, five years ago began to compile an history " of this nature, as the work he had published did witness: " but after he was much encouraged in this undertaking, " and well furnished with matter, the calamities that befell " Germany, for our own deserts, intercepted the pious " attempts of this man, so very useful to the church. Nor " doth it appear now from whence, besides the King's " Majesty, we may hope that some small benignity may be " obtained for Sleidan; since the salaries, which he received " for this purpose from the German Princes, failed; and he " was poor. That John Alasco, Dr. Peter Martyr, and he, " considering these things, and weighing how the truly " Christian King Edward was even born with a desire of " illustrating the glory of Christ, and what need there was " to set Sleidan again upon finishing the History of the " Gospel restored to us; they had therefore presumed to " supplicate the King in his behalf, and entreated the " Marquis to promote and forward their supplication, and " to vouchsafe to contribute his help also." We shall hear more of this hereafter.

Bucer writes in the Archbishop's family.

MSS. C.C.C.C. Miscellan. D.

I find also annotations writ by the said Bucer upon St. Matthew, reaching as far as the eighth chapter, and there ending, in this method: There is the Latin translation, with large notes added in the margin; and at the end of each chapter common places collected from thence in the nature of inferences and observations: which I conclude the Archbishop put him upon doing while he was now with him. The work was looked over and examined by the Archbishop, notes and corrections of his own hand being here and there inserted. Also the Gospel of St. Mark is handled in the same method, by another of the Archbishop's guests: which writing hath this inscription by Cranmer's hand; *Petrus Alexander in Marcum.*

The Archbishop's guests.

At this time therefore there were at the Archbishop's house, (besides Bucer,) Alasco, Peter Martyr, Paulus Fagius, Peter Alexander, Bernardine Ochin, Mat. Negelinus, (after a minister of Strasburgh,) who accompanied Bucer and Fagius into England, and others, whose names do not occur. Three of these were soon after preferred to public places of reading in the universities. Peter Alexander was of Artois, and lived with the Archbishop before Bucer came into England. He was a learned man, but had different sentiments in the matter of the Eucharist, inclining to the belief of a corporeal presence with the Lutherans: though some years after he came over to a **196** righter judgment, as his companion Peter Martyr signified to Calvin, in a letter wrote from Strasburgh.

Calvin. Ep. 197.

Martyr dedicates his lectures at Oxon to the Archbishop.

Peter Martyr coming about the beginning of the year 1549, unto the university of Oxford, his first readings were upon the eleventh chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians: in which chapter is some discourse of the Lord's Supper. The professor, when he came so far, took occasion to expatiate more largely upon that argument; and the rather, that he might state it aright in the midst of those hot contests that were then about it among learned men. These lectures on the sacrament he soon after printed at London, for the benefit of the world, (as they were two years after done at Zurick,) and dedicated them to his patron the Archbishop. And that partly to give a public testimony of his sense of the Archbishop's great humanity

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and benefits towards him: "which were so large, that he "must do nothing else but tell of them, to be sufficiently "thankful for them. And known it was to all," as he said, "how obligingly he received, and how liberally he entertained, both himself, and many other strangers of his "rank and condition. And partly that by his authority "he would protect and defend what he should find in his "book to be consonant to the holy Scriptures, and agreeable to the King's laws. For he had," he said, "skill "and industry enough to do it; who had himself often, "both in public and private, conflicted with the adversaries, and with admirable learning, accuracy of wit, and "dexterity, vindicated the truth from the spinous and confused cavils of sophisters. Nor did he want will to stand "up for sound and Christian doctrines, as all good men "knew: who saw how earnest he was in his labours of "restoring religion; that for that cause he drew upon "himself many enmities and threatening dangers."

The Archbishop writes to Bucer to come over.

The first occasion of Bucer's call into England was thus. He had wrote to John Hales (a learned Englishman, his acquaintance) the sad estate of Germany, and that he could scarce stay any longer in the place where he was. This Hales acquainted the Archbishop with; which made a great impression upon his compassionate soul, and he brake out into those words of the Psalmist, *Mirifica misericordias tuas, qui salvos facis sperantes in te a resistentibus dexteræ tuæ.* And forthwith writ to Bucer a letter in October 1548, to come over to this realm, which should be a most safe harbour for him, urging him to become a labourer in the Lord's harvest here begun; and using other arguments with him to move him hereunto, in the most obliging style possible, calling him, *My Bucer*. And that he might come over the safer from harms and enemies, the Archbishop recommended him to one Hills, an English merchant, to provide for his passage. The Archbishop's letter may be found in the Appendix. To this letter Bucer wrote an answer, seeming, upon some considerations, to decline the Archbishop's invitation. This letter coming to the Archbishop's hands, he shewed to Peter Alexander; who, by the Archbishop's order, wrote back to Bucer, in the said Archbishop's

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and the Protector's name, to call him again over; which letter was dated March 24, from Lambeth; telling him withal, that the good old man Latimer saluted him. Letters, I suppose, of the same import, were also dispatched to the learned Fagius. 197

Bucer and Fagius professors at Cambridge.

Bucer and Fagius, who were thus honourably invited into England by repeated letters of the Lord Protector and Archbishop Cranmer, were by them also nominated for public professors in the university of Cambridge, the one of divinity, the other of the Hebrew tongue. This was looked on by their friends as a notable piece of God's good providence, that when these two eminent champions of the true religion were in so much present danger in Germany, so seasonable a refuge was provided for them elsewhere. They both arrived safe in England in the end of April, and abode with the Archbishop above a quarter of a year, until towards the end of the long vacation, the Archbishop intending they should be at Cambridge when the term should begin, in order to their reading. During this interval, while they continued at Lambeth, they were not idle; being every day busied in some study and exercise agreeable to their function, as was hinted before. But the main of their thoughts were taken up in preparing for their university lectures: which, of what subject-matter they should be, the Archbishop himself directed. As it had been a great while his pious and most earnest desire, that the holy Bible should come abroad in the greatest exactness, and true agreement with the original text: so he laid this work upon these two learned men. First, that they should give a clear, plain, and succinct interpretation of the Scripture, according to the propriety of the language. And, secondly, illustrate difficult and obscure places, and reconcile those that seemed repugnant to one another. And it was his will and his advice, that to this end and purpose their public readings should tend. This pious and good work, by the Archbishop assigned to them, they most gladly and readily undertook. For their more regular carrying on this business, they allotted to each other, by consent, their distinct tasks. Fagius, because his talent lay in the Hebrew learning, was to undertake the Old Testament; and Bucer

Vit. P. Fag. per Ministr. aliquos Eccles. Argent.

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the New. The leisure they now enjoyed with the Archbishop, they spent in preparing their respective lectures. Fagius entered upon the evangelical Prophet Esaias, and Bucer upon the Gospel of the Evangelist John: and some chapters in each book were dispatched by them. But it was not long, but both of them fell sick: which gave a very unhappy stop to their studies.

Fagius dies.

Fagius his distemper proved mortal; who was seized at first with a very acute fever. And notwithstanding physic and attendance, remaining very ill, he had a great desire to remove to Cambridge to his charge appointed him, hoping the change of air might help him. He made a shift to travel thither, leaving his dear colleague sick behind him. But Fagius still declining in his health, ardently desired Bucer's company: who on the fifth of November came to Cambridge. And ten days after Fagius deceased, aged about forty-five years, to the extraordinary loss of that university, and the grief of all pious men that wished well to religion: and, which was most to be lamented, before he had given any specimen of his learning and abilities in England; though he had already given many to the world: all shewing what a master he was in Hebrew and Rabbinical learning. His published labours of this nature (all within the space of six years) may be seen in the Appendix: which I have placed there for the preserving the memory of that learned professor, which our university of Cambridge was once honoured with.

Num. XLIV.

The Archbishop sends money to Fagius's widow.

The good Archbishop, troubled at the sudden death of this learned man, from whom he had promised himself some great good to accrue to the university, sent a letter, November the last, unto his sorrowful companion Bucer, desiring him, among other things, as from him, to comfort Fagius's widow, and to let her know, that he had sent her by the carrier seven and twenty pounds, which was part of the stipend due out of the exchequer to her husband: which, although it were not yet paid into Cranmer's hands, yet he thought good to send her the money so soon, that it might be some alleviation of her present sorrow. There were fifty pounds due for his readings, reckoning from Lady-day last, when his pension began; but three pounds were disbursed for charges in taking out the patent, and twenty pounds the Archbishop had sent him before.

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Bucer laments his loss.

MSS. C.C.C.C.

Bucer above all lamented the loss of his mate, and wrote a sorrowful letter *ad fratres et symmystas*, to his brethren and fellow-ministers in Germany upon this subject. And in a letter to P. Martyr, then at Oxon, he not only complained of this heavy loss, but, as if himself were like to follow him, of several things that made him uneasy at Cambridge, where he was now placed; as of the want of a convenient house, of a body impatient of cold, which the time of the year made him begin to feel, need of necessaries: that the letters patents were not yet signed, [for his salary,] and the slow and uncertain payment of his pension. But Cranmer, out of that high respect he had for him, was not wanting in his diligence in due time to make all easy to him; and to have so useful and grave a man well provided for. But the next year, the last day of February, Bucer followed his companion to the other world: but not before he had made himself and his learning known to the university: which, to qualify him to moderate at the public disputations at the Commencement, had given him the degree of doctor, as a peculiar honour done him, without the common rites and forms ordinarily used in those cases. Yet he chose to do his exercises, responding the first day of the Commencement, and opposing the second, with great learning, and no less satisfaction of the university.

CHAP. XIV.

Peter Martyr disputes in Oxford, being challenged thereunto.

THE Papists in both universities were resolved to try the metal and learning of their new professors; being exceedingly nettled at their coming, and offended at their readings.

P. Martyr challenged publicly to a disputation.

Those of P. Martyr at Oxon highly provoked many in that university, that could not endure to hear the old error of the corporeal presence opposed. And of such there were

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not a few, and especially the heads of the colleges; the elder sort being more stiff and prejudiced to their old ways and opinions. This doctrine of the sacrament was first ob-
199 scured, and afterwards depraved: and so this error being entertained, became a door for the letting in a flood of superstition and idolatry into the church. This Martyr well knew, and therefore with wonderful pains endeavoured to vindicate the truth of the Eucharist from error and corruption. And this procured him many enemies here. For they could not endure him: and first raised up among the people slanders against him; as though he impugned the doctrine of the ancients, and shook the laudable ceremonies of the church, and profaned the sacrament of the altar, and in effect trampled it under his feet. And this noise being a little stilled, not long after, the day before he was to read publicly, they set up bills in English upon all the doors of the churches, that on such a day there should be a public disputation about the presence of Christ in the sacrament, Martyr knowing nothing of it, though he was designed to be the disputant. The day being come, the schools were filled with great numbers of such who favoured the Papists: and these were instructed to be ready to make loud clamours and tumults, and to proceed to blows, if need were. The students also and the townsmen flocked together at the noise of this dispute, to see the event, and to make a party, according as they stood affected. When the day was come, notwithstanding his friends persuaded him not to adventure himself to read that day, lest he might incur some danger, he went and did his duty. For he said, "he would not be wanting to his office, nor neglect the "place the King had intrusted him with; and that there "were many, that came questionless to hear his lectures, "whom he would not disappoint." As he, with his friends accompanying him, went to his reading, a servant of Richard Smith, D.D. whom we have before spoke of, the chief in this plot, met him, and delivered him a letter from his master, wherein he challenged him to a dispute that day.

Vit. Mart. per Simler.

His Answer hereunto.

Being come to the chair, he gently told his adversaries, in a modest speech to them, "that he refused not to dispute

" but that at that time he came to read, and not to dispute." And so themselves yielding to it, he proceeded to his lecture: which he performed with much constancy and undauntedness, without the least disturbance of mind, or change of countenance or colour, or hesitation in his speech, notwithstanding the murmur and noise of the adversaries. Which got him much credit and applause.

Declines it at present, and why.

As soon as he had done his reading, the adversaries began to make loud cries that he should dispute, and especially Smith the champion. But he modestly refused it, and said, " he would do it at another time, and that he was not then " prepared, because they had so studiously concealed the " propositions to be disputed of, and had not propounded " them publicly, according to the accustomed manner; and " that he knew nothing of them till that very day." But they told him, " he could not be unprepared, who had read " so much of the Lord's supper, whatsoever arguments they " propounded in this matter." They still rudely urging him; he said, " he would do nothing in such a matter, without 200 " the King were first made privy to it, especially when the " thing tended to sedition. Moreover, for a lawful disputa" tion, it was requisite," he said, "that certain questions be " propounded, judges and moderators constituted; and pub" lic notaries be present, that might impartially and faithfully " write down the arguments and speeches on both sides."

They agree upon the conditions of a disputation.

In fine, the matter came to that pass, that, fearing a tumult, the Vicechancellor decided the controversy after this manner; " That both P. Martyr, and Smith, with some " friends, should meet in his house, and should appoint " the propositions to be disputed of, the time, the order and " manner of disputation." And so the Vicechancellor, the beadle making him way, went to the pulpit where the professor was, and took him by the hand, and led him down through the crowds to his own house, his friends going along with him; and among the rest Sidal and Curtop, then vigorous defenders of the truth; but after, in Queen Mary's days, revolting. Smith also, and his friends Cole, Oglethorp, and three more, repaired to the Vicechancellor; where it was agreed, after some jangling, that Martyr should observe the same order in confuting as he did in

Anno 1549. teaching; and abstaining from strange, barbarous, and ambiguous words, wont to be used in the schools: he said, he would use only *carnaliter* and *corporaliter*, *realiter* and *substantialiter*, because the Scripture useth only the words *flesh* and *body*, *res* or *substantia*. And so it was agreed; and the day set was the fourth of May ensuing. And it was agreed also on both sides, that all this whole matter should be signified to the council, that they might have cognizance of the thing. And by them the day of the disputation was appointed, when some from the King, as judges and keepers of peace, would be present at it. The Papists reported falsely, that he, having appointed the time of the disputation to be ten days hence; in the mean time got the magistrates acquainted with this affair, that they might stop and forbid it, (which they did indeed, proroguing it till some months after the first challenge.) And that afterwards, when the Professor saw his opportunity, he provoked to a public disputation, offering to dispute of his questions formerly propounded, and thought there would be none to take him up. For Smith, they say, smelt out some crafty device taken against him, and so appeared not at the dispute. And then indeed few thought convenient to be there, their plot of making a rout and confusion being spoiled. Indeed Smith, conscious to himself of making this tumult, fled before the day came, and went into Scotland. But Dr. Tresham, a zealous man, that this cause might not fall, was desirous to undertake the disputation; and did so, with Dr. Chedsey, and Mr. Morgan, before the King's visitors: who were Henry Bishop of Lincoln; Dr. Cox, Chancellor of that university; Dr. Simon Haines, Dean of Exeter; Richard Morison, Esquire; Christopher Nevison, doctor of civil law. Before these honourable umpires, (who came with the King's letters patents,) the disputation concerning transubstantiation, and the carnal presence in the sacrament, lasted four days; wherein P. Martyr the respondent did acquit himself very sufficiently, both from Scripture and Fathers. The sum of
201 which may be seen in Fox's Monuments, and the whole in Martyr's works, in that part thereof intituled, *De Eucharistia Disputatio*.

They dispute.

The first day of the disputation was May the 28th:

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it was managed between Martyr and Tresham. Dr. Cox, the Chancellor, began with a speech. Then Martyr made his proemial oration and prayer. Then Tresham succeeded with another oration, bestowing some praises upon Martyr: which he replying upon, and briefly and modestly declining, began his argument. The next disputation, on May 29, was between Martyr and Chedzey; after Martyr had made a short speech and prayer, and Chedzey his preface. The third action was between Morgan, Tresham, and Martyr. The disputation of the fourth day, June 1, was again between Chedzey and Martyr. And then all was concluded by another speech uttered by the said Chancellor. Wherein he had these words: "Peter (and a Peter indeed for his "steady constancy) Martyr (and rightly called Martyr, for "the numberless testimonies by him produced in the behalf "of truth) must needs obtain much favour and respect "from us, and all good men; First, that he hath taken "such vast pains in standing under even a burden of disputations. For if *not Hercules himself against two*, what "shall we think of Peter alone against all? Secondly, that "he hath undertook the challenge of a disputation: and "so stopped the vain speeches of vain men, who dispersed "envious and odious insinuations concerning him; as that "either he would not, or dared not, to maintain his own "tenets. And, lastly, that he hath so excellently well "answered the expectation of the chief magistrates, and so "of the King himself; while he hath not only recommended "to the university the doctrine of Christ from God's lively "fountains, but also hath not permitted any (as much as "lay in him) to muddy or obstruct them." But I refer the reader for the rest to Dr. Cox's own oration. [Num. XLIV.]

Martyr sends the sum of the disputation to the Archbishop.

The Professor drew up the whole four days' disputation soon after, and sent it by his constant friend and companion Julius, to his patron the Archbishop. And with the same messenger he conveyed a letter, dated June 15, to Bucer, then at the Archbishop's house, concerning his said disputation. Therein he signified the obstinacy and boldness of his opponents; and that he feared, "That his doctrines he "then maintained might not altogether square with Bucer's "judgment. But he said in his own justification, that he

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"granted the body of Christ was present to us by faith, and "that we are incorporated into him by communication. He "confessed here, that we do partake of the matter of the "sacrament, namely, the body and blood of Christ; but he "meant it in mind and faith. And in the mean time he "granted, that the Holy Ghost is efficacious in the sacra- "ments, by virtue of the Lord's institution. But that which "he especially endeavoured to assert, was, that they mixed "not the body and blood of Christ carnally with the bread "and wine, by any corporeal presence. Nor yet would he "have the sacrament to be symbols without honour and "reverence. Another thing he asserted, which he thought "might offend Bucer, was, That it was not agreeable to the "body of Christ, however glorified, to be in many places at 202 "once. But for this, he wrote Bucer, as he urged in the "disputation, that the Scripture obliged to no such belief; "how the reason of an human body reclaimed against it; "and the Fathers affirmed that such a quality was granted "to no creature, but belonged to God alone." And so, inviting him, and Fagius and Alexander, to Oxford, concluded his letter.

The disputation published by Martyr;

But when the Papists dispersed vain stories and many falsehoods concerning this business, he was forced, his friends also urging him thereunto, to publish an account hereof. And with what fidelity and diligence he drew up his book, the testimonies of two of the King's counsellors, ear-witnesses, added thereto, sufficiently confirmed. In the preface to his relation of these disputes, he assigned two reasons that made him publish them. The one was, the calumnies of evil men; the other, the desires of his friends. Under the former he complained, "how he was by his ad- "versaries bespattered among all sorts of people, princes, "nobles, commons, citizens, clowns: and that all corners, "streets, houses, shops, taverns, sounded their triumphs "over him; and he doubted not, that it was dispersed by "them into other nations. Upon these considerations, his "great patron, the Archbishop of Canterbury, (to whom "he dared to deny nothing,) and the King's visitors, besides "others of his friends, had advised and desired him to put "forth these his disputations in his own vindication, and in

Quid enim negare ausim Rever. Archiepiscopo Cant. cui plane omnia debeo? In Præfat. ad Disp.

" the vindication of the truth. These he professed to write " with all fidelity: and, that he might be the more exact, " he had compared his own collections with the relations " that were drawn up by the adversaries; and that, having " read theirs, what he could recall that he had before " omitted, which was of any moment, he restored out of " their writings."

And by Tresham.

But Tresham, the chief disputant, pretending himself aggrieved with this book, as though Martyr had therein misrepresented him, and expressed some indignation against him, and added some things that were not spoken; wrote himself another account of this disputation, in justification of himself against the Professor; and set a preface before it, by way of epistle, to the King's privy-council. Wherein he most angrily bespattered this reverend man, calling him " *Pseudo-Martyr*, a doting old man, subverted, impudent, " and the famous master of errors: and that he fled into " Germany to obtain the more license for his lust, and that " he might enjoy his adultery," meaning his wife. The disputation itself is too long to be transcribed; it is extant among the Foxian manuscripts. But the epistle dedicatory, or preface before it, I will not omit, that the reader No. XLV. may there observe the malicious spirit of Martyr's adversaries, and collect some further account of this disputation. But the reader must remember, that it was an angry antagonist that wrote it.

Smith writes to the Archbishop from Scotland.

Dr. Smith, who had done his best to cause a riot in the university, and thereby to endanger the King's professor, and was therefore got away into Scotland; conscious likewise to himself of calumnies and wrongs done by him against the Archbishop; some time after wrote to the Archbishop a submissive letter, praying him " to forgive all the injuries 203 " he had done his Grace, and to obtain the King's pardon " for him, that he might return home again. And he pro" mised to write a book for the marriage of priests, as he had " done before against it. That he was the more desirous to " come home into England, because otherwise he should be " put upon writing against his Grace's book of the sacra" ment, and all his proceedings in religion, being then har" boured," as he would make it believed, " by such as re-

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"quired it at his hands." But in Queen Mary's days he revolted again, and was a most zealous Papist, and then did that indeed, which he gave some hints of before; for he wrote vehemently against Cranmer's book.

Disputations at Cambridge before the commissioners.

But from Oxford, let us look over to Cambridge: where disputations likewise were held in the month of June, before the King's commissioners, who were Ridley Bishop of Rochester, Thomas Bishop of Ely, Mr. Cheke, Dr. May, and Dr. Wendy, the King's Physician. The questions were, "That transubstantiation could not be proved by Scripture, "nor be confirmed by the consent of ancient fathers for a "thousand years past. And that the Lord's supper is no "oblation or sacrifice, otherwise than a remembrance of "Christ's death." There were three solemn disputations. In the first, Dr. Madew was respondent; and Glyn, Langdale, Sedgwick, and Yong, opponents. In the second, Dr. Glyn was respondent on the popish side; opponents, Pern, Grindal, Guest, Pilkington. In the third, Dr. Pern was respondent; Parker, Pollard, Vavasor, Yong, opponents. After these disputations were ended, the Bishop of Rochester determined the truth of these questions *ad placitum suum*, as a Papist wrote, out of whose notes I transcribe the names of these disputants.

Bucer disputes.

Besides these disputations, when Bucer came to Cambridge, he was engaged in another with Sedgwick, Pern, and Yong, upon these questions. "I. That the canonical books "of Scripture alone do teach sufficiently all things necessary "to salvation. II. That there is no church in earth that "erreth not, as well in faith as manners. III. That we "are so freely justified of God, that, before our justification, "whatsoever good works we seem to do have the nature of "sin." Concerning this last, he and Yong had several combats: which are set down in his English works.

His judgment of the sacrament.

As to Bucer's opinion of the presence in the sacrament, the great controversy of this time, it may not be amiss to consider what so great a professor thought herein; and especially by what we saw before, that Martyr and he did somewhat differ in this point: for as he would not admit those words *carnally* and *naturally*, so neither did he like *realiter* and *substantialiter*. Bucer's judgment, drawn up by himself sententiously in fifty-four aphorisms, may be seen in the Appendix, as I meet with it among Fox's papers. It is extant in Latin among his *Scripta Anglicana*, and entitled, *Concessio D. M. Buc. de Sancta Eucharistia, in Anglia Aphoristicos scripta, Anno* 1550. And so we take our leave of Bucer for this year. We shall hear of him again in the next. No. XLVI.

CHAP. XV.

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Matters of the Church, and its State now.

LET me now crave a little room to set down some matters that relate to the church, coming within the compass of this year; which will shew what mean advances religion as yet had made in the nation.

Relicks of popery remaining.

Divers relicks of popery still continued in the nation, by means partly of the bishops, partly of the justices of peace, popishly affected. In London Bishop Boner drove on but heavily in the King's proceedings, though he outwardly complied. In his cathedral church there remained still the Apostles' mass, and our Lady's mass, and other masses under the defence and nomination of our Lady's communion, used in the private chapels, and other remote places of the same church, though not in the chancel; contrary to the King's proceedings. Therefore the Lord Protector, and others of the council, wrote to the Bishop, June 24, complaining of this, and ordering that no such masses should be used in St. Paul's church any longer; and that the holy communion, according to the act of parliament, should be ministered at the high altar of the church, and in no other place of the same, and only at such times as the high masses were wont to be used; except some number of people, for their necessary business, desired to have a communion in the morning; and yet the same to be exercised in the chancel at the high altar, as was appointed in the book of Public Service. Accordingly Boner directed his letters to the Dean and Chapter of Paul's, to call together those that were resident, and to declare these matters. **Fox's Acts.**

As it was thus in London, so in the countries, too many

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The council gives orders to the justices.

of the justices were slack in seeing to the execution of the King's laws, relating not only to religion, but to other affairs. And in some shires that were further distant, the people had never so much as heard of the King's proclamation, by the default of the justices, who winked at the people's neglect thereof. For the quickening of the justices of peace at this time, when a foreign invasion was daily expected, and foreign power was come into Scotland to aid that nation against England; the Lord Protector and the privy-council assembled at the Star-Chamber, and called before them all the justices, (which was a thing accustomed sometimes to be done, for the justices to appear before the King and council, there to have admonitions and warnings given them for the discharge of their duty.) And then the Lord Chancellor Rich made a speech to them, "That they "should repair down into their several countries with speed; "and give warning to other gentlemen to go down to their "houses, and there to see good order and rule kept, that "their sessions of gaol-delivery, and quarter-sessions be well "observed, that vagabonds and seditious talebearers of the "King or his council, and such as preached without license, "be repressed and punished. That if there should be any "uproars, or routs, and riots of lewd fellows, or privy traitors, they should appease them. 205 And that if any enemy "should chance to arise in any place of England, they "should fire the beacons, as had been wrote to them before, "and repulse the same in as good array as they could. "And that for that purpose they should see diligently that "men have horse, harness, and other furniture of weapon "ready."

And writes to the bishops.

And to the bishops the council now sent letters again for redress of the contempt and neglect of the book of Common Prayer; which to this time, long after the publishing thereof, was either not known at all to many, or very irreverently used: occasioned especially by the winking of the bishops, and the stubborn disobedience of old popish curates. The letter is dated the 23d of July, and is extant in Fox.

Neglect in London.

In London, by the connivance and remissness of the Bishop, many neglected the divine service then established: and others did in secret places of the diocese often frequent

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the popish mass, and other superstitious rites, not allowed by the laws of England. The sins of adultery greatly increased. The churches, and particularly the mother-church of St. Paul's, ran into dilapidations; the glass was broken, and the ornaments and other buildings belonging to churches neglected. Many refused to pay tithes to their curates, probably of both sorts; such as were Papists, to those curates as more diligently preached reformation, and obeyed the King's laws: and such as were not so, to such curates as were more backward thereunto. Bishop Boner also himself now seldom came to church, seldomer preached and celebrated the English communion. Wherefore the council sent certain private injunctions to Boner for the redress of these things: "That he should preach in his own person "at Paul's Cross, and declare certain articles, relating to the "before-mentioned neglects, which the council now sent "to him to redress. That he should preach once in a quar-"ter, and exhort the people to obedience; and that he "should be present at every sermon at Paul's Cross. That "he should on the principal feasts celebrate the communion, "and at all times that his predecessors used to celebrate "and sing high mass. That he should call before him all "such as did not frequent the church and common-prayer, "and the holy communion, and punish them, as also adul-"terers: and that he should look to the reparation of St. "Paul's and other churches, and that the people pay their "tithes."

Adulteries frequent.

The adulteries before hinted, which the council thought fit to recommend to the Bishop to take particular cognizance of, makes me add, that about this time the nation grew infamous for this crime. It began among the nobility, and so spread at length among the inferior sort. Noblemen would very frequently put away their wives, and marry others, if they liked another woman better, or were like to obtain wealth by her. And they would sometimes pretend their former wives to be false to their beds, and so be divorced, and marry again such whom they fancied. The first occasion of this seemed to be in the Earl of Northampton divorcing himself from his first wife Anne, daughter to the Earl of Essex, and after marrying Elizabeth, daughter to

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206 the Lord Cobham. In like manner Henry, son of William Earl of Pembroke, put away Katharine, daughter to Henry the Duke of Suffolk, and married Mary, the daughter of Sir Henry Sidney. These adulteries and divorces increased much; yea, and marrying again without divorce; which became a great scandal to the realm, and to the religion professed in it, and gave much sorrow and trouble in good men to see it: insomuch that they thought it necessary to move for an act of parliament to punish adultery with death. This Latimer, in a sermon preached in the year 1550, signified to the King: "For the love of God," saith he, "take "an order for marriage here in England."

Books dispersed by Protestants.

This is some account of the retardation of religion. On the other hand, the endeavours of those that wished well to it were not wanting. Now the Protestants began more freely to put forth books, and to disperse such as were formerly printed beyond sea, in the behalf of religion against popery, and concerning such as had suffered under the cruelties of the church of Rome. Bale about these days dispersed his books. One was, *The Image of both Churches*, applying the divine prophecy of the Revelations to the apostate church of Rome. Another was, a vindication of the Lady Anne Ascue, who suffered the cruel death of burning about the end of King Henry's reign: whose cause the Papists studiously had rendered bad. This book he entitled, *The Elucidation of Anne Ascue's Martyrdom:* which was this year exposed publicly to sale at Winchester, and the parts thereabouts, as a reproach to the Bishop of Winchester, who was the great cause of her death. Four of these books came to that Bishop's own eyes, being then at Winchester; they had leaves put in as additions to the book, some glued and some unglued: which probably contained some further intelligences that the author had gathered since his first writing of the book. And herein some reflections were made freely, according to Bale's talent, upon some of the court, not sparing Paget himself, though then secretary of state. Another of Bale's books, that went now about, was touching the death of Luther. Therein was a prayer of the Duke of Saxony mentioned, which the Bishop of Winchester gladly took hold on: wherein that

Duke, as to the justness of his cause, remitted "himself to "God's judgment to be shewed on him here in this world, "if the cause he undertook were not just concerning religion; and desired God, if it were not good, to order him "to be taken and spoiled of his honours and possessions." Since which the Duke was taken prisoner: and, at the very time of his taking, the Papists made an observation, that the sun appeared so strangely in England, as the like had not been seen before. So apt are men to interpret events according to their own preconceived opinions. But at this Winchester took much advantage. Whereas indeed the issues of God's providence in this world are not favourable always even to the best causes.

Letter to the Lord Protector.

Preaching against Lent.

The keeping of Lent was now called into controversy; and asserted, that it was not to be observed upon a religious account. And this was done the rather, because the Papists placed so much religion in the bare fast. In the pulpit it began to be cried down. Tongue and Joseph, two great preachers in London, said, "That Lent was one of Christ's "miracles, which God ordained not men to imitate or follow: and that it was an insupportable burden." There 207 was a set of rhymes now made about the burial of Lent, which was called, *Jack of Lent's Testament*, and publicly sold in Winchester market: therein Stephen Gardiner the Bishop was touched, who was a great man for keeping it. For in the ballad Stephen Stockfish was bequeathed in this will to Stephen Gardiner. Of this he made a long complaint to the Protector. But yet this neglect of Lent was not encouraged by the superiors: for it was kept at court, and preparations for the King's diet were made accordingly this Lent by the Protector. The Protestants indeed were for keeping it, and an order was issued out for that purpose; though not upon a religious, but politic account. But the greater part of the ordinary people would not be brought to it by this distinction: so that the preachers were fain to be employed. Latimer preached, "That those that regarded "not laws and statutes, were despisers of magistrates. "There be laws made of diet," he said, "what meats we "shall eat at all times. And this law is made in policy, as "I suppose, for victual's sake, that fish might be uttered as

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Gardiner's judgment of a rhyme against Lent.

Gardiner urged the great inconvenience these rhymes against Lent might occasion: "That they could serve for "nothing but to learn the people to rail, and to make "others forbear to make their usual provisions of fish "against the ensuing year, fearing Lent to be sick, as the "rhyme purported, and like to die."

Latimer counsels the King about marriage.

About these times there arose much talk of the King's matching. The Protestants were much afraid of his marrying with some foreign princess abroad, that might turn his heart from religion. But the popishly affected did their endeavours to persuade him to please himself with some lady abroad, as best agreeable with politic ends, as the enlarging of his dominions, and the surety and defence of his countries. Some therefore put Latimer upon giving the King counsel in this matter from the pulpit. So he advised the King, "to choose him one that is of God, that is, which is of the "household of faith; and such an one as the King can "find in his heart to love, and lead his life in pure and "chaste espousage with. Let him choose a wife that fears "God. Let him not choose a proud wanton, and one full "only of rich treasures and worldly pomp."

Foreign protestants their offer to King Edward.

The sentiments of the protestant foreigners concerning the present English state deserves a particular remark. They took such great joy and satisfaction in this good King, and his establishment of religion, that the heads of them, Bullinger, Calvin, and others, in a letter to him, offered to make him their defender, and to have bishops in their churches as there were in England, with the tender of their service to assist and unite together. This nettled the learned at the council of Trent, who came to the knowledge of it by some of their private intelligencers; and they verily thought, that all the heretics, as they called them, would 208 now unite among themselves, and become one body, receiving the same discipline exercised in England. Which if it should happen, and that they should have heretical bishops near them in those parts, they concluded that Rome and her clergy would utterly fall. Whereupon were sent two of their emissaries from Rotterdam into England, who were to pretend themselves Anabaptists, and preach against baptizing infants, and preach up rebaptizing, and a fifth monarchy upon earth. And besides this, one D. G. authorized by these learned men, dispatched a letter written in May 1549, from Delf in Holland, to two bishops, whereof Winchester was one, signifying the coming of these pretended Anabaptists, and that they should receive them and cherish them, and take their parts, if they should chance to receive any checks: telling them, that it was left to them to assist in this cause, and to some others, whom they knew to be well affected to the mother-church. This letter is lately put in print. Sir Henry Sydney first met with it in Queen Elizabeth's closet, among some papers of Queen Mary's. He transcribed it into a book of his, called, *The Romish Policies*. It came afterwards into the hands of Archbishop Usher; and was transcribed thence by Sir James Ware. Let it be remembered here, and noted, that about this time Winchester was appointed, with Ridley Bishop of Rochester, to examine certain Anabaptists in Kent.

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Foxes and Firebrands, Part ii.

I find no bishops consecrated this year.

CHAP. XVI.

Ridley made Bishop of London. The Communion Book reviewed.

RIDLEY, Bishop of Rochester, was designed to succeed Boner, lately deprived, in the bishopric of London; and, April 3, took his oath, an half year being almost spent before he entered upon the care of that see, after Boner's deprivation. At his entrance, he was exceeding wary not to do his predecessor the least injury in goods that belonged to him. He had not one pennyworth of his moveable goods; for if any were found and known to be his, he had license to convey them away, otherwise they were safely preserved

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Ridley made Bishop of London.

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Ridley's letter, among the letters of the martyrs.

for him. There was some quantity of lead lay in the house, which he used about it and the church; but Ridley paid for it, as Boner's own officers knew. He continued Boner's receiver, one Staunton, in his place. He paid fifty-three or fifty-five pounds for Boner's own servants' common liveries and wages, which was Boner's own debt remaining unpaid after his deposition. He frequently sent for old Mrs. Boner, his predecessor's mother, calling her his mother, and caused her to sit in the uppermost seat at his own table; as also for his sister, one Mrs. Mongey. It was observed, how Ridley welcomed the old gentlewoman, and made as much of her as though she had been his own mother: and though sometimes the lords of the council dined with him, he would not let her be displaced, but would say, *By your Lordships' favour, this place of right and custom is for my mother Boner.* But to see the base ingratitude of Boner; when he was restored again in Queen Mary's reign, he 209 used Ridley far otherwise than Ridley had used him: for he would not allow the leases which Ridley had made, which was in danger to redound to the utter ruin and decay of many poor men. He had a sister with three children, whom he married to one Shipside, a servant of his, and provided for them. This sister Boner turned out of all, and endeavoured the destruction of Shipside, had not Bishop Hethe delivered him. Ridley, in his offices, and in an iron chest in his bedchamber, had much plate, and considerable quantities of other goods; all which Boner seized upon: insomuch that Ridley, but a little before his burning, wrote a supplicatory letter to the Queen to take this into her consideration, " That the poor men might enjoy their leases, " and years renewed, for that they were made without fraud " or covin, either for their parts, or his; and the old rents " always reserved to the see, without any kind of damage " thereof: or at least, that they might be restored to their " former leases and years, and might have rendered to them " again such sums of money as they paid him and the " chapter, as fines for their leases and years taken from " them. Which fines he desired the Queen would com- " mand might be made good out of the plate and other " things he left in his house; half whereof would disburse

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"those fines." This did so much run in the good man's mind, that, at the time of his burning, he desired the Lord Williams, then present, to remember this his suit to the Queen. Which he promised him he would do. But what effect it had I cannot tell.

Rochester vacant.

In the vacancy of the church of Rochester, by the remove of Ridley, the Archbishop committed the spiritualities to William Cook, LL. D. April 18.

Bucer writes to Dorset, not to spoil the church.

MSS. C.C.C.C. Miscellan. D.

The nobility and gentry this year flying so much upon the spoil of the church, Bucer, by the Archbishop's instigation, as well as his own inclinations, wrote to the Marquis of Dorset to forbear, dissuading him from spoiling the church of her maintenance. In which letter he hath these expressions: *Antiquum dictum est, neminem posse vere ditari furtis aut rapinis quibus invaduntur res alienæ; multo minus peculatu, quo defraudatur respublica. Quem igitur habeat sensum Dei, qui dubitet, minime omnium posse cujusquam opes augeri salutariter sacrilegiis, quibus acciduntur res ecclesiasticæ? Sunt nimium amplæ hæ opes, addictæ ecclesiis; et in luxum permulti eas diripiunt. Homines plane otiosi; nec ullam reipublicæ conferentes utilitatem. Submoveantur igitur hi fuci ab ecclesiæ alvearibus, nec depasci permittantur apum labores. Deinde procurentur, ut restitutis passim scholis nusquam desint ecclesiarum frugi ministri, &c.* That is, "It is "an old saying, no body can grow rich by the stealing and "taking away of private people's possessions; much less by "robbing of the public. What sense therefore hath he of "God, that doubts not that his riches shall increase to good "purpose that commits sacrilege, and robs the church of "what belongs to it? But it is objected, the church hath "too much, and many spend it in luxury: the churchmen "are idle, and bring no profit to the commonwealth. Let "these drones therefore be removed from the hives of the "church, but let not the pains of the bees be eaten up. "And then, having schools of good literature every where "restored, let not the church want sober ministers, &c."

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The Common Prayer-Book reviewed.

A review was made of the book of Common Prayer, about the latter end of the year, by Archbishop Cranmer, and the bishops. Divers things, that savoured too much of superstition, were endeavoured to be changed or amended:

but there were among them some that made what opposition they could. The Archbishop had now by Wilkes, Master of Christ's College, desired Bucer (that great divine then at Cambridge) that he would take an impartial view of the whole book, having procured him a translation of it into Latin, done by Aless, the learned Scotch divine, for his understanding of it; and that he should judge, if he thought any thing in the book might be more explained agreeable with God's word, and for better edification of faith. Bucer in answer sent the Archbishop word, first, what his judgment was of the book, and then what course he intended to use in the examination of it, that he was now to make. He said, that when he first came into England, and by the help of an interpreter took some knowledge of the rites and doctrines of this church, that he might see whether he could join his ministry with it, he thanked God "that had in-"clined the officers of the church to reform the ceremonies "to that degree of purity; and that he found nothing in "them that was not taken out of the word of God, or at "least was not repugnant to it, being fitly taken[h]. For "some few things there were," added he, "that, unless they "were candidly interpreted, might seem not so sufficiently "agreeable with the word of God." As for what he was now to do in order to the fulfilling what the Archbishop required of him, he intended in short notes, at every chapter of the book, to observe what he thought to be according to God's word, and to be retained and vindicated; what to be taken away or mended, and what to be more plainly explained and allowed. After his perusal of the book, he gave this judgment in general: "That in the description of "the communion and daily prayers, he saw nothing enjoin-"ed in the book but what was agreeable to the word of "God, either in word, as the psalms and lessons; or in "sense, as the collects. Also that the manner of their "lessons and prayers, and the times of using them, were "constituted very agreeable both with God's word, and "the observation of the ancient churches: and therefore

[h] Nec enim quicquam in illis deprehendi quod non sit ex verbo Dei desumptum, aut saltem ei non adversetur, commode acceptum. *Buceri Scripta Anglican.*

"that that book ought to be retained and vindicated with the "greatest strictness[i]." What particular animadversions the said learned man made upon the book, may be seen in his *Scripta Anglicana*, and in the Bishop of Sarum's History, as he hath there abridged them. And such a deference was given to his judgment, that most of the things that he excepted against were corrected accordingly. And, that the book might be the more exact, and perhaps be the more agreeable to the doctrine and practice of foreign churches, the Archbishop recommended the diligent examination of it unto another great divine, Peter Martyr, who was now at Lambeth; the Archbishop desiring him to note what he thought good concerning the book, and, because he knew not the language, the version of Sir John Cheke (who had also translated it into Latin) was given him. He was also requested to set down in writing what he thought deserved correction. And he accordingly made his annotations.

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Bucer and Martyr employed in it.

MSS. C. C. C. C. vol. intit. Epist. Viror. Illustr. et German.

Martyr agreed clearly in judgment with Bucer about the book, as he wrote to him in a letter sent him to Cambridge, extant among Archbishop Parker's manuscripts. On the back-side of which letter is written, by that Archbishop's own hand, *Censura libri communium precum.* In this letter Martyr told Bucer, that the same things that he disapproved of, the same likewise had he [Peter Martyr] done: and that afterward he drew them up into articles, and shewed them to the Archbishop of Canterbury. That to all that Bucer judged ought to be amended, he had subscribed; and that he thanked God, that had given occasion to admonish the bishops of these things. From this letter it appears, that the Archbishop had told Martyr, that, in the conference among the divines concerning the correction of these public prayers, it was concluded to make many alterations. But what those things were, as the Archbishop told him not, so neither, as he wrote, did he dare to ask him. But what Cheke told him did not a little refresh him; *viz.* "That if "they themselves would not change what ought to be

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[i] Modus quoque harum lectionum ac precum, et tempora, sunt admodum congruenter, et cum verbo Dei, et observatione priscarum ecclesiarum constituta. Religione igitur summa retinenda erit, et vindicanda hæc ceremonia. *Censura, inter Scripta Anglican.*

Anno 1550. "changed, the King would do it of himself; and, when "they came to a parliament, the King would interpose his "Majesty's own authority."

CHAP. XVII.

Hoper's Troubles.

Hoper nominated for Bishop of Gloucester.

IN the month of July John Hoper, who had lived long abroad in Germany and in Switzerland, and conversed much with Bullinger and Gualter, the chief reformers there, but returned into England in King Edward's reign, and retained by the Duke of Somerset, and a famous preacher in the city, was nominated by the King to the bishopric of Gloucester. But by reason of certain scruples of conscience he made to the wearing of the old pontifical habits, as the chimere and rochet, and such-like, and disliking the oath customarily taken, he was not consecrated till eight months after, and endured not a little trouble in the mean season. Soon after his nomination he repaired to the Archbishop, desiring him in these things to dispense with him: but the Archbishop, for certain reasons, refused it. Then was the Archbishop solicited by great men. The Earl of Warwick, afterwards the great Duke of Northumberland, wrote to him a letter, dated July 23, the bearer whereof was Hoper himself, that the rather at his instance he would not charge the Bishop elect of Gloucester with an oath burdenous to his conscience. Which was, I suppose, the oath of canonical obedience. And when Hoper had sued to the King, either to discharge him of the bishopric, or that he might be dispensed with in the ceremonies used in consecration, (which he knew the Archbishop could not do, no more than to dispense with the laws of the land, whereby he should run into a *præmunire*,) the King wrote a letter to Cranmer, dated August 5, therein freeing him of all manner of dangers, penalties, and forfeitures that he might incur by omitting those rites; but yet (by any thing that appears in the letter) without any 212 urging or persuasion used to the Archbishop to omit the said rites, leaving that to his own discretion. But the Archbishop thought the King's bare letters were not sufficient to secure him against established laws.

He and Ridley confer about the habits.

When this would not do, then endeavour was used to satisfy Hoper's conscience. And Ridley, Bishop now of London, was thought, for his great learning, to be a fit person to confer with him. There were long arguings between them, and at last it came to some heats. And Hoper still remained resolved not to comply, holding it, if not unlawful, yet highly inexpedient, to use those very vestments that the papal bishops used. The council upon this sent for Hoper, and, because they would in no wise the stirring up of controversies between men of one profession, willed him to cease the occasion hereof. Hoper humbly besought them, that, for declaration of his doings, he might put in writing such arguments as moved him to be of the opinion he held. Which was granted him. These arguments it seems were communicated to Ridley to answer. And October the 6th, the council being then at Richmond, the Archbishop present, they wrote to the Bishop of London, commanding him to be at court on Sunday next, and to bring with him what he should for answer think convenient.

MS. of the Council Book.

The Archbishop writes to Bucer for his judgment in this matter.

In the mean time, to bring the question to more evidence and satisfaction, the Archbishop, according to his custom, to consult in religious matters with the learnedest men of other nations, wrote to Cambridge to Martin Bucer for his judgment: who, upon occasion of this controversy, wrote two Epistles; one to Hoper, and another to the Archbishop, both *de re vestiaria.* That to the latter was in answer to these two queries, which Cranmer had sent for his resolution about.

The questions.

"I. Whether, without offending of God, the ministers "of the church of England may use those garments which "are now used, and prescribed to be used by the magis-"trates?"

"II. Whether he that affirms it unlawful, or refuseth to "use these garments, sinneth against God, because he saith "that is unclean which God hath sanctified; and against "the magistrate, who commandeth a political order?"

Bucer to both these questions gave his resolution in the

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Script. Anglic. p. 705. et 681.

affirmative, in his answer to the Archbishop, dated December 8. But he thought, considering how the habits had been occasion to some of superstition, and to others of contention, that it were better, at some good opportunity, wholly to take them away.

Martyr writes to Hoper.

Besides Bucer's letter to Hoper from Cambridge, mentioned before, Peter Martyr from Oxon wrote him a large letter, dated November 4: for both these good men were desirous that Hoper should have satisfaction, that so useful a man might come in place in the church. To both these Hoper had wrote, and sent his arguments against the episcopal vestments, by a messenger dispatched on purpose. Martyr told him, "That he took much delight in that "singular and ardent study that appeared in him, that "Christian religion might again aspire to a chaste and pure "simplicity. That for his part he could be very hardly "brought off from that simple and pure way, which he "knew they used a great while at Strasburgh, where the 213 "difference of garments in holy things was taken away. "And so he prayed God it might continue." Thus, he said, "Hoper might see that, in the sum, they both agreed "together; he wishing for that which Hoper endeavoured. "That in rites, he was for coming as near as possible to the "sacred Scripture, and for taking pattern by the better "times of the church: but yet that he could not be brought "by his arguments to think that the use of garments was "destructive, or in their own nature contrary, to the word "of God; a matter which he thought to be altogether "*ἀδιάφορον*. And that therefore indifferent things, as they "were sometimes to be taken away, so might be used: "and that if he had thought this were wicked, he would "never have communicated with the church of England. "That there might be some great good follow from the "use at present of the garments; namely, that if we suffered the Gospel to be first preached, and well rooted, "men would afterwards better and more easily be persuaded to let go these outward customs. But now, when a "change is brought in of the necessary heads of religion, "and that with so great difficulty, if we should make those "things that are indifferent to be impious, so we might

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"alienate the minds of all; that they would not endure "to hear solid doctrine, and receive the necessary ceremonies. That there was no doubt England owed much "to him for his great pains in preaching and teaching: "and, in return, he had gained much favour and authority "in the realm, whereby he was in a capacity of doing "much good to the glory of God. Only he bad Hoper "take heed, that by unseasonable and too bitter sermons "he became not an hindrance to himself. Besides, that by "looking upon these indifferent things as sinful and destructive, we should condemn many Gospel-churches, and "too sharply tax very many, which anciently were esteemed "most famous and celebrated."

Hoper's two objections.

And whereas there were two arguments that made Hoper ready to charge the use of these vestments to be not indifferent; he proceeded to consider them. One was this; "That this would be to call back again the priesthood of "Aaron. The other, that they were inventions of Antichrist; and that we ought to be estranged, not only from "the Pope, but from all his devices."

Considered.

But as to the former he shewed him, "That the Apostles, "for peace-sake, commanded the Gentiles to abstain from "blood and fornication; which were Aaronical customs: "and so are tithes for the maintenance of the clergy. "Psalms and hymns can scarce be shewn to be commanded "in the New Testament to be sung in public assemblies, "which are very manifest to be used in the Old. That "there are not a few things that our church hath borrowed "from the Mosaical decrees; and that even from the very "first times. The festivals of the Resurrection, of the Nativity, of Pentecost, and of the Death of Christ, are all "footsteps of the old law: and are they to be therefore "abolished? He wished with all his heart that the churches "in Germany by this one loss might obtain their former "liberty."

As to the second argument, "He could not see how it "could be asserted upon good grounds, that nothing is to "be used by us that is observed in the popish religion. 214 "We must take heed that the church of God be not "pressed with too much servitude, that it may not have

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" liberty to use any thing that belonged to the Pope. Our " ancestors took the idol temples, and used them for sacred " houses to worship Christ. And the revenues that were " consecrated to the Gentile gods, and to the games of the " theatre, and of the vestal virgins, were made use of for " the maintenance of the ministers of the church; when " these before had served not only to Antichrist, but to the " Devil. Nor could he presently grant that these differences " of garments had their original from the Pope: for we " read in ecclesiastical history, that John at Ephesus wore " a *petalum* [a mitre.] And Pontius Diaconus saith of " Cyprian, that when he went to be executed he gave " his [k]*birrus* to the executioner, his [k]*dalmatica* to the " deacons, and stood in linen. And Chrysostom makes " mention of the white garments of ministers. And the " ancients witness, that when the Christians came to Christ, " they changed their garments, and for a gown put on a " cloak; for which when they were mocked by the heathens, Tertullian wrote a learned book *De Pallio.* And he " knew Hoper was not ignorant, that to those that were " initiated in baptism, was delivered a white garment. " Therefore, before the tyranny of the Pope, there was a " distinction of garments in the church.

" Nor did he think, that in case it were granted that it " was invented by the Pope, that the iniquity of popery was " so great, that whatsoever it touched was so dyed and " polluted thereby, that good and godly men might not " use it to any holy purpose. Hoper himself granted, that " every human invention was not therefore presently to be " condemned. It was an human invention to communicate " before dinner: it was an human invention, that the things " sold in the primitive church were brought and laid at " the Apostles' feet. That he was ready to confess with " him that these garments were an human invention, and of " themselves edified not; but it was thought by some conducive to be borne with for a time: for that it might " be a cause of avoiding those contentions, whereby greater " benefits might be in danger to be obstructed. But that " if hence an occasion of erring might be given to the

[k] Episcopal garments.

" weak, they were to be admonished, that they should hold " these things indifferent: and they were to be taught in " sermons, that they should judge not God's worship to be " placed in them."

Another objection of Hoper considered.

Hoper had writ, that the eyes of the standers-by, by reason of these garments, would be turned away from thinking of serious things, and detained in gazing upon them. But this would not happen when the garments were simple and plain, without bravery, and such as hitherto were used in the service of God. But Martyr answered, " That use and custom would take away admiration: and " perhaps, when the people were moved with admiration, " they would the more attentively think of those things " that are serious. For which end," he said, " the sacraments seemed to be invented, that from the sight and " sense of them we might be carried to think of divine " things."

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Other things urged by him.

Hoper urged moreover, " That *whatsoever was not of faith,* " *was sin.*" But said Martyr, " That we may enjoy a quiet " conscience in our doings, that of the Apostle seems much " to tend, and that *to the clean all things are clean*, saith the " same Apostle to Titus; and to Timothy, that *every creature of God is good.*"

He urged also, " That we ought to have express Scripture for what we do in holy things." But Martyr was not of that mind; " but that that was enough in general, " to know by faith that indifferent things cannot defile those " who act with a pure and sincere mind and conscience." And this was the substance of P. Martyr's judgment of these things: which might give much light to that reverend man in this controversy, though he was not yet convinced, nor could comply.

Hoper confined to his house, and silenced.

As Hoper all this while refused the habit, so we may conjecture, by a passage in the former letter, that he liberally declaimed against them in the London pulpits. For Martyr takes notice to him of his " unseasonable and too bitter " sermons." Whether it were for this, or his incompliance, or both together, I know not; but at length he was by the privy-council commanded to keep his house: unless it were to go to the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishops of

Council-Book.

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Ely, London, or Lincoln, for counsel and satisfaction of his conscience; and neither to preach nor read till he had further license from the council. But, notwithstanding this command, he kept not his house, and writ a book and printed it, intituled, *A Confession of his Faith:* written in such a manner, that it gave more distaste, and wherein was contained matter he should not have written. He went about also complaining of the King's counsellors; as Martyr wrote in a private letter to Bucer.

Committed to the Archbishop's custody.

On January the 13th, the court then at Greenwich, he appeared there before the council, (the Archbishop being then present,) touching the matter of not wearing the apparel, and for disobeying the council: who for this disobedience, and for that he continued in his former opinion of not wearing the apparel prescribed for bishops to wear, committed him to the Archbishop of Canterbury's custody, either there to be reformed, or further punished, as the obstinacy of his cause required.

Sent to the Fleet.

Council-Book.

Being with the Archbishop, he did his endeavour to satisfy him. But Hoper was as immoveable to whatsoever the said Archbishop could propound and offer, as he was before with Ridley. So the Archbishop signified to the council, that he could bring him to no conformity, but that he declared himself for another way of ordination than was established. The effect of this was, that on January 27, upon this letter of the Archbishop, "That Hoper could not "be brought to any conformity; but rather, persevering in "his obstinacy, (they are the words of the council-book,) "coveted to prescribe orders and necessary laws of his head: "it was agreed that he should be committed to the Fleet." And a letter was drawn for the Archbishop to send Mr. Hoper to the Fleet upon the occasion aforesaid: and another letter to the Warden of the Fleet to receive him, and to keep him from the conference with any person, saving the ministers of that house. This disobedience of 216 Hoper to the council's orders will make the severity of the council less liable to censure. Neither was Cranmer any other ways instrumental to Hoper's imprisonment, than by doing that which was expected from him, *viz.* giving a true account of his unsuccessful dealing with him. But at last he complied, and received consecration after the usual form: and the church enjoyed a most excellent instrument in him at this time for his learning, zeal, courage, and activity.

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Hoper conforms.

Martyr to Gualter concerning Hoper's conformity.

This news Peter Martyr signified in a letter to Gualter: for he and Bullinger, and the rest of his friends at Zurick, had heard of this contention, and were much concerned for this their acquaintance. But as he was consecrated in March, so in April following Martyr wrote to the said Gualter, "That he had never been wanting to Hoper, "[whether in his counsel for satisfying his conscience, or in "respect of his interest with the Archbishop, or other "chief men,] and that he always hoped well of his cause. "That he now was freed of all his troubles, and that he "was actually in his bishoprick, and did discharge his office "piously and strenuously." This was the more acceptable news to the foreigners, because some of the bishops took occasion, upon this disobedience of Hoper, liberally to blame the churches abroad, among which Hoper had been, as though they had infused these principles into him: and then fell foul upon Bucer and Martyr, that were set, the one professor in Cambridge, and the other in Oxon; as though they would corrupt all the youth in both universities, who would suck in from them such principles as Hoper had done. This Bucer heard of, and writ it with a concern to Martyr. Who writ again, how amazed and almost stupified he was to hear this: but that it was well that the bishops saw his letter to Hoper, which would vindicate him from such imputations. And indeed both his and Bucer's letter, concerning this point, did or might seasonably stop this clamour.

BOOK II.

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CHAP. XVIII.

Bishop Hoper visits his Diocese.

Hoper visits his diocese.

THE summer next after his consecration he went down and made a strict visitation of his diocese, fortified with letters from the privy-council; that so his authority might be the greater, and do the more good among an ignorant, superstitious, stubborn clergy and laity. I have seen a manuscript in folio, giving an account of the whole visitation, of the method thereof, and of the condition he found the clergy of the diocese in, as to their learning and abilities. First, he sent a general monitory letter to his clergy, signifying his intention of coming among them; gravely advising them of their office, and what was required of them who were entered into this holy vocation. This letter may be found in the Appendix. No. XLVII. When he visited them, he gave them articles concerning Christian religion, to the number of fifty; which bore this title: *Articles concerning Christen Religion, given by the Reverend Father in Christ John Hoper,* 217 *Bishop of Gloucester, unto all and singular Deans, Parsons, Prebendaries, Vicars, Curates, and other ecclesiastical ministers within the diocese of Glocester, to be had and retained of them for the unity and agreement, as well as the doctrine of God's word, as also for the confirmation of the ceremonies agreeing with God's word.* Let me give the reader but a taste of them.

His articles of religion.

"I. That none do teach any manner of thing to be "necessary for the salvation of man, other than what is "contained in the books of God's holy word.

"II. That they faithfully teach and instruct the people "committed unto their charge, that there is but one God, "everlasting, incorporate, almighty, wise, and good, the "maker of heaven and earth, the father of our Lord Jesus "Christ; by whom also he will be called upon by us. And "though one God in essence and unity in the Godhead, "yet in the same unity three distinct persons.

" III. That they teach all the doctrines contained in the " three creeds.

" IV. That they teach that the church of God is the " congregation of the faithful, wherein the word of God is " truly preached, and the sacraments justly ministered, " according to the institution of Christ: and that the " church of God is not by God's word taken for the multitude or company of men, as of bishops, priests, and " such other; but that it is the company of all men hearing " God's word, and obeying to the same; lest that any man " should be seduced, believing himself to be bound unto " an ordinary succession of bishops and priests, but only " unto the word of God, and the right use of his sacraments.

" V. That though the true church cannot err from the " faith; yet nevertheless, forasmuch as no man is free from " sin and lies, there is, nor can be any church known, be " it never so perfect or holy, but it may err." These are the five first.

His injunctions and interrogatories.

Then he gave them injunctions to the number of one and thirty; seven and twenty interrogatories and demands of the people and parishioners, and of their conversation, to be required and known by the parsons, vicars, and curates. Sixty-one interrogatories and examinations of the ministers, and of their conversation, to be required and known by the parishioners. There were also articles, whereupon all ministers were examined concerning the Ten Commandments, the Articles of faith, and the petitions of the Lord's Prayer; *viz.* to each minister were these questions put:

1. Concerning the Commandments,
    1. How many Commandments.
    2. Where they are written.
    3. Whether they can recite them by heart.

2. Concerning the Christian Faith,
    1. What are the Articles of the Christian faith.
    2. Whether they can recite them by heart.
    3. That they corroborate them by authority of Scripture.

- 3. Concerning the Lord's Prayer.
  - 1. Whether they can say the petitions by heart.
  - 2. How they know it to be the Lord's Prayer.
  - 3. Where it is written.

218 Which demands, how easy soever they were, many curates and priests (such was the ignorance of those days) could say but little to. Some could say the Pater Noster in Latin, but not in English. Few could say the Ten Commandments. Few could prove the Articles of faith by Scripture: that was out of their way.

The memory of such as have been greatly useful in the church or state ought religiously to be preserved. Of this number was this Bishop, who, as he was naturally an active man, put forth all his strength and vigour of body and mind to set forward a good reformation in religion, and afterwards as courageously shed his blood for it.

Holds Worcester *in commendam.*

Therefore I cannot part with this good prelate till I have gathered up and reposited here some further memorials of him. The diocese of Worcester becoming void by the deprivation of Hethe in October 1551, and requiring an industrious man to be set over that see, it was given to Hoper to hold *in commendam.* In the year 1552, in July, he visited that diocese, which he found much out of order. But before he had finished, he was fain to go back to Glocester, hearing of the ungodly behaviour of the ministers there. He left them the last year seemingly very compliant to be reformed, and took their subscription to his articles of religion. But in his absence, when his back was turned, they became as bad altogether as they were before. Yet he conceived good hopes of the lay-people, if they had but good justices and faithful ministers placed among them, as he wrote to Secretary Cecyl: to whom he signified his desire that the Articles of religion, which the King had mentioned to him when last at London, were set forth. Them he intended to make the clergy not only subscribe, (which, being privately done, he saw they regarded not,) but to read and confess them openly before their parishioners. At his visitation he constituted certain of his clergy superintendants, who in his absence were to have a constant eye over the inferior clergy.

Anno 1550. And visits that church and see.

After this visit to Glocester, he returned back again to Worcester in October, and then proceeded in his visitation there. Here Johnson and Jolliff, two canons of this church, disallowing some doctrines recommended to them by the Bishop, (in his articles abovesaid,) held a dispute thereupon with him and Mr. Harley, (who was afterward Bishop of Hereford.) And one of these behaved himself most insolently and disrespectfully to both. The Bishop sent up by Harley a large relation of his visitation in writing, and the matter these canons misliked, and recommended Harley to the Secretary to give account of the disputation. This caused him to break out into a complaint for want of good men in the cathedrals: "Ah! Mr. Secretary, that there "were good men in the cathedral churches! God then "should have much more honour than he hath, the King's "Majesty more obedience, and the poor people better "knowledge: but the realm wanteth light in such churches, "whereas of right it ought most to be." In Worcester church he now put in execution the King's Injunctions for the removal of superstition: for which there arose a great clamour against him, as though he had spoiled the church; and yet he did no more than the express words of the 219 Injunctions commanded to be done.

Goes over both his dioceses again.

After his visitation was over, he accounted not his work done; but soon went over both his dioceses again, to take account of his clergy, how they profited since his last examining them; and to oversee even his superintendants themselves, to commend their well-doings, and to see what was ill done. So great was his pains and zeal; which made him most truly and experimentally write as he did to the Secretary: There is none that eat their bread in the sweat of their face, but such as serve in public vocation. Yours is wonderful, but mine passeth. Now I perceive that private labours be but plays, nor private troubles but ease and quietness. These matters I extract from two original letters of this Bishop to Secretary Cecyl; which I have thought well worthy of preserving in the Appendix; and there they may be met with. Num. XLVIII.

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The council's order concerning the two canons. MS. Council-Book.

Whereas it was mentioned before, how the Bishop had sent up a writing of the matters in controversy between the two canons and himself, we may see what care the council took hereof, and what countenance they gave the Bishop, by an order they made November 6, 1552. Which was, that a letter should be wrote to Mr. Cheke and Mr. Harley, to consider certain books sent unto them touching matters of religion in controversy between the Bishop of Worcester and two of the canons of Worcester, and to certify their opinion hither, that further order may be therein taken.

License for the Bishop of Gloucester to attend upon the Duchess of Somerset in the Tower.

January 29, 1551. Upon suit made by the Duchess of Somerset to Sir Philip Hobby, and Mr. Darcy, Lieutenant of the Tower, to be a mean unto the King's Majesty, and my Lords, that the Bishop of Glocester (who had been Chaplain unto the Duke) might be suffered to have access unto her for the settling of her conscience; order was by their Lordships taken for the same, and a letter written to the Lieutenant of the Tower in that behalf, as followeth: "To the Lieutenant of the Tower, to permit the Bishop of "Glocester, from time to time, to speak with the Duchess "of Somerset, in the presence of Sir Philip Hobby, and of "the said Lieutenant: and in case the said Lady of Somerset desire to speak with the said Bishop apart, that "in that case they license her so to do.

Other matters relating to this Bishop.

"May 29, 1552. A warrant to make a book to the elect "Bishop of Worcester and Glocester, of discharge of the "first fruits and tenths to be paid for the same, in consideration that he hath departed with certain lands to the "King's Majesty: which probably he seeing would, whether he would or no, be pulled away from him, to be conferred upon some of the mighty of the court, made the "best of a bad market, and got himself freed from that "charge, payable to the King.

"April 12, 1553. A letter was wrote to the Chancellor "of the Augmentations, to cause a book to be made from "the Bishop of Worcester and Glocester, of a surrender "to the King's Majesty of his jurisdiction in the forest of "Dean, with a certain deanery, which of right belongeth "to the bishoprick of Hereford: and thereupon to make

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" another book of the grant thereof from his Highness to " Mr. Harley, elect Bishop of Hereford.

" April 16, 1553. A letter to the Chancellor of the Augmentations, to cause a book to be devised in form of law, 220 " licensing the Bishop of Worcester and Glocester to give " to three poor vicarages in his diocese, the parsonages " whereof are impropriated to his bishoprick, such augmentation of living towards their better maintenance, as " he shall think convenient, out of the lands of the said see.

" April 25, 1553. A warrant to the receiver of the wards, " to deliver to the Bishop of Worcester, by way of reward, " twenty pounds for his attendance here ever since the parliament by his Majesty's commandment. These are transcriptions out of a council-book."

CHAP. XIX.

Troubles of Bishop Gardiner.

IN this year 1550, the council and our Archbishop had much trouble with some other bishops also, of a quite different judgment from the above spoken of; I mean Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, Nicolas Bishop of Worcester, and Day Bishop of Chichester: of whom what I shall here briefly set down are for the most part extractions out of an old council-book, and King Edward's Journal.

Divers great Lords repair to Gardiner.

At Greenwich, June 8, was this order of council concerning Bishop Gardiner; " Considering the long imprisonment that the Bishop of Winchester hath sustained, " it was now thought time he should be spoken withal; " and agreed, that if he repented his former obstinacy, and " would henceforth apply himself to advance the King's " Majesty's proceedings, his Highness in this case would be " his good lord, and remit all his errors past: otherwise his " Majesty was resolved to proceed against him as his obstinacy and contempt required. For the declaration whereof, the Duke of Somerset, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord " Privy Seal, the Lord great Chamberlain, and Mr. Secre-

"tary Petre, were appointed the next day [i. e. June 9.] to "repair unto him. Signed by E. Somerset, T. Cant. W. "Wilts, J. Bedford, E. Clynton, T. Ely, A. Wyngfeld, W. "Herbert, W. Petre, Edw. North." Accordingly, June 9, the Duke of Somerset, the Marquis of Northampton, the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Bedford, and Secretary Petre, went to the Bishop of Winchester to know what he would stick to; whether to conform to and promote the King's laws, or no? He answered, "That he would obey and set forth all "things set forth by the King and parliament: and if he were "troubled in conscience, he would reveal it to the council, "and not reason openly against it." And then he desired to see the King's book of proceedings. At Greenwich, June 10, report was made by the Duke of Somerset and the rest, sent to the Bishop of Winchester, that he desired to see the said book. The next day were the books sent to him, and delivered to him by the Lieutenant of the Tower, as the council appointed, to see if he would set his hand to them, and promise to set them forth to the people. At Greenwich, June 13, the Lieutenant of the Tower declared unto the
221 council, that the Bishop, having perused the books of the proceedings, said unto him, He could make no direct answer, unless he were at liberty, and so being, he would say his conscience. On the 14th day the Duke of Somerset, and five more of the council, again repaired to the Bishop, to whom he made this answer; "I have deliberately seen the "Book of Common Prayer. Although I would not have "made it so myself, yet I find such things in it as satisfy "my conscience: and therefore I will both execute it my"self, and also see others my parishioners to do it." And this the counsellors testified under their hands as his saying.

The council's proceedings with him.

July the 9th, there were certain articles drawn up, signed by King and council, for the Bishop to subscribe; which contained the confession of his fault; the supremacy of the King and his successors; the establishing of holy-days, or dispensing with them to be in the King; the service-book to be godly and Christian; the acknowledgment of the King to be supreme head, and to submit to him and his laws under age; the abolishing the six Articles; and the King's power of correcting and reforming the church. These articles, together with a letter from the King, the Earl of Warwick, Lord great Master; the Lord St. John, Lord Treasurer; Sir William Herbert, Master of the Horse; and Secretary Petre, carried to the Bishop, requiring him to sign them. Which he did, only making exception to the first.

July 10, the said Lords made report unto the council, that they had delivered the King's letter unto the Bishop, together with the articles. Unto all which articles he subscribed thus with his own hand, *Stev. Winton*, saving the first: against which he wrote in the margin these words; "I cannot in my conscience confess the preface, knowing "myself to be of that sort I am indeed, and ever have been." To which articles, thus subscribed by the Bishop, these of the council wrote their names; E. Somers. W. Wilts, J. Warwick, J. Bedford, W. Northampton, E. Clynton, G. Cobham, William Paget, W. Herbert, W. Petre, Edw. North.

July 11, at Westminster, this was brought to the council: and his boggling in this manner at the confession displeased the King, that being the principal point. But to the intent he should have no just cause to say he was not mercifully handled, it was agreed, that Sir William Herbert and the Secretary should go the next day to him to tell him, that the King marvelled he refused to put his hand to the confession: and that if the words thereof seemed too sore, then to refer it to himself in what sort, and with what words, he should devise to submit himself; that, upon the acknowledgment of his fault, the King might extend his mercy towards him, as was determined.

Articles propounded to him to subscribe.

July 13, Sir William Herbert and the Secretary reported, that the Bishop stood precisely in his own justification. He said, "That he could not subscribe to the confession, because "he was innocent; and also because the confession was but "the preface to the articles." Upon this it was agreed by the council, that a new book of articles, and a new submission, should be devised for the Bishop to subscribe. And the Bishop of London, Secretary Petre, Mr. Cecyl, and Goodrick, a common lawyer, were commanded to make these articles according to law. And then, for the more authentic proceeding with the Bishop, the two former persons 222 were again to resort to him with the new draught, and to

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take with them a divine, which was the Bishop of London, and a lawyer, which was Goodrick. These articles were twenty-two in number, and to this tenor; "That King "Henry VIII. had justly suppressed monasteries. That "persons may marry, who are not prohibited to contract "matrimony by the Levitical law, without the Bishop of "Rome's dispensation. That vowing or going pilgrimages "were justly abolished; the counterfeiting St. Nicholas, "St. Clement, &c. was mere mockery. That it is convenient "that the Scriptures should be in English. That the late "King, and the present, did upon just ground take into "their hands chauntries, which were for maintenance of "private masses. That private masses were justly taken "away by the statutes of the realm; and the communion "placed instead thereof, is very godly. That it is convenient that the sacrament should be received in both kinds. "That the mass, where the priest doth only receive, and "others look on, is but the invention of man. That it was "upon good and godly consideration ordered in the book, "that the sacrament should not be lifted up, and shewed "to the people to be adored. That it is politicly and "godly done, that images in churches, and mass-books, "were enacted to be abolished. That bishops, priests, and "deacons have no commandment in the law of God to vow "chastity, or abstain from marriage. And that all canons "and constitutions, which do prohibit marriage to the "clergy, be justly taken away by parliament. That the "Homilies, and the forms set forth of making archbishops, "bishops, priests, and deacons, are godly and wholesome, "and ought to be received. That the orders of Subdeacon, "Benet, and Colet, &c. be not necessary, and justly left "out in the book of orders. That the holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrines necessary to salvation. That "upon good and godly consideration it was enjoined that "Erasmus's Paraphrases should be set up in churches. "And that it was the King's pleasure that the Bishop "should affirm these articles by subscription of his hand, "and declare himself willing to publish and preach the "same." These articles were brought to the Bishop by the Master of the Horse, and Secretary Petre, with the Bishop

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of London, and Goodrick. To whom the Bishop answered, "That he would not consent to the article of submission; "praying to be brought to his trial, and desired nothing "but justice. And for the rest of the articles, when he "was at liberty, then it should appear what he would do "in them, it not being reasonable he should subscribe them "in prison."

This being reported to the council, July 15, it was agreed that he should be sent for before the whole council, and examined, whether he would stand at this point? which if he did, then to denounce the sequestration of his benefice for three months, with intimation, if he reformed not in that space, to deprive him. This order was signed by Somerset, Wilts, Bedford, Clynton, Paget, Wyngfield, Herbert.

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Winchester sequestered for three months.

July 19, the Bishop of Wynton was brought before the council; and there the articles before mentioned were read unto him distinctly. Whereunto he refused either to subscribe or consent: answering in these words, "That in all "things his Majesty would command him, he was willing "and most ready to obey; but forasmuch as there were "divers things required of him, which his conscience would "not bear, therefore he prayed them to have him excused." And thereupon Secretary Petre, by the council's order, proceeded to read the sequestration. Thus fairly and calmly was this Bishop dealt with by the King and his council, from June 8, to July 19. And notwithstanding this sentence, the council favourably ordered, that the Bishop's house and servants should be maintained in their present state until the expiration of the three months; and that the matter in the mean time should be kept secret.

The sequestration expires.

Council-Book.

The three months expired October 19: but with such clemency was he used, that it was November 23, before his business was renewed. And then, considering the time of his intimation was long sithence expired, it was agreed, that the Bishop of Ely, Mr. Secretary Petre, Dr. May, and Dr. Glynne, all learned in the civil law, should substantially confer upon the matter: and upon Tuesday next, the 26th day of this present, to certify unto the council what was to be done duly by order of the law in this case. And now the Archbishop of Canterbury began to be concerned in this

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troublesome business. A commission, dated December 12, was issued out from the King to the said Archbishop, and to the Bishops of London, Ely, Lincoln, to Sir William Petre, Sir James Hales, and some other lawyers, to call the said Bishop of Winchester before them, and, continuing in his contempt, to proceed to deprive him.

December 14, the Lieutenant of the Tower was ordered to bring the Bishop on Monday next to Lambeth before my Lord of Canterbury, and other commissioners, upon his cause: and likewise upon their appointment to bring him thither from day to day, at times by them prefixed.

The commissioners sit to examine him.

December 15. was the day of Winchester's first appearance. The business done this session was the opening and reading the commission; and, after that, divers articles against the Bishop: who then made a speech. Wherein, first, he protested against these his judges, and excepted against their commission; and required this his protestation to be entered into the acts of the court. Then desiring a copy of the commission, it was granted him, together with that of the articles too, to make his answers to. Next, the Archbishop gave him his oath to make true answer: which he took still with his protestation. Then the Bishop desiring counsel, the Archbishop and the rest not only granted his request, but allowed him whomsoever he should name: which was the next day allowed also by an order of council. Certain honourable persons were deposed and sworn for witnesses, as Sir Anthony Wingfield, Controller of the Household; Sir William Cecyl, Secretary; Sir Rafe Sadleir; Sir Edward North; Dr. Cox, Almoner; and others. The Bishop also protested against them, and the swearing of them. At this first 224 sessions he had also said, in the hearing of a great multitude present, concerning the Duke of Somerset and some other privy-counsellors, sent to him in the Tower, "that they had "made an end with him before for all the matters for which "he was committed: insomuch that he verily thought he "should never have heard any more of it."

A letter of some noblemen, whom he had belied.

This, coming soon to the ears of these nobles, highly offended them, as reporting falsely of them. So that, to justify themselves in as public a manner, the next sessions they sent their letter, dated December 17, signed by the Duke of Somerset, the Earls of Wiltshire and Bedford, and Sir Edward North: wherein they denied any such matter; saying, "that the Bishop defended his cause with untruths, and " that, upon their fidelities and honours, his tale was false " and untrue; for that their coming to him in the Tower " was to do their endeavour to reclaim him. And they " prayed the commissioners, that, for their vindication, they " would cause this their letter to be publicly read." Which was accordingly done; though the Bishop, thinking how this would reflect upon him under his former protestation, laboured hard that he might first be heard, and that he had something to propose why it should not be read. Which notwithstanding they would not grant.

January 19. The council sitting at Greenwich, the Bishop's servants came and desired, that certain of them might be sworn upon certain articles for witness on his behalf. And if they might not be sworn, that upon their honours, as they would answer before God, they would witness truly according to their conscience, and as effectually as if they were sworn upon a book. And they were allowed.

Gardiner offers his book against Cranmer to the commissioners.

The Bishop, to make his cause the more plausible, as though he were the public defender of the Roman catholic church in England at this time, laboured to make it believed, that he fell into all this trouble for the defence of the real presence in the sacrament, and for maintaining the catholic doctrine in a sermon before the King; and that he made his book to vindicate himself therein. And therefore, in one of his appearances before the commissioners, openly in the court delivered them his book against Archbishop Cranmer, printed in France: and, to make it suit the better, he had altered some lines in the beginning of his book, so as to make it to relate to his present case. But in truth Gardiner had wrote and finished his book before. This Cranmer unveiled in his answer to this book of Gardiner's: saying there, "that he made his book before he was called before " the commissioners, as he could prove by a book under " his own hand-writing; and that he was called before the " commissioners by his own suit and procurement, and as it " were enforcing the matter. But indeed the true cause " was, that he was called to justice for his manifest con-

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"tempt and continual disobedience from time to time, or "rather rebellion against the King's Majesty; and was deprived of his state for the same."

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He is deprived.

In short, after a great deal of pains and patience, the Bishop was by the Archbishop and the rest of the commissioners deprived, after no less than two and twenty sessions, held at divers places, that is, from the 15th of December to the 14th of February: though Stow falsely nameth but seven. The Bishop, when he saw the sentence definitive ready to be pronounced, made an appeal from them to the King: for his doing which he produced these reasons. For that these his pretended judges were not indifferent, but prejudiced against him. That my Lord of Canterbury had caused him to be sent to prison, (whereas the Archbishop was only present at the council when he was by them ordered to the Tower:) and so had Hales, Goodrick, and Gosnold counselled to send him thither. Also, that the Archbishop, and the Bishops of London and Lincoln, did contrary to the laws ecclesiastical, and taught and set forth manifest condemned errors against the presence in the sacrament. And because the Bishop, as well in his writings, as otherwise, did set forth the catholic faith of the very presence of Christ's body and blood: therefore they shewed themselves unduly affected towards him. That Sir William Petre decreed the fruits of his bishoprick to be sequestered *de facto, sed non de jure*, and now was judge in his own cause. But notwithstanding this appeal, the Archbishop with the rest of the commissioners pronounced him deprived, and his bishoprick void. After this was done, the Bishop appealed again to the King, instantly, more instantly, most instantly, from their sentence as injust, and of no effect in law; and asked of them letters dimissory to be granted to him, and a copy of the judgment. But the judges declared they would first know the pleasure of the King and his council therein. And so this last session brake up.

The council's order for his strait confinement.

Council-Book.

The day after, being the 15th of February, the council sitting at Westminster, upon debating the Bishop of Winton's case; "Forasmuch as it appeared he had at all times, before the judges of his cause, used himself unreverently to "the King's Majesty, and slanderfully towards his council;

"and especially yesterday, being the day of his judgment "given against him, he called his judges heretics and sacramentaries, they being there the King's commissioners, "and of his Highness's council; it was therefore concluded "by the whole board, that he should be removed from the "lodging he hath now in the Tower to a meaner lodging, "and none to wait upon him but one, by the Lieutenant's "appointment, in such sort as by the resort of any man to "him, he have not the liberty to send out to any man, or "to hear from any man. And likewise that his books and "papers be taken from him, and seen; and that from "henceforth he have neither pen, ink, nor paper to write "his detestable purposes, but be sequestered from all conferences, and from all means that may serve him to practise any way."

Poynet made Bishop of Winton.

March 8, at Westminster. This day, by the King's Majesty's own appointment, Dr. Poynet, Bishop of Rochester, was chosen Bishop of Winchester. And the Archbishop of Canterbury had given him 266*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* (i.e. 400 marks) for his pains and charges about the Bishop of Winchester. And thus I have, from very authentic authority, gathered 226 together these memorials of this turbulent haughty man; who was now so seasonably laid aside in this King's reign, till we hear of him loudly in the next; when he sufficiently wracked his revenge against our good Archbishop and the true religion.

CHAP. XX.

Bishop Hethe and Bishop Day, their Deprivations.

Other popish Bishops dealt with.

WHILE the aforesaid Bishop lay under sequestration in the Tower, two other Bishops, that were wayward to the King's proceedings in the reformation of the church, (*viz.* of Worcester and Chichester,) came under the hands of the privy-council, resolving to make them comply, or deprive them: that others, more willing and better affected to reformation, might succeed and do service in the church; and

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that the Archbishop might go forward with less stop and impediment in the good work he had dedicated himself unto. Both of them were of the Archbishop's raising, and seemed very compliant with the Archbishop during King Henry's reign. But now both hung off from him, seeming much offended with him for his relinquishing the doctrine of the corporeal presence, and for writing a book against it: whereof they made mention, with dislike, in their depositions in the Bishop of Winchester's trial before the commissioners.

Bishop Hethe's troubles.

In the last year, the year 1549, twelve learned divines, bishops and others, were appointed by the council to prepare a new book for the ordination of ministers, purged of the superstitions of the old ordinal. Hethe Bishop of Worcester was nominated for one of these: but he, not liking the thing, would not agree to what the others did, nor subscribe the book when made. For which, in March, he was committed to the Fleet; where he lay under easy confinement all the next year, the year 1550; during which time I find him once produced as a witness on Bishop Gardiner's behalf.

Sent for before the council. Council-Book.

But in the year 1551, the court being at Chelsey, and the council sitting September 22, by virtue of the King's express commandment, Nicolas Bishop of Worcester was sent for, and came before the Lords and others: to whom was repeated the cause of his imprisonment to be, for that he refused to subscribe the book devised for the form of making archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons, being authorized by parliament. At the time of which refusal, being not only gently and reasonably required to subscribe it, but also being manifestly taught by divers other learned men, that all things contained in the book were good and true, and that the book was expedient and allowable, the said Bishop declared himself to be a very obstinate man. And for this his doing, it was now shewed unto him, that he deserved longer imprisonment. Nevertheless the King's Majesty's clemency was such, that now if he had, or would reconcile himself to obey his Majesty in this former commandment, he should 227 recover the King's Majesty's favour. For which cause it was told him, that he was then presently sent for, and willed now to subscribe the same. Whereunto he answered, "That he took the cause of his imprisonment to be as was "alleged, and that also he was very gently used, rather "like a son than a subject. Nevertheless," he said, "he re"mained still in the same mind, not willing to subscribe it, "although he would not disobey it." And although he was reasoned withal by every of the said council in disproving his manner of answer, that he would not subscribe it, being every thing in the said book, true and good; and being devised by eleven other learned men, to which he was joined as the twelfth, and received of all the whole estate of the realm; agreeing also that he would obey it, not subscribe it, which contained a contradiction in reason: yet he still, as a man not removeable from his own conceit, refused to subscribe it. Whereupon, to prove all manner of ways for the winning of him to his duty, he was offered to have conference with learned men, and to have time to consider the matter better. Whereunto he said, "That he could not have "better conference than he had heretofore: and well might "he have time, but of other mind he thought never to be: "adding, that there were many other things whereunto he "would never consent, if he were demanded, as to take "down the altars and set up tables." And in this sort, seeing him obstinately settled in mind not to be conformable, he was in the King's Majesty's name expressly commanded and charged to subscribe the same book before Thursday next following, being the 24th hereof, upon pain of deprivation of his bishoprick, to all and singular effects which might follow thereof. And hearing the commandment, he resolutely answered, "He could not find in his conscience to "do it, and should be well content to abide such end, either "by deprivation or otherwise, as pleased the King's Ma"jesty." And so, as a man incorrigible, he was returned to the fleet. This order was subscribed by these of the privy-council; W. Wilts, J. Warwyck, W. Herbert, W. Cecyl, Jo. Mason.

Bishop of Chichester his troubles.

Council-Book.

That which gave the council the first occasion against Day Bishop of Chichester was, partly his refusal of complying with the order of changing the altars in his diocese into tables; and partly going down into his diocese, and there

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November 8, the said Bishop appeared before the council to answer such things as should be objected against him for preaching. And because he denied the words of his accusation, therefore he was commanded within two days to bring in writing what he preached.

Bishop Day will not pull down altars.

November 30. This day the Duke of Somerset declared to the council, that the Bishop of Chichester came within two days past, and shewed to him, that he received letters from the King's Majesty, signed with his Majesty's hand, and subscribed with the hands of divers Lords of the 228 council. The tenor of which letter here ensueth; *Right reverend Father in God, &c.* [It is the same letter as is printed in Fox's Acts, about pulling down altars.] According to this letter the said Bishop said, he could not conform his conscience to do that he was by the said letter commanded; and therefore prayed the said Duke he might be excused. Whereunto the said Duke, for answer, used divers reasons moving the said Bishop to do his duty, and in such things to make no conscience, where no need is. Nevertheless the said Bishop would not be removed from his former opinion. Therefore the said Duke said, he would make report to the rest of the council. And so in the end he prayed the Lords of the council this day, that the Bishop might be sent for, and shew his mind touching this case. Which was agreed, and commandment given for the Bishop to be at the council the next day.

Appears before the council.

December 1, the Bishop came before the council; and being asked what he said to the letters sent to him from the King's Majesty, he answered, "That he could not " conform his conscience to take down the altars in the " churches, and in lieu of them to set up tables, as the letter " appointed: for that he seemed for his opinion to have " the Scripture, and consent of the doctors and fathers

" of the church; and contrariwise did not perceive any " strength in the six reasons, which were set forth by the " Bishop of London to persuade the taking down altars " and erection of tables." And then, being demanded what Scripture he had, he alleged a saying in Esay: which place, being considered by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and other Lords of the council, was found of no purpose to maintain his opinion.

Es. xix. 19.

The Archbishop and Bishop of Ely reason with him.

And thereupon, by the said Archbishop and Bishop of Ely, divers good reasons were given to prove that it was convenient to take down the altars, as things abused; and in lieu of them to set up tables, as things most meet for the supper of the Lord, and most agreeable to the first constitution. And besides that, his other reasons were then fully answered.

The council give him time to confer.

Wherefore the council commanded him expressly, in the King's name, to proceed to the execution of his Majesty's commandment in the said letter expressed. Whereunto he made request, "That he might not be commanded to " offend his conscience: saying, if his conscience might be " instructed to the contrary, he would not thus molest the " council with his refusal." Which his saying, considered by the council, moved them to shew thus much favour unto him; that they willed him to resort unto the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Ely or London, and confer with them in the matter, so as he might be instructed by them to accept the just command of the King's Majesty with a safe conscience. And for his second answer, day was given him until the 4th of this month: at which day he was commanded to return again.

Before the council again.

December 4. This day the Bishop of Chichester came before the council; and was demanded, Whether he had been with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the other Bishops, according to former order given him; who answered, "That he was one afternoon at Lambeth, to have " waited on the Archbishop; but he was answered, that he " was at the court: and upon a demand what time his 229 " Grace would come home, one of the chamberlains," as he saith, "answered, That he doubted it would be late ere

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"his Grace come home, because he so used. Therefore "he tarried not. And to any other Bishops he made no "repair:" saying further, "he had not been well in health; "for the which cause he took some physic yesterday." The Archbishop thereunto said, that the same afternoon that the Bishop of Chichester had been there, he came home very early on purpose to have conferred with the said Bishop: for the which cause he had leave of the King's Majesty to depart the same day home sooner than for other business he might conveniently. To the matter he was asked, What mind he was of touching the executing the King's command; and what he could say why the same should not be obeyed? who answered as he did before, "That his conscience would not permit him to do the "same; for that the same was against the Scripture and the "doctors." And being asked of the first, he alleged a place in the last to the Hebrews, mentioning the word ALTAR: which place, being considered, was manifestly by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Ely declared to be meant of Christ: as by the very context of the same most manifestly appeared to every reader. Next to this he alleged the former place of Esay, which also was most evident to be meant otherwise than he alleged, and so proved. As to the use of the primitive church, besides the texts of the New Testament, it was most clearly by Origen contra Celsum proved, that in his time christen men had no altars, by direct negative propositions. Besides this, the abuse of the altars was shewed unto him, and reasons declared how necessary it was to reform the same. Touching the naming the table an altar, it was left indifferent to him, because ancient writers sometimes call the table an altar. But yet, notwithstanding that his own reasons were fully solved, and divers good and weighty reasons made, he persevered in the pertinacy of his own singular opinion. Whereupon the council, rehearsing to him the evil that should come of this his disobedience if he should be suffered, commanded him, in the King's Majesty's name, upon his allegiance expressly to become an obedient subject, and so to execute the King's commandment. And for that it should appear to him that there was as

Heb. xiii. 10.

much favour meant as might be, not offending the King's Majesty, in his Majesty's behalf they would be so bold as to appoint him Sunday next to make his final answer; and in the mean time he might advise himself, and weigh the cause as it ought to be. And so the day was given him.

Before the council the third time.

December 7, the Bishop of Chichester again appeared before the council; and being asked touching the execution of his Majesty's commandment in the letter, he answered plainly, "He could not do it, saving his conscience: for the "altars seemed to him a thing anciently established by the "agreement of the holy fathers, and confirmed by ancient "doctors, with the custom also of a number of years, and, "as he thought, according to the Scriptures. Wherefore "he could not in conscience consent to the abolishing of "them, and determined rather to lose all that ever he had, 230 "than to condemn his own conscience; with many other "circumstances to that effect." Finally, the matter being well debated, it was thought good yet to give him two days respite further to be advised, in hope he might reconcile himself: which if he did not upon his next answer, appointed to be upon Tuesday next, the council agreed to proceed ordinarily against him, as against a contemptuous person, by way of sequestration.

And the fourth time, when he was sent to the Fleet.

December 9. This day the Bishop of Chichester appeared before the council: and being demanded whether he would obey the King's commandment in pulling down the altars, as is before rehearsed; he answered, "That he thanked "both the King's Highness, and his council, of their great "clemency used towards him: but he said he could not by "any means persuade himself to do that thing that was "against his conscience. Wherefore he prayed them to do "with him what they thought requisite; for he would "never obey to do the thing that his conscience would not "bear." Whereupon for his contempt he was, by the order of the whole council, committed to ward in the Fleet, till further order should be taken for him.

Commissioners appointed for Worcester and Chichester.

We hear no more of him and his fellow, the Bishop of Worcester, till nine months hence. And so we leave them both in the Fleet till September 27, 1551. When we find Sir Roger Cholmely, Kt. Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Sir Richard Read, Richard Goodrick, John Gosnold, John Oliver, and Richard Ryel, being commissioners appointed by the King's Majesty for the proceedings in the causes laid against these two bishops, were commanded, by letter from the council, to call the said Bishops before them at Whitehall; and beginning with the Bishop of Worcester's cause, to proceed also with Chichester: so as the judgment of the one might succeed the other, without any delay of time more than needed. And when the acts of the council proceeded in those causes should be requisite, the same, upon knowledge given thither, should be sent them: and in the mean time to use for their instruction the acts that were passed upon Worcester's cause, and those that Mr. Read had already concerning Chichester; with admonition, seeing their contempts so evident, not to give them any long delay, by granting any learned counsel, or otherwise by such pretexts.

They are deprived.

September 28, the council sent a letter to the Lord Chancellor, with the commission directed to the above-named persons, for the examination and determining of the Bishops of Worcester and Chichester's causes: praying him to send the same to such of the council as are at or near London, whose hands be not thereto, that they might sign it; and then to seal it, and send it with a letter from the said Lords, enclosed within his, to the said commissioners. According to these orders, within less than a month, these two Bishops were at last deprived, after the expectation of their compliances a long while.

And October 24, 1551, the council sent a letter to the Chancellor of the Augmentations, to take immediate order for seizure in the King's Majesty's hands of the temporal-
231 ties of their bishopricks, lately given to his Highness by the judgment passed by the commissioners, appointed for the hearing of those Bishops' causes.

Placed, the one with the Lord Chancellor, the other with the Bishop of London.

These Bishops remained prisoners in the Fleet, after their deprivation, till the next summer: when, as it seems, for their healths-sake, they desired to be removed to some place of better air, and more liberty. Whereupon, June 15, 1552, Dr. Day was sent to the Bishop of Ely, Lord Chancellor, and Dr. Hethe to the Bishop of London, by the appointment of his Majesty. And they were directed to use them as to Christian charity should be most seemly. At whose hands the King doubted not but they should receive such Christian advice, as would tend to the glory of God. July 17, upon the motion of the Bishop of London, the Lords of the council were content that he should send Dr. Hethe unto the Bishop's own house at London [from Fulham] to recover his health, and then to have him again. So far more kindly were these Popish bishops dealt withal in this reign, than the Protestant bishops were in the next. Hoper, Bishop of Glocester, succeeded in the see of Worcester; and Scory, Bishop of Rochester, in that of Chichester.

I will here crave the reader's leave to insert two or three words concerning Bishop Day; thereby to judge the better of him.

Day writes to King's college for leaving off masses.

About the year 1547, saying of masses was laid aside in King's college in Cambridge, the members of which college generally favoured the Gospel. Day, the Provost thereof, (which place he held *in commendam* with his bishoprick,) hearing of this, wrote an angry letter to the Vice-Provost, and in him to the whole college, for divers things which they had done relating to reformation; and particularly for leaving off saying masses. In which, he said, "They de-"parted from the institution of the house, and that they "did it rashly, and besides the law: there being as yet no "law for so doing. He charged them with the breach of "statute; and so would involve them in the sin of perjury. "And whereas in their public disputations they gave ques-"tions against popish doctrines, he charged them with dis-"puting wickedly and turbulently, to the wounding of tender "consciences, and the infamy of the house. And finally, "required that things should be put in the same posture they "were before." To which the college, by Dr. Haddon's elegant pen, wrote an answer: "That as to their abolishing "masses, they said, they were private masses; and the "statutes of the college did seem to enjoin only masses, "wherein was a communion of the body and blood of "Christ. That that was not perjury, when, by the com-"mon consent of the college, some minuter matters of the "statutes were changed. That had he himself been there,

Haddoni Ep. p. 169.

BOOK II.

Anno 1550.

"he would have done as they did, considering the reports "that came from the court, brought by witnesses worthy "of credit. And that as for their disputations they urged, "that it was free for them to dispute matters controverted, "for better inquiry into the truth: and that it was done "with lenity, without any perverseness of speech."

His unnatural carriage towards his brother.

He had a younger brother named William, (who was above forty years after Bishop of Winton.) This man was a scholar of the college while his brother was Provost and 232 Bishop: to whom he sent once a request, to supply him with a little money to buy him some books and other necessaries he stood in need of at that time. His brother answered him, knowing him to be well affected to the Gospel, "That for his part he held it not fit to relieve those that "were not of the true church, and therefore he would not "in any wise relieve him." Thus had his religion destroyed in him the very principles of nature.

Hatcher's MS. Catal. of Provosts, &c. of King's Coll.

Preaches against transubstantiation.

This Bishop had been a vehement asserter of transubstantiation: yet in April 1550 he preached against it at Westminster; which King Edward thought fit to take notice of in his Journal: and he complied, and went along with all the steps of the reformation till the declining of this year 1550; when the matter of taking down altars was set on foot. For then it seems either there was a prospect that the reformation, carrying on, would have a stop, or it was secretly agreed, among the popishly affected, now to fall off.

His change charged on him.

In Queen Mary's days he was a mighty busy man, and one of the commissioners for the examination and condemning to death the professors of religion. When in conference with Bradford, that holy man had charged him for departing from the reformed church, as it was in King Edward's days; he told him, "That he was but a young man, (and "yet in the first year of that King he was five or six and "forty years of age;) and that, coming from the university, "he went with the world: but it was always against his "conscience." He could, it seems, dispense with his conscience upon occasion: and yet what a man of conscience was he when altars were to be pulled down! He sat a commissioner upon Hoper, together with Winchester, London, Durham, and Landaff: and however gently he had been used in his trouble, that was forgot; and he treated that reverend man most rudely, undecently falling upon him with foul words, and with a scornful countenance calling him *Hypocrite*.

CHAP. XX.

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CHAP. XXI.

Papists grow bold. Loose Professors restrained.

The Papists write libels.

THUS indeed, when the Papists found they could not prevail by outward force, which they had tried to the utmost the last year, they now used other arts. One among the rest was to libel the government, and disperse scurrilous rhymes and ballads upon the preachers. One of these was this year fastened upon the pulpit of some eminent church; probably of St. Paul's: which nevertheless soon had an answer to it. And not long after a more witty ballad was put abroad, glancing, as it seems, at the Archbishop, upon occasion of the liberty of reading the Bible, and of the English service, and the publishing the Homily-book, and other good books: whipping the government under the person of one John No-body, because that, notwithstanding all these religious pretences, there was so much sin, lechery, adultery, bribery, and want of charity. A taste of this their poetry 233 I have put into the Appendix: because some probably may be so curious as to peruse the fancy of that age.

No. XLIX.

Several Papists now taken up.

The Papists were at this juncture very bold, whether it were that they had taken up a conceit that the old religion would be again restored upon the disgrace of the Duke of Somerset, or upon some other reasons. To stay these men, the council, as they had proceeded before against some popish bishops, so they thought fit to use some rigours towards others, noted to be the forwardest men. One of these was Dr. Chedsey, who was one of the disputants against Peter Martyr, the King's professor. He took now upon him to preach openly at Oxford against the steps of the reformation that were made, and making. Wherefore, March 16, he was committed to the Marshalsea for seditious preaching:

Council-Book.

Chedsey.

where he lay till November the 11th, 1551: and then he was ordered to be brought to the Bishop of Ely's, where he enjoyed his table, and an easier restraint. March 19, Serjeant Morgan was committed to the Fleet for hearing mass in the Lady Mary's chapel. March 22, Sir Anthony Brown was committed to the Fleet for the same offence. And three days after, *viz.* March 25, Mr. White, Warden of Winchester, appeared before the council, and confessed that he had divers books and letters from beyond sea, and namely, from one Martyn, a scholar there, who opposed the King's Majesty's proceedings utterly. And it being manifest that he had consented to things of that sort in such wise, that greater practices were thought to be in him that ways, he was committed to the Tower: where lying for some months, he shewed better conformity in matters of religion. So that in June 14, 1551, the council wrote a letter to the Archbishop, that he should send to the Lieutenant of the Tower for Mr. White to be brought to him, and with him to remain, till such time as he should reclaim him. Which being done, he was to be sent back again to the Tower, until the King's Majesty's further pleasure upon his Lordship's certificate of his proceedings with him. This White, however he complied now, was in Queen Mary's reign made Bishop successively of Lincoln and Winchester, and preached that Queen's funeral sermon: and was deprived by the next Queen for refusing conformity to the religion then established.

Morgan.

Brown.

White.

Other professors restrained.

And while the Papists on one hand were so busy in promoting their ends, there were a looser sort of professors of religion disgraced the reformation on the other. For some there were that took the liberty of meeting together in certain places, and there to propound odd questions, and vent dangerous doctrines and opinions. Of these also the council having notice, they thought it very fit to discountenance and restrain them. January 27, a number of persons, a sort of Anabaptists, about sixty, met in a house on a Sunday, in the parish of Bocking in Essex; where arose among them a great dispute, "Whether it were necessary to stand or "kneel, barehead or covered, at prayers? and they con-"cluded the ceremony not to be material; but that the "heart before God was required, and nothing else." Such

Anno 1550.

other-like warm disputes there were about Scripture. There were likewise such assemblies now in Kent. These were looked upon as dangerous to church and state: and two of the company were therefore taken and committed to the Marshalsea; and orders were sent to apprehend the rest, *viz.* to Sir George Norton, Sheriff of Essex, to apprehend and send up to the council those persons that were assembled for Scripture-matters in Bocking: nine of them were named, being cowherds, clothiers, and such-like mean people. The like order was sent to Sir Edward Wotton, and to Sir Thomas Wyat, to apprehend others of them, seven whereof are named, living in Kent. February 3, those that were apprehended for the meeting at Bocking appeared before the council, and confessed the cause of their assembly to be, "For to talk of the Scriptures; that they had refused the "communion for above two years, and that, as was judged, "upon very superstitious and erroneous purposes: with "divers other evil opinions, worthy of great punishment." Whereupon five of them were committed: and seven of them were bound in recognizance to the King in forty pound each man. The condition, to appear when they should be called upon, and to resort to their ordinaries for resolution of their opinions, in case they had any doubt in religion. 234

CHAP. XXII.

Foreigners allowed churches. A Lasco.

The Archbishop's care of the souls of strangers residing here.

WE shall now shew a remarkable instance of the Archbishop's episcopal piety, in the care he took of the souls of foreigners, as well as of the native English. For in King Edward's reign there were great numbers of strangers in the realm; French, Dutch, Italians, Spaniards, who abode here upon divers occasions: some for trade and commerce, and some, no doubt, to be secret spies, and promoters of the Pope's affairs, and to hinder the propagation of the religion: but the most were such as fled over hither to escape

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the persecutions that were in those times very violently set on foot in their respective countries, and to enjoy the liberty of their consciences, and the free profession of their religion. Our Prelate had a chief hand in forming these strangers into distinct congregations for the worship of God, and in procuring them convenient churches to meet in, and setting preachers of their own over them, to instruct them in the true religion: Cecyl and Cheke joining with him in this pious design, and furthering it at court with the King and Duke of Somerset. And this they did both out of Christian charity, and Christian policy too; this being a probable means to disperse the reformed religion into foreign parts: that when any of these strangers, or their children, should return into their own country, they might carry the tincture of religion along with them, and sow the seeds of it in the hearts of their countrymen.

The Dutch congregation begun under John a Lasco.

This year the German or Dutch congregation began under Johannes a Lasco, a nobleman of Poland, styled their Superintendent: and this by the favour and influence of our Archbishop, who had entertained him in his family with respect 235 due to his quality and great piety. This person had forsaken his country and honours for the sake of the Gospel, and became a preacher to a protestant congregation at Embden in East Friezland. But seeing all things look black and stormy round about him, and tending to a persecution, he took an opportunity to embark for England: where, being a person not only of honour, but of great learning and piety, and withal an exile for the sake of Christ, and voluntarily taking up the ministry out of zeal to promote the Gospel, he met with a very honourable and friendly reception; and soon became acquainted with many eminent persons here: as with Dr. Turner, the Duke of Somerset's physician, and Dean of Wells; Sir John Cheke, Sir William Cecyl, and our Archbishop; and, by their means, with the Duke of Somerset himself. His chief business here seemed to be, to make some provision for himself and his congregation, in case of persecution. For this purpose he got a conference with the said Duke, a way, as it seems, being made thereunto by the Archbishop; requesting that he and his congregation might have leave to transplant themselves to Lon-

The occasion of his coming into England.

His business here.

Anno 1550.

don, that they might have a church here, and certain privileges likewise: moving the Protector thereunto by arguments as well taken from charity as policy, namely, that hereby a trade and gainful manufacture would be introduced into England. He desired therefore that they might be incorporated by the King's letters patents, and that some old dissolved church or monastery might be granted to them, to worship and serve God in. When he had done this, he desired a certain Italian friend of his to acquaint Cecyl with the sum of his discourse with the Protector: and so, taking an opportunity on a sudden of passing again to Embden along with some ambassador, that was going into those parts, he took his leave of England; leaving the Archbishop and Cecyl to second his business with the Duke as occasion should serve. Being at Yarmouth, before his going abroad, he wrote to Cecyl his full mind, in case he and his congregation should be driven away. He desired him, "that if he "should understand any thing concerning his call into Eng-"land, or would be informed by him of any other matters, "that he would convey his letters unto one Robert Legat, "an Englishman, living at Embden, who would communi-"cate them unto him."

From Embden he wrote to the Archbishop; and to Cecyl.

Being arrived at Embden, he writ to the Archbishop, relating all passages that he knew concerning the state of affairs, and particularly of religion in those parts: desiring him to impart them to the Protector. He writ also unto Cecyl, his letter bearing date in April 1549, referring him to the Protector's letters: and withal acquainting him in what a ticklish and dangerous condition they were. "That they "certainly expected the cross: that they did mutually ex-"hort one another to bear it, with invocation upon God's "holy name; that by patience and faith they might over-"come all whatsoever God should permit to be done against "them, to the glory of his name, or for their trial. They "were sure he had a care of them, and that he was so "powerful, that he could in a moment, by a word of his 236 "mouth, dash in pieces all the forces of their enemies, "whatsoever they were. And that he was so good, that he "would not suffer so much as an hair, without cause, to fall "from their head, although the whole world should make

The sad condition of the Protestants there.

Anno 1550. "an assault upon them. And that he could no more wish "them harm, than a mother could her own infant, or any "one the apple of his own eye; yea, no more than he himself could not be God. Who was to be praised in all "things whatsoever happened to them, since he permitted "nothing to fall out to them, but for their good; and so, "for their welfare. And that therefore they committed "themselves wholly to him, and did expect with all toleration whatsoever he should allow to be done to them." In this pious manner did A Lasco write to Cecyl; and no doubt in the same tenour to the Archbishop. This made a very great impression upon the godly hearts of them both, and caused them vigorously to use their interest with the Protector to provide a safe retreat for him and his congregation: which was obtained for them soon after. His whole letter, in a handsome Latin style, as some memorial of him, I have reposited in the Appendix. Num. L.

Latimer mentions A Lasco to the King.

Latimer also made way for his reception: who, in one of his sermons before King Edward, made honourable mention of him; using an argument proper for that audience, namely, how much it would tend to the bringing down God's blessing on the realm, to receive him, and such pious exiles as he. "John a Lasco was here a great learned man, and, as "they say, a nobleman in his country; and is gone his way "again. If it be for lack of entertainment, the more pity. "I could wish such men as he to be in the realm: for the "realm should prosper in receiving them. *He that receiveth "you receiveth me,* said Christ. And it should be for the "King's honour to receive them, and keep them."

Third sermon before the King, anno 1549.

Contest amongst A Lasco's people. MSS. of Benet College.

It was but a little after the King had received this congregation of foreigners into England, and had granted them a church, *viz.* St. Augustin's, but great contest happened among them about their church, yielded them for their religious worship. This P. Martyr took notice of with grief to Bucer: and addeth, "that their minds were so implacable to one another, that the difference was fain to be "referred to the privy council to make an end of." But not to leave our Superintendent yet.

The care of A Lasco over his

A Lasco with his strangers being settled at London, and incorporated by the King's patents, being their chief pastor, and a stirring man, was very industrious to procure and maintain the liberties and benefits of his church. The members thereof had planted themselves chiefly in St. Katharine's, and in great and little Southwark. Here they were now and then called upon by the church-wardens of their respective parishes to resort to their parish churches: though the ministers themselves did not appear in it. In the month of November, anno 1552, some of these strangers, inhabiting the parts of Southwark, were again troubled by their church-wardens, and threatened with imprisonment, unless they would come to church. Whereupon their superintendent A Lasco applied himself to the Lord Chancellor, who then was Goodrich, Bishop of Ely. 237 By the way one might inquire, why he resorted not rather to his friend and patron the Archbishop of Canterbury. But the reason may soon be guessed: namely, that after the fall of Somerset, the Archbishop's good friend, he came not so often to court, or transacted business there, unless sent for: knowing his interest likewise to be but little with the Duke of Northumberland, who now bare all the sway, and who had a jealous eye of him, as he had of all Somerset's friends. And so the Archbishop might have rather hindered than forwarded A Lasco's business, if he had appeared in it. But this *en passant*. The Chancellor gently received A Lasco, and, dismissing him, sent him to Secretary Cecyl with this message, to get him to propound the business the next day in the afternoon at the council-board, when himself should be there: promising him likewise, that he would be assistant to him in procuring him a warrant in writing to be directed to all ministers and church-wardens of the parishes of Southwark and St. Katharine's, that for the time to come the strangers of this congregation should receive no molestation in that regard any more. Accordingly A Lasco the next morning sent one of the elders of his church to Cecyl with his letter, excusing himself that he came not, being grievously afflicted with a pain in his head. Therein he acquainted him with the sum of his conference with the Lord Chancellor: adding, that the obtaining such a warrant would be necessary for them to produce and shew to such as at that present did annoy them, and to be hereafter kept

church, and its privileges.

Favourably received by the Lord Chancellor Goodrich.

Labours with the Secretary to procure letters from the council in behalf of his church.

Anno 1550. by the church; that they might not be forced at other times, upon the like occasions, to create new trouble to the King's council, or himself, in suing for new warrants of that nature. Meaning hereby to put the Secretary upon drawing this up the more formally and substantially. And so, entreating him to hear what the elder had to say, and to dispatch him, he took his leave. This letter also is inserted in the Appendix. Num. LI.

The extent of his superintendency.

The superintendency of A Lasco seemed to extend not only to this particular congregation of Germans, but over all the other churches of foreigners set up in London, as also over their schools of learning and education. They were all subject to his inspection, and within his jurisdiction. And Melancthon, in an epistle to him in the month of September, 1551, speaks of the purity of doctrine "in his "churches." His condition now, as to worldly circumstances, began to be so good, that he was able to relieve and succour such learned foreigners as should retire hither. For when one Nicolas Forst, a learned and grave man, who had lived long in the university of Lovain, and had spent some time with Melancthon, was minded, for the sake of religion, to convey himself into England; he recommended him earnestly to the Superintendent, as a person fit to teach in his churches and schools: and that he would friendly entertain him as an exile for the same cause himself was, and find him some little nest to remain in. Nay, and the said Melancthon himself had some thoughts of sheltering himself under A Lasco here, as appears by the forementioned letter, wherein he styles him his Patron. For the superscription of his letter is thus, *Illustri, Magnifico, ac Reverendo Viro,* 238 *Nobilitate generis, Virtute et Sapientia præstanti Dn. Johanni a Lasco, Patrono suo colendo.* So much of deference and honour did learned and pious men then use to give him. In this letter Melancthon told him, that the calamities of the churches were great, and that he himself expected banishment, and might probably in a short time arrive where he was. And in respect of his hospitable reception of strangers, he told him, that he believed he did often remember that saying of the exiled Queen,

Melancthon's Epistles, printed at Leyden, 1647.

Melancthon thought to shelter himself under him.

Non ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco.

Anno 1550.

His great abilities for government.

Nor was A Lasco any ways unfurnished for this spiritual government, being a man of good learning, and of great piety, strictness, and gravity from his younger age: and of whom the great Erasmus himself acknowledged that he learned much. For in his epistle to Johannes a Lasco, the Archbishop of Gnesne, who was namesake and uncle to our Superintendent, he speaks thus of his nephew; "That he "was but young, yet grave beyond his years; and that he "himself accounted it none of the least parts of his happi-"ness, that he happened to have his converse and society for "some months:" praising the endowments that God had given him; and particularly, concerning the benefits he received by him, he could not but confess, *Senex juvenis convictu factus sum melior, ac sobrietatem, temperantiam, verecundiam, linguæ moderationem, modestiam, pudicitiam, integritatem, quam juvenis a sene discere debuerat, a juvene senex didici.* "That by the conversation of that young man, he, "an old man, became better: and that sobriety, temperance, "awfulness, government of the tongue, modesty, chastity, "integrity, which the young ought to learn of the old, he, "an old man, had learned of a young." This he wrote in August 1527, soon after A Lasco was gone from him. And in June the same year, while he resided with him, in another letter to Leonard Cox, a learned Englishman, he signified the great complacency he took in his company. *Johannis a Lasco tale sum expertus ingenium, ut vel hoc uno amico mihi videar satis beatus.* "That he had found A Lasco's "parts to be such, that he seemed happy enough in his "single friendship."

Erasmus's praise of him. Ep. 3. Lib. 28.

Lib. 19. Ep. 15.

Purchased Erasmus's library.

And this good understanding continued between them as long as Erasmus lived. For A Lasco seems to have been with him in his last sickness; when, as the last token of Erasmus's esteem of him, he made a purchase to him of his own library, (that incomparable treasure,) if we may believe the author of his life in English.

Abel Rediviv.

A Lasco a married man.

A Lasco thought not the clergy obliged to celibacy, or single life: for he himself was a married man. Who his wife was, I know not; but as for her qualities, she was in all probability a pious and discreet woman, whereby she gained a great share in his affections. He styled her "the

Anno 1550. "other part of himself." But in August 1552, God deprived him of her. Which stroke put him for some time under much sadness and indisposition both of mind and body, as appears by one of his letters.

His influence in the reformation under Queen Elizabeth.

He was alive at the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the English throne: and though he came not back then to England again, whence he departed upon King Edward's death, yet, according to that great interest he had here 239 with the most eminent persons, and even the Queen herself, he neglected not by his letters to promote the reformation, and to give his grave counsel in order thereunto. And Zanchy, public professor at Stratsburgh, knowing the sway he bare here, in a letter to him in the year 1558, or 59, excited him in these words; *Non dubito, quin T. P. jamdudum scripserit ad reginam, eique consuluerit quæ pro illius regni conservatione, et regni Christi instauratione facienda judicarit, &c.* "That he doubted not "he had before now written to the Queen, and given her "his advice, what he judged fit to be done for the pre"servation of her kingdom, and for the restoring of the "kingdom of Christ. Yet he would not omit to pray him "to do it again and again by his repeated letters. For "I know," said he, "how great your authority is with the "English, and with the Queen herself. Now certainly is "the time that you, and such as you be, should by your "counsels help so pious a Queen, and consult for the "safety of so great a kingdom, yea, and succour the "whole Christian church, every where afflicted and vexed. "For we know that if Christ's kingdom be happily intro"duced into the kingdom of England, no small aid will "thence come to all the other churches dispersed through "Germany, Poland, and other countries."

Blamed for meddling in our controversies.

There is one thing that is wont to be urged against him, and which makes him to this day to be somewhat ill thought of; which was, that he opposed himself so openly, by writing against the habits prescribed the clergy, and the posture of kneeling at the reception of the holy sacrament: whereby he incurred the censure of a meddling temper, and of ingratitude to that nation that so kindly had entertained him. Concerning the habits, Bucer and he had some controversy. The sum of which, on both parts, Archbishop Parker drew up (upon the desire, I suppose, of Sir William Cecyl) about the year 1565, when that controversy was hotly renewed again by Humfrey and Sampson. This sum whosoever is minded to see, may probably hereafter find it in the memorials of that Archbishop, if God grant life and opportunity to me to write them.

Anno 1550.

A church of Italians constituted in London.

About this time, *viz.* in the year 1550, or 1551, there was also a church of Italians constituted in London, by the influence and care of our Archbishop and Sir William Cecyl, under A Lasco's superintendency. This church consisted of divers Italian nations, as Florentines, Genoezes, Milanois, Venetians, and others: though several of them joined themselves with this congregation more out of worldly ends than conscience, as will appear afterward. For they had a kindness for the mass, and could not endure to hear the Pope's supremacy called in question, and inveighed against. One Michael Angelo Florio, a Florentine by birth, was appointed their preacher; probably brother, or kinsman, unto Simon Florio, preacher at the city of Clavenna among the Rhætii, an eminent professor of the Gospel in those parts: who wrote a letter to Gratalorius, an Italian physician, concerning two whole towns in Calabria, utterly destroyed by reason of the rigor of persecution exercised there: and about eight hundred or a thousand of the inhabitants put to death, because they professed the Gospel. Which letter is extant in Fox, in his table of the Italian martyrs. 240

Michael Angelo their minister.

The service the Archbishop did for this church;

For the encouragement of this congregation, the Archbishop procured the members of it to be free denizens, to live and traffic here with as much freedom as natural English subjects: which they were admitted to by swearing fidelity and allegiance. For their more easy and convenient dwelling here, they often petitioned the King for new privileges and immunities, as they saw they needed them: and such favour and countenance was shewn them, that they seldom failed of their suits. The Archbishop also, that their preacher might be provided for, dealt with the congregation, and made them oblige themselves to provide him with all necessaries; as a dwelling, and a

and for the minister.

competent yearly salary. In the year 1552, Michael Angelo sued again to our Archbishop for some favour to be obtained from the King; whether it were for the better establishment of his church, or for some further immunities to be granted to the members thereof, it doth not appear. But this the most reverend man readily furthered, by writing in that behalf to the Duke of Northumberland from his house at Ford, near Canterbury, the Duke being, I suppose, with the King in progress at this time. He likewise dispatched another, dated November 20, the year abovesaid, to the Secretary, entreating him to forward that cause as much as lay in him.

Divers of this church fall out with their minister, and go to mass again.

But however serviceable this their minister had been unto these Italians, in preaching the Gospel to them, and soliciting the Archbishop for their benefit; yet many of them carried themselves but little obliging to him. Whether it were some misbehaviour or imprudences in him, which he was not altogether void of, or his too violent declaiming against the Pope and popish doctrines, which they were not yet enough ripened in evangelical knowledge to receive, or that he too roughly charged them with the hardness of their hearts, and backwardness to receive Gospel-truths, as he did use to do: but many of them wholly withdrew from him, and went to mass again. His contribution also fell very low, not having received above five pounds in a considerable time from them. Hereupon he resorted to the Secretary, "making heavy complaints "of his own poverty, that many of his people had forsaken "his assembly, spake very slanderously against him and "his ministry, and the Gospel which he preached, after "they saw and heard him in an open manner preaching "against the Pope's doctrines, his tyranny and hypocrisy, "and reproving them for their unbelief, and the hardness "of their hearts." The too much vehemency and passion of this man, and his neglect of informing the judgments of these Italians in milder and more leisurely methods, I suspect to have been a great cause of this apostasy.

A conjecture at the cause thereof.

Their minister sends their names to the Secretary, and accuses them.

But, upon this complaint, the Secretary bade the pastor send him a list of the names of those that had thus behaved themselves, and that he himself would call them

Anno 1550.

before him, and discourse with them. Accordingly he sent the names of fourteen in a letter to the said Secretary, withal aggravating to him their misbehaviour, and informing of their daily going to mass: and adding, that therefore they, being free denizens, and so subjects to the English laws, ought to be punished as any Englishman 241 would be, if he heard mass. He quoted a place or two in Deuteronomy, where those that rebelled against God, the laws, and the judges, should be slain without mercy. He subjoined, that Elisha, by God's command, anointed Jehu to be King for this very purpose, that he should wholly root out the house of Ahab, and kill all the priests of Baal: and thence makes his uncharitable conclusion, (more agreeable to the religion that he was so hot against,) that therefore these Italians should be so served, since they opposed the Gospel, and the King's pious proceedings. But it might make one apt not to think over-favourably of this man; a pastor, thus to turn accuser of his flock; a professor of the reformed religion to require the utmost rigor of punishment for differing in religion.

The morals of this man tainted.

I also find the morals of this man tainted, having once made a very foul slip, being guilty of an act of uncleanness: for which Sir William Cecyl, Secretary of State, who had been his good friend, was exceedingly displeased with him, and withdrew all favour and countenance from him, calling him *wicked man*, and intending to inflict some severe punishment upon him; which seemed to be banishment out of the nation, or at least turning him out of his family, where he seems to have been entertained. Angelo wrote him a very penitent letter, minding him of the frailty of human nature, and of the mercy of God to Moses, Aaron, David, Jonas, Peter, after their falls: and that if he were forced to depart the kingdom, he must either be compelled to renounce the truth of the Gospel, or have his blood shed by the enemies thereof. This was, as I suppose, in the year 1551. In fine, he got over this brunt, and recovered mild Cecyl's favour: for I find, a year after, our Archbishop wrote to him to further a certain business of Michael Angelo at court, as much as he could.

Writes a penitent letter to the Secretary.

This is all I have to say of that Italian congregation, and the minister thereof. For further memory of which, I have added in the Appendix two letters of this Michael Angelo to Secretary Cecyl, whence many of the matters, next above mentioned, were collected. Num. LII. LIII.

A French church also in London.

As there was thus a German and Italian church in London, so also there was a third of Frenchmen, under A Lasco's superintendency. One member of which, a very honest man, and of sound religion, by the general testimony of that church, had desired to set up a printing-house for his livelihood, chiefly for printing the Liturgy, and other books of the church of England, in French, for the use of the French islands under the English subjection. In whose behalf the Superintendent readily interceded by a letter with the Secretary to procure the King's letters patents, for his license and authority so to do. The issue of which will be seen in the progress of this history. The letter I have transcribed to accompany two others of A Lasco in the Appendix. No. LIV.

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CHAP. XXIII.

The Church at Glastenbury.

Another church of strangers at Glastenbury. Their trade weaving.

IN the same year, *viz.* 1550, another church of strangers, and they mostwhat French and Walloons, began to settle at Glastenbury in Somersetshire. They were weavers, and followed the manufacture of kersies, and cloth of that nature, as I conjecture. Their great patrons were the Duke of Somerset and Sir William Cecyl; I add, and our Archbishop, though I do not find his name mentioned in the papers I make use of, relating to this church: for there is no question but that his counsel and aid concurred in the settlement of this church, as well as those in London: and particularly as to the preacher; whom I suspect to have been one of those learned foreign divines whom he harboured in his own house. His name was Valerandus Pollanus, a man of great worth both for learning and integrity, who had the title of Superintendent of the strangers'

Valerandus Pollanus their preacher and superintendent.

church at Glastenbury, as John a Lasco had of that at London; given to each to fix a character of honour and esteem upon their persons, and perhaps to exempt them and their churches from the jurisdiction of the bishops of those respective dioceses. This Pollanus turned into Latin, and printed, the disputations held in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign between the Protestants and Papists at the convocation, anno 1553. If any desire to know the particular state and condition of the establishment of these strangers, as to their trade, it stood thus.

How they came to fix here.

Pollanus, in behalf of the rest, had preferred a petition to the Duke of Somerset, and the rest of the lords of the council, to this effect; "That they might be permitted to "form themselves into a church for the free exercise of "religion, and to follow peaceably their calling of weaving; "declaring, as an argument to persuade them to allow "the same, the considerable benefit that would accrue "thence to the realm: and that for shops and working-"houses, and for reception of them and their families, "they might enjoy some old dissolved religious house." Their petition was condescended to: and the Duke, being a great cherisher of those of the religion, resolved to be their patron, and to take the managing of this whole cause upon himself. The Duke, in the month of June this year, had made an exchange of certain lands with the King, and that probably for the better accommodating of these strangers. He had parted with the castle and lordship of Sleford, and other lands and tenements in the county of Lincoln, to the King: and the King had granted him, in lieu thereof, all and singular his messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, with their appurtenances, in the town of Glastenbury, (namely, what had belonged to the abbey,) and other lands and tenements in Kingston upon Hull, to the value of 214l. 14s. 5d. obq. as I find in a manuscript book, mentioning the several sales that King made. Having obtained such conveniences in Glastenbury, he resolved to plant this manufacture here; which he thought would tend so much to the benefit of the country, 243 himself, and these poor strangers too. Conditions were mutually entered into.

Anno 1550.

Conditions of trade between Somerset and them.

The conditions on Somerset's part were, "That he should "provide them houses convenient for their occupations, "and to contain themselves and families: that five acres of "pasture land, or as much as would serve for the feeding of "two cows throughout the year, should be allotted to each "of them: and until land were so allotted, they should "enjoy the park in common for the said use, with some "part also of the gardens. They were also to be supplied "with monies from the Duke to buy wool, and defray "other charges necessary to set them on work. They were "also empowered to employ both English men and women, "as they should have occasion, in spinning, and other "works belonging to their trade." And so accordingly they went down to Glastenbury, and fell to work.

Their trade obstructed by the troubles of Somerset.

But upon the troubles and fall of Somerset, which happened about fourteen or fifteen months after, their affairs were much obstructed. His servants neglected to furnish them with money according to contract: nor was he at leisure now to regard them. The people, among whom they lived, took this opportunity to express what little kindness they had for them: it being the temper of the common sort to be jealous of strangers, and rude to them. So that they were not without their discontents and discouragements: for they wanted those conveniences of room for work-houses and habitations, that were promised them. They ran in debt, and were forced to lay to pawn the clothes they had wove, to supply their wants. Cornish, one of the chief of their procurators, appointed to oversee them, and further their trade, proved very deceitful and false to them; who came to them, pretending letters from the council, and treating them at first with fair words, and after with threatenings: and so compelled them to deliver the clothes that they had made to him, though they had by mere necessity been forced before to pawn them. He had also, by his importunity and fraud, got the grant of the park from them, though he knew the Duke had fully purposed and intended it for their use, for the necessary maintenance of themselves and families.

Apply themselves again to the council,

Things being in this ill condition with them, and Somerset no longer able to befriend them, they were glad to apply again to those above. Pollanus therefore, in their behalf, petitioned the lords of the council to take their declining state into their consideration, and to carry on that good work the Duke of Somerset had begun. He did also ply the Secretary to further their petition, (who was indeed of his own accord their most hearty friend;) and laboured particularly with all earnestness imaginable, both by word of mouth, and by divers letters, to get the factory discharged of Cornish, urging that the weavers had never found the least grain of integrity, justice, or candour in him. This man was now very industrious and busy at court to get himself continued in his office: which the strangers understanding, were as diligent to get themselves delivered of him. The Superintendent had but a little before dispatched to the 244 Secretary one Peter Wolf, a good man, and a great sufferer, a Brabanter by nation, to relate the evil deeds of this man: and now again he dispatched Stephen Le Provost, a deacon of his church, with another message to the same import to the said Secretary. Telling him, "That those who were to "be set over others ought themselves in the first place to "be honest and just; but especially they ought to be so in "the highest degree that were to be placed over such good "men, and who were exiles only for the sake of Christ; "unless any could be willing that such upright men should "be undone, and that those very considerable advantages "that were likely to accrue to the commonwealth by them "should be diverted to some other place or country. That "they could not enough wonder with what forehead this "man should attempt this thing, after he had so plainly "betrayed his base treachery and ill-will towards them: "and could not but know, how very hardly they could "away with him, and who were going to sue to the "Duke for that which they now desired. That himself "was solicited by the prayers of those good men to write "this to him, that he would be their advocate with the "lords in this behalf."

And to the Secretary Cecyl.

The result was, that the lords consented to uphold and encourage them: and sent down their letters to the overseers of this manufacture, and to the chief officers of the town, Powis, one of the King's servants, and Hyet, the chief

The council become their patrons, and assist them.

magistrate, and others, to examine into the present state of these strangers, and to give them in writing an account thereof. These letters the Superintendent delivered to them; and one Clark, a justice of peace, was then present: who being a gentleman and a scholar, that understood both French and Latin, did, out of his good-will to them, interpret to the rest Pollanus's petition to the lords of the council, and the contents of their contract with the Duke of Somerset, and other matters relating to this business; that so they might be the better acquainted with their affairs, and it might appear there were no neglects or breaches of covenants on the strangers' parts. And so letters were dispatched back to the lords from the overseers, signifying how they had examined the affairs of these strangers, and had found all things fair and just on their side; mentioning likewise what considerable commodity they hoped for by them: and likewise from the chief of the town to the same import.

Orders from the lords to set this manufacture forwards.

Speedily upon this, orders came down from the lords to certain gentlemen of the town and neighbourhood, whereof one Dyer was one, a person of good religion, and their cordial friend, commissionating them to set this manufacture forward, and to take care the undertakers might be relieved in what they needed, according to their former contract with the Duke. So they obtained the use of the park for the running of threescore head of kine, till other pasture were provided them. Thirty houses were ordered to be forthwith repaired and fitted up for them: and money was paid sufficient for the clearing them of their debts. These gentlemen had also assigned them a stated provision
245 of money for the future, but it was too scanty; the allowance that they had proportioned them for two months would scarcely hold out for five weeks. Nor was any wool at all bought for their use, though their stock was almost at an end; and then their work must stand still for want thereof, having no money themselves to purchase more: and to take it up upon credit would enhance the price thereof. For one Crowch had demanded of them thirty-two shillings for wool, when they could buy it of their neighbours for four and twenty, had they money. Their only hope was in Dyer, who promised them wool at a far more reasonable rate, and

kindly offered them a long day of payment for it, without consideration for forbearance: their doubt only was, whether his wool was proper for their use. But the interest of Cornish was such, that he was continued by the lords in his office over these tradesmen, and enjoyed a part of the park to himself. These things were transacted in the month of November, anno 1551, which was the month after the Duke's commitment.

Pollanus very serviceable to them.

In all this affair Pollanus was very much employed, taking a great deal of pains in settling this trade: for he took many journeys between Glastenbury and the court, and was, as himself wrote, at incredible expences; and in fifteen months' space received not an halfpenny, though he had a large family to maintain. The office also of surveying the reparation of the houses lay upon him: and, fearing the lords of the council might be displeased at the greatness of the charge they had been at already in the repairs, and the little profit that as yet arose to quit the cost, he entreated the Secretary that he would bear up their reputation with the lords; telling him, "That he doubted not that the project would hereafter redound much to their own praise, "by reason of the very great emolument that all men "should perceive would come to the realm thereby within "three years, God prospering them, as he had begun to do. "And for himself, all he desired was, that for all his charge "and trouble he might obtain a stipend of fifty pounds "to be settled upon him." The letters of Valerandus Pollanus, being three in number, I have inserted in the Appendix.

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An apology for the largeness of the former relation.

I acknowledge, that many of these things I have related concerning this business, may seem too little and minute for an historian to take notice of. But I was loth any particulars of so remarkable a design should be lost, which in probability would have turned so much to the benefit of our nation. It being also an instance of the pious care and good policy that was then taken by the court for the relief and sustentation of poor fugitives, flying hither from their native country, friends, and livelihood, for Christ's sake; and yet that the public might be as little burdened by th e might be.

Anno 1550.

After the King's death they remove to Frankford.

Troubles at Frankford.

Queen Mary's access to the crown spoiled this good design. For all strangers being then commanded suddenly to depart the realm, this congregation accordingly brake up, and removed themselves to Frankford in Germany: where the magistrates kindly entertained them, and allowed them a church. And when afterwards, *viz.* 1554, divers of the English nation fled thither for their religion, the governors 246 of the town, upon their petition, received them also, and all other such English as should resort thither upon the same account; as many did. And two members of this French congregation, mindful undoubtedly of the former kindness themselves or their countrymen had received in England, assisted them much; namely, Morellio a minister, and Castalio an elder. The English here made use of the same church the French did; these one day, and the English another: and upon Sundays the use of it respectively, as themselves could agree.

Prove friends to the English exiles there.

And as there were settled here congregations of French, Italians, and Dutch strangers, so I am very apt to believe there was also a church of Spaniards too. Indeed I do not find express mention of any such till the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign; when Cassiodorus and Anthonius Corranus Hispalensis [of Sevil] (a member of the Italian congregation) were their preachers, of whom I shall have occasion to say something in my memorials of Archbishop Grindal. It is certain, that in Queen Mary's days many of those Spaniards, who came over in the retinue of Philip, the Spanish prince, or after, forsook popery, and became professors of the reformed religion: which one cannot well tell how it should come to pass, unless it were by the hearing of the Gospel preached in their own language here. And it is observable, that among these many had been sent for over, in that Queen's time, to convert our nation from heresy, as they termed it, and to reduce it to the Roman church. This notable success and power, which the clear evidence of truth had upon these men, was in those times taken much notice of, as it might well be. James Pilkington, the Master of St. John's College in Cambridge, and who was afterwards Bishop of Durham, makes a note of it to the university, in the sermon which he preached at the restitution of Bucer

A Spanish church.

Cassiodorus and Corranus their preachers.

Many of King Philip's Spaniards become Protestants.

and Fagius, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, after the barbarous indignities that had been offered them in the former Queen's reign, in raking their dead bodies out of their graves, and burning them. "It is much more "notable," said he, that we have seen to come to pass in "our days, that the Spaniards, sent for into the realm on "purpose to suppress the Gospel, as soon as they were "returned home, replenished many parts of their country "with the same truth of religion, to the which before they "were utter enemies."

Great numbers of Protestants in Spain and Italy.

Nay, and not long after this, such earnest professors of the true religion were found in Spain, that many of them endured the fiery trial, and offered up their bodies to the flames, for Christ's sake; and more were cast into prisons: and yet the Gospel got ground there to admiration; as Zanchy gave a relation thereof to A Lasco in one of his letters: wherein he spake of the great numbers of true professors in Italy also. The place being so much to our present purpose, I will take leave to lay before the reader. *In Calabriæ duobus castellis, &c.* "In two castles of Calabria, one belonging "to the Duke of Montalto, the other to a nobleman of "Naples, were found 4000 brethren, being the remainders "of those brethren called Waldenses. They were for many "years unknown, and lived safely in their ancestors' pos-"sessions. For though they approved not of masses, yet 247 "they thought the faithful might go to them with a safe "conscience. But being untaught this bad doctrine, they "did wholly and universally abstain going any more. And "so it came to pass, that they could not be concealed any "longer: therefore a persecution was raised up against "them. They writ to the brethren at Geneva to assist them "by their prayers, their counsel, and also by human aid. "We see also in Italy, where the seat of Antichrist is, "there is a great harvest; but very few to gather it. O "God, have mercy upon Italy. In Spain very many were "burnt, more cast into prison. Nevertheless, in the mean "time, the Gospel goes forward, as we hear, wonderfully." And in another letter he writes thus; "There is a very "great persecution in Italy, nor a less in Spain: a sign "there be many faithful there that dare confess Christ."

Zanchii. Ep. Lib. 2.

BOOK II.

Anno 1550.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Archbishop's Care of the Revenues of the Church. Bucer dies.

The Archbishop laboured to preserve the revenues of the church.

I RETURN now to our Prelate again, to take a further view of him, acting in his high function in the English church. It must not be omitted to be ranked among his good services towards it, that he did what in him lay to preserve the revenues of it in his time, when there were so many hungry courtiers gaping after them. These were again in a new danger after the Duke of Northumberland and his party had removed Somerset, and made themselves the great controllers of public affairs.

The detaining the church revenues a scandal to the reformation.

It was indeed the scandal of the reformation, that the demeans, that had been settled long before by our pious ancestors for the maintenance of God's ministers, as they had been formerly wrongfully appropriated to monasteries, and swallowed up by lazy monks, so they had not now recurred and been restored to their true owners; but became possessed by laymen: so that in many scores of parishes there remained not sufficient to buy bread for the incumbents and their families. And it was more than suspicious, that many patrons did render the condition of the church still worse in these days by retaining and reserving to themselves, whether by contract or power, the tithes of the benefices they presented to: and by these means pluralities and nonresidences, the old mischief of the church, were not redressed, but rather made necessary. This abuse grieved good men, and lovers of the reformation, both at home and abroad; because they saw how the preaching of the Gospel was obstructed hereby.

Calvin to the Archbishop upon this matter.

Concerning this, Bucer from Cambridge wrote privately to Calvin in the year 1550. And this made Calvin address a letter to our Archbishop, telling him, that, for the flourishing state of religion, he thought it highly needful to have fit pastors, that might seriously set themselves to

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And to the Duke of Somerset.

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perform the office of preaching. One great obstacle whereof he makes very truly to be, *Quod prædæ expositi sunt Ecclesiæ reditus;* “ That the rents of the church were “ exposed to be a prey:” which he calls *malum sane intolerabile.* And of the same thing, and not long after, *viz.* July 1551, he admonished the Duke of Somerset in a French letter, all of his own hand writing: which because of the antiquity of it, and the matter it treats of, referring to our church, and not being among his printed epistles, I have added in the Appendix. In which letter he excites the Duke to take care that there might be fit and able ministers fixed in parishes to teach the people: the want whereof he attributed to two causes. The one whereof he made to lie in the universities; and the other in the matter that we are speaking of. “ That the revenue of the “ cures was withdrawn and dispersed away: so that there “ was nothing to maintain good men, who were fit to “ perform the office of true pastors. And hence it came to “ pass, that ignorant priests were put in; which made “ great confusion: for the quality of the persons begat “ great contempt of God’s word. Advising the Duke to “ endeavour to bring those that had these spiritual pos“ sessions, to be willing to part with them: inasmuch as “ they could not prosper in defrauding God’s people of “ their spiritual food, which they did by hindering the “ churches of good pastors.”

Bucer publickly disputeth at Cambridge.

MSS. C.C.C.C.

Bucer, the King’s divinity professor at Cambridge, was this year engaged in a public disputation; as his colleague, Peter Martyr, the King’s professor at Oxon, had been there the last. Before this disputation happened, Bucer communicated his purpose to his said colleague and friend: who, having sufficient experience of the vainglorious ends of the Papists in these kinds of disputations, and of their unfair dealings, advised him in a letter not to engage in it, but to decline it. On which letter Archbishop Parker, into whose hands it fell, wrote this inscription; *Ad Bucerum, prudens Martyris consilium, ut non det se in disputatione cum gloriosulis Thrasonibus.* But it seems he was too far engaged to avoid it with reputation, nor

Anno 1550. thought he fit to do it for the vindication and sake of truth. The questions disputed of, and his antagonists, were before mentioned. It seems he came off with great credit; for his friend Martyr, in a letter to him, soon after it was over, professed a great deal of gladness that his disputations had that good success: and that it so well happened was by God's providence: which, he said, he could scarce have believed to have been a thing possible, without visitors, or other grave judges; since the Papists reckoned it enough for their business only to dispute, afterwards studiously dispersing their lies, to their own advantage, and the disparagement of those that disputed against them. And therefore, Martyr said, he wondered not that Christ in the beginning confirmed the disputations of his Apostles with miracles.

November 9, Bucer began a learned reading of the power and use of the ministry, but lived not to finish it; for Dieth. the latter end of this year put an end to this learned man's life: of whose counsel and advice our Archbishop made great use in the steps he made for reformation of religion. He made his will before he left Strasburgh: but the codicil to that will he added, February 22, a few days before his death. Wherein he left to his wife to take the advice of Mr. Bradford, and the minister of Alhallowes, for ordering of his burial, and constituted two eminent men 249 of that university his executors, namely, Dr. Matthew Parker, who was afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. Walter Haddon, after Master of Requests to Queen Elizabeth: and both of them adorned his funerals, the one with an English sermon before the university, and the other with a Latin oration, being university orator: both which are extant in print. He died but poor; and seemed to be in some want of necessaries in his last sickness: for there is a short letter, in a scrawling hand, which I have seen, wrote by him to the aforesaid Parker, then Master of Benet College, and his great friend, to lend him ten crowns: which because it was the last letter, I believe, he ever wrote, and but short, I shall here insert.

S. D. Oro D. T. Clarissime D. Doctor, ut des mihi X coronatos mutuo, uno tantum mense. Reddam bona fide. Opt. vale.

D. T. deditiss. in Dno.
Martinus Bucerus manu perægre propria.

Under which is writ by Dr. Parker, out of the honour he had for his memory, *Scriptum novissimum omnium quod scripsit D. Bucerus, paulo ante mortem ejus.*

The University wrote up concerning his death.

Bucer's friends, after they had taken care for giving him an honourable funeral, consulted the supply of his widow, Wibrand Bucerin; that she might be well gratified, and presented with some gratuities, that might shew the respect the nation had for her learned husband. So the University wrote a letter to the King and council concerning Bucer's death, and their respectful interment of him, with the signification of their desire, that his Majesty would send them another able professor in his room. With this university-letter, Dr. Parker wrote another to Sir John Cheke; entreating him to present their letter, and that he would particularly speak to the council, and to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to remember the widow. Sir John Cheke, March 9, wrote a letter in answer to Dr. Parker's; which I have placed in the Appendix. He therein lamented the loss of this man: commended him for his depth of knowledge, earnestness in religion, fatherliness in life, and authority in knowledge. He added, that the King would provide some grave learned man to maintain God's true learning in that university: though he thought in all points they would not meet with Bucer's like. He desired Parker, that all Bucer's books and writings might be sent up and saved for the King's Majesty, except Mrs. Bucer might turn them to better account some other way. No. LIX.

Bucer's library.

These books and papers were apprized at one hundred pounds. But she received but fourscore pounds of those that bought them. Which she desired Parker and Haddon, the executors here in England, to testify under their hands; that she might shew it to vindicate her truth and honesty, not to have wronged the heirs. The library was divided into three parts. The King had the manuscripts, which was one part;

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the Duchess [of Somerset, I suppose,] had the greater part of the books, and the Archbishop of Canterbury had the remainder: for which he, for his share, paid her forty pounds. The university gave her an hundred crowns: the King an 250 hundred marks more, besides her husband's half year's pension, though he died before Lady-day, when it came due. He also allowed for such reasonable repairs as Bucer had bestowed about the house wherein he lived. And, March 31, 1551, she had a passage by sea granted her with eight persons in her company. She returned unto Strasburgh, whither she retired, by Mr. Rich. Hills, merchant, the sum of two hundred twenty-six pounds two shillings. From Strasburgh, in February the next year, she wrote a letter to the executors, wherein she acknowledged their kindness to her, praying God for them, in respect of their singular humanity and benefits which they had shewed to her husband and herself, and especially when he was dead. *Miseram me*, said she in that letter, *omnique solatio destitutam non deseruistis, sed in vestram me tutelam benigne suscepistis; omnia denique Christianæ charitatis officia demonstrastis.* Bucer left a son named Nathaniel, and a daughter named Elizabeth, behind him, at Strasburgh, when he came into England: which, I suppose, were all the children he left surviving him, whom he had by a former wife that died of the plague there. By her he had many more, but they died before him.

His widow retires to Germany.

The correspondence between him and Martyr. MSS. C.C.C.C.

As long as Bucer lived, there was a dear correspondence between him and P. Martyr, while they were the one at Cambridge, and the other at Oxford. In the private library at Benet College there be still remaining divers letters from Martyr to him: one whereof was writ upon occasion of Bucer's communicating to him his judgment of the habits; which he had composed for the use of Hoper. Which letter began thus:

S. P. Perlegi, Vir Dei, quæ de vestium discrimine docte pieque scripsisti, ac ex illis non mediocrem voluptatem cepi, tum quia vera quæ prædicas intelligebam, tum quod per omnia consentiebant cum his, quæ ego Londinum ad Hopperum ipsum, pridie ejus diei, qua tuæ mihi redderentur miseram. So that hence it appears they were both unanimous for wearing of the habits enjoined; and so had given their judgments to Hoper. In the same letter he answered a case put to him by Bucer, *Quamdiu fidem in Christo generalem, confusam aut implicitam satisfuisse ad hominum salutem.* And the resolution of this question being the chief matter of this letter, Archbishop Parker (into whose hands it fell) entitled it thus,

Quamdiu Fides implicita licuerit.

And on the margent of the same letter, where he entered upon another argument, is written by the same hand,

De concordi confessione in re Sacramentaria.

For A Lasco had lately wrote to Martyr his desire, that some confession about the sacrament might be drawn up; to which he and Bucer, and Bernardin, and Martyr, might set their hands, to testify the foreign Protestants' consent.

Another letter, wrote by Martyr to Bucer, bore this title, set to it by the same hand with the former,

Quibus artibus instituerint Disputationem Theologicam in Comitiis Oxoniensibus.

And on the side of this letter,

Gaudet Disputationem non esse factam et Astutia Papistica in Disputatione.

In a third letter he gave Bucer advice, "that he should 251
"not engage in any disputation with the vainglorious "Papists."

There is yet a fourth letter: wherein Martyr communicated to him how he had been employed by the Archbishop of Canterbury in taking into examination the English book of Common Prayer, with his judgment thereon. This letter hath this title put to it by Parker,

Censura libri communium precum.

A plot of the Papist at Oxon against Martyr, at an Act.

The contents of the second and fourth letter, having some things very remarkable for the illustration of our history, I shall here set down more largely. In the former, having congratulated Bucer's coming off so well in his disputation with Young the Papist, he took notice of the unfair ways the Papists used in their disputes: and then proceeded to tell what happened to himself the last Act at Oxford this year, by a party there, that did what they could to affront him, and the evangelical truth which he taught. Certain that then went out bachelors of divinity, made this com-

Anno 1550. bination among themselves. One of them they set up to be respondent. The opponents, who were of the same strain, and the question to be disputed, they suppressed, and kept under great silence; on purpose that Peter Martyr, the King's Professor, should not know: and when some had urged to them, that it belonged to the Professor to know the question, they answered, that it did not; and that it was enough for them to know it that were to dispute on it. The day before the disputation was to be undertaken, about two of the clock in the afternoon, they set up the question upon the church-doors: and then it appeared to be in behalf of transubstantiation. And, to exclude the Professor, they chose to themselves a great Papist, Dr. Chedsey, for their father. And here the opponents were to have taken and managed all Martyr's arguments; and the respondent was to have assoiled them as he thought good. And then the opponents were to acknowledge, they were satisfied with the answers given thereunto. And their father, who was to occupy the Professor's place, was by a speech highly to approve and applaud all that had been done. And things were so to be ordered that day, that the Professor should not have any opportunity of speaking. For these disputations were to have been performed but a little before night, after the civilians had finished their parts; which used to be the last exercises. Or if, after this divinity-disputation were done, the Professor had been minded to say any thing, he must do it when it was night, and when the tired auditors would be all going home: and then these disputants and their party were every where to cry *Victory*, and carry away the glory. There was now observed a greater confluence of people at this Act, than could have been believed: for they had sent about their letters to invite such hither as were for their own turn: and all to increase the triumph. Among the rest there were present the chaplains of Winchester and Durham. But all this elaborate and fine-spun plot was by a providence broken on a sudden; the Vicechancellor,
252 whether he feared any riot, or for what other cause, it was uncertain, forbidding the divinity-disputations that day, without the privity of the Professor.

The matter of Martyr's other letter, wrote to Bucer in

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Martyr's judgment of the Communion-Book.

January, (as the former was in September before,) related to the Book of Common Prayer. For the correction of which the Archbishop, the Bishop of Ely, and the other bishops were, by the King's command, met together in consultation. And that this work might be the more effectually performed, the Archbishop thought good to have the judgment herein of both the public professors, Bucer and Martyr. Accordingly Bucer wrote his Censure, and Martyr his Annotations, as was said before: a copy of which Censure Bucer had communicated to Martyr: who in this letter declared his consent and approbation thereunto. As to his own annotations, Cheke's Latin version, which he used, was so brief and defective, that for that reason many things were omitted by him, which he would have noted, had he seen the book complete. But after he had sent in those his annotations to the Archbishop, who earnestly required them, he saw Bucer's Censure, whereby he perceived divers other things called for correction, than he had taken notice of. So he reduced whatsoever was wanting in his annotations into certain brief articles, and acquainted the Archbishop therewith; and that in them all he did freely agree with Bucer, that it were fit they should be altered. But Martyr's annotations did fully accord with Bucer's animadversions, though they were at a distance, and consulted not at all with one another before they wrote their judgments. But one thing was passed over by Bucer, which Martyr wondered at: it was in the office for the communion of the sick. Where it was ordered, "That if this private communion "happened to be on the same Sunday when there should "be a public one, then the priest was to take along with "him some of the consecrated elements, and with them to "administer the sacrament in the house of the sick. Where-"in this offended Martyr, as he said, that the office that "belonged to the communion should not be repeated before "the sick man, and the rest that communicated with him, "since the words of the supper do rather belong to the men, "than to the bread and wine. And his advice was, that all "that was necessarily required to the Lord's Supper should "be said and done whensoever it was privately, as well as "publicly, celebrated." He subscribed to Bucer's Censure in

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every thing; and he thanked God, that had administered an occasion, that the bishops should by them be admonished of those matters. So that it was concluded by the bishops, at their conference about the communion-book, that much should be changed therein, as the Archbishop told Martyr, then at his house: and if they would not do it, the King was resolved to do it by himself and his parliament, without hem. In this letter he speaks something concerning Hoper, whose behaviour he disliked; and concerning Dr. Smith, who had lately written against the Archbishop's book of the Sacrament, and against himself concerning monastic vows. Both these letters, as well worthy the sight and perusal of the reader, I have reposited in the Appendix.

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Bucer's great dangers.

Thus this reverend and learned foreigner, after many great difficulties passed through for the cause of religion, flying from one place to another, came at last to a natural death and a quiet end in this land. For his fame and wisdom he was called by the Electors Palatine and of Brandenburgh, with the Emperor's permission, to temper the Emperor's rescript about religion, which was to be published, that so it might please both parties. But he thought he could not do it with any honesty; and, rather than meddle with it, he fled to Strasburgh with his wife and children: hereby he fell under the displeasure of those Princes, as well as before he had done under that of the Emperor for the reformation of Colen; the envy of which Melancthon escaped, but it fell on poor Bucer. Being at Strasburgh, he also contracted much ill-will by means of the Anabaptists and others, whom he opposed, and who, by their pretended sanctimony, had a great party there. His friends apprehended him on these accounts in great danger; but he thought of no removal to any other place, patron, or church, trusting himself in God's hands, till Sturmius and some others advised him by all means to depart into England. Which he at length yielding to, the said Sturmius admonished him, for his safer travel, to take a more uncommon way, through Lorain and Rhemes, and some other parts of France, to Calais, and there to cross over the sea. Which he did, and was very hospitably here entertained, as was said before.

Bishops consecrated.

June 29, John Ponet, or Poynet, D.D. Chaplain to the Archbishop, was consecrated Bishop of Rochester at Lambeth chapel by the Archbishop of Canterbury; assisted by Nicolas Bishop of London, and Arthur Bishop of Bangor. This consecration was performed with all the usual ceremonies and habits, probably for this reason, to give as little occasion of offence to Papists as might be, and to keep close to the old usages, avoiding superstition: therefore it was set down in the register at large in what formalities all was now done. The Archbishop is described, *Usitatis insigniis redimitus, et uno epitogio, sive capa, indutus, oratorium suum prædictum honeste et decenter ornatum ingressus,* &c. "Having on his mitre and cope, usual in such cases, went "into his chapel, handsomely and decently adorned, to "celebrate the Lord's Supper according to the custom, and "by prescript of the book, intituled, *The Book of Common-"Service.* Before the people there assembled, the holy "suffrages first began, and were publickly recited, and the "Epistle and Gospel read in the vulgar tongue, Nicolas "Bishop of London, and Arthur Bishop of Bangor, assisting; and, having their surplices and copes on, and their "pastoral staves in their hands, led Dr. John Ponet, "endued with the like habits, in the middle of them, "unto the most reverend father; and presented him unto "him, sitting in a decent chair; and used these words; "Most reverend father in God, we present unto you this "godly and well-learned man to be consecrated bishop. "The bishop elect forthwith produced the King's letters "patents before the Archbishop: which, by command of "the said Archbishop, being read by Dr. Glyn, the said 254 "Ponet took the oath of renouncing the Bishop of Rome, "and then the oath of canonical obedience to the Archbishop. These things being thus dispatched, the Archbishop exhorted the people to prayer and supplication "to the Most High, according to the order prescribed "in the Book of Ordination, set forth in the month of "March 1549. According to which order he was elected "and consecrated, and endued with the episcopal ornaments, the Bishop of London first having read the third

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Ponet.

Cranm. Regist.

Anno 1550. "chapter of the first Epistle of Paul to Timothy, in "manner of a sermon. These things being done, and the "sacrament of the Lord's Supper celebrated upon a table, "covered with a white linen cloth by the Archbishop and "the two assisting bishops, the same Archbishop decreed to "write to the Archdeacon of Canterbury for the investiture, "installation, and inthronization of the said bishop of "Rochester, as it was customary. Present, Anthony Huse, "principal Register of the Archbishop; Peter Lilly, John "Lewis, John Incent, public notaries; and many others, "as well clerks as laicks."

Hoper.

March 8, John Hoper was consecrated Bishop of Glocester, just after the same manner, by the Archbishop; Nicholas Bishop of London, and John Bishop of Rochester, assisting, clothed (say the words of the register) in linen surplices and copes, and John elect of Glocester in the like habit.

CHAP. XXV.

The Archbishop publisheth his Book against Gardiner.

Anno 1551.

Cranmer publisheth his book of the sacrament.

THIS year our Archbishop published his elaborate book of the sacrament, confuting the gross and carnal presence of Christ there, in vindication of a former book of his, wrote against by Bishop Gardiner and Dr. Smith. For, to give the reader some distinct account of this matter, in the year 1550, Cranmer printed a book in English in quarto with this title;

His first book.

A Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ; with a Confutation of sundry Errors concerning the same: grounded and established upon God's Holy Word, and approved by the consent of the most ancient Doctors of the Church. The great reason that moved him to write this book was, that he might the more effectually purge the church of popery; esteeming transubstantiation, and the mass, to be the very roots of it. "The taking away of beads, pilgrimages, pardons, "and such-like popery, was (as he wrote in his Preface) "but the lopping off a few branches; which would soon

" spring up again, unless the roots of the tree, which were " transubstantiation, and the sacrifice of the mass, were " pulled up. Therefore, out of a sincere zeal to the honour " of God, he would labour," he said, " in his vineyard to " cut down that tree of error, root and branch." By this book very many were enlightened to perceive the errors of the popish doctrines of the sacrament. This treatise he divided into five books or points. I. Of the true and catholic doctrine and use of the sacrament of the body and 255 blood of Christ. II. Against the error of transubstantiation. III. The manner how Christ is present in the sacrament. IV. Of the eating and drinking of the body and blood of Christ. V. Of the oblation and sacrifice of our Saviour Christ. In the third part he made mention of the Bishop of Winchester, in these words: "As many " of them [*i. e.* of the Papist writers] as I have read, " (the Bishop of Winchester only excepted,) do say, that " Christ called not the bread his body." This Bishop was much offended that he was named in the book, and pretended this to be one reason why he did write against it, to vindicate himself, as well as the papal church, hereby so dangerously struck at. This book of Cranmer's was turned into Latin by John Yong; who complied afterwards with the old religion under Queen Mary, and was Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge.

Wrote against by Gardiner and Smith.

At this book the defenders of Popery were so nettled, that, in the same year 1550, Winchester then in the Tower, and fickle Dr. Smith then at Lovain, printed answers. Of Smith's book I shall only note by the way, that, March 8, 1550, there was an order of council to examine the bringer over of his book against Cranmer: such a countenance did the state give to the Archbishop and his book. Gardiner's book made the greatest noise: which was printed in France, and intituled, *An Explication and Assertion of the true Catholic Faith touching the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar, with the Confutation of a Book written against the same.* In the beginning of his book he wrote, "that his sermon before the King, [on " St. Peter's day,] touching the sacrament of the altar, gave " occasion to the Archbishop's book against it; and that he " was called before the King's commissioners at Lambeth

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"for his catholic faith in the sacrament." Whereas indeed this was not the cause of his troubles; nor had some former copies of his book these words: but, after the commission was issued forth against him, to make his cause appear the more specious, as if it were the cause of the church, he thought fit to make an alteration in the beginning of his book in the manner abovesaid: and, to carry on the scene, he in open court offered his book before the King's commissioners.

Vindicated in another book by the Archbishop.

To this book of Gardiner's our Archbishop studied and composed an answer; holding himself bound, for the vindication of the evangelical truth, as well as of his own writing, and for the satisfaction of the people, not to suffer it to lie untaken notice of. When it was known the Archbishop was preparing an answer against Gardiner, the people were in very great expectation, and conceived an earnest desire to see and read it: having therefore dispatched his copy, and sent it to Rainold Wolf, his printer, it was printed off in the month of September 1551. But there was some stop put to the publishing of it, occasioned by a proclamation issued out from the King; whereby, for some political ends, both the printing and selling of English books, without the allowance of the King's Majesty, or six of his privy-council, was forbidden. The Archbishop, being desirous that his book might come abroad the next term, for the contentation of
256 many who had long expected the same, sent to Secretary Cecyl and Sir John Cheke to procure, either from the King or council, a license to the said Wolf for printing and selling his book: which was obtained, and the book published accordingly. This letter of the Archbishop's, dated
No. LXII. Sept. 29, I have thought not amiss to reposit in the Appendix. October 1, a license was granted to Wolf to publish the book, under the King's privilege, the court then being at Hampton-court, and the Archbishop himself present. The title this second book of the Archbishop's bore was, *An Answer by the Reverend Father in God Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, unto a crafty and sophistical Cavillation, devised by Stephen Gardiner, Doctor of Law, late Bishop of Winchester, against the true and godly Doctrine of the most Holy Sacra-*

ment of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ. Wherein is also, as occasion serveth, answered such Places of the Book of Dr. Richard Smith, as may seem any thing worthy the answering. Also a true copy of the Book written, and in open Court delivered, by Dr. Stephen Gardiner, not one Word added or diminished, but faithfully in all Points agreeing with the Original. This book of Archbishop Cranmer's was printed again at London, 1580, with his life, and some other things.

The method of the Archbishop's reply.

His reply to Gardiner was in the most fair and candid method that could be devised: for he first set down his own treatise, piece by piece; then Gardiner's reply thereunto, word for word, leaving not one paragraph without a full answer. His reply to Smith was only of some things most worthy to be taken notice of, the rest of Smith's book being mere trifles. This reply to Smith he inserted in the body of his answer to Gardiner, as occasion served: only at the end he made a particular reply to Smith's preface.

The judgments made of this book.

In Antiq. Brit.

It seemed to be a very complete exercitation upon that subject. The book was stored with so great learning and plenty of arguments, *Ut ea controversia* saith one of his successors, *a nemine unquam contra Pontificios accuratius tractata esse videatur*; "That no one controversy was by any ever "handled against the Papists more accurately." It may not be amiss to mention here the opinion that Cranmer himself had of his book, in that famous and renowned confession he made of his faith in St. Mary's church, Oxon, immediately before he was led away to his burning. Where he expressed his full approbation and great confidence of the doctrine contained therein: saying, "that as for the sacrament, he "believed as he had taught in his book against the Bishop "of Winchester. The which book," he said, "taught so "true a doctrine of the sacrament, that it should stand at "the last day before the judgment of God, where the papistical doctrine, contrary thereto, should be ashamed to "shew her face." The Papists spake as much against this book, being much galled by it. Dr. Tresham, in his disputation with Latimer, said, there were six hundred errors in the book. Weston, thinking to invalidate the book by the pretended novelty of the doctrine, asked the same father,

Fox's Acts.

Anno 1551.

how long he had been of that opinion? He said, not past seven years; that is, about the year 1547; and that Archbishop Cranmer's book confirmed his judgment therein: and added, that if he could but remember all therein contained, he would not fear to answer any man in this matter.

257 How the Archbishop came off from the opinion of the corporal presence.

The Archbishop had acknowledged to the Queen's commissioners at Oxford, that Ridley had first begun to enlighten him as to the true notion of the presence, as he had maintained it in his book. Hereupon one of them took occasion to try to baffle the true doctrine, by making the whole stress of it to depend upon the authority of single Ridley. Latimer, said he, leaned upon Cranmer, and Cranmer leaned upon Ridley. Whereas the truth of this was no more, but that Ridley, reading Bertram's book of the body and blood of Christ, was sharpened to examine the old opinion more accurately, of the presence of Christ's flesh and blood; and looking into ecclesiastical authors, he found it greatly controverted in the ninth century, and learnedly writ against: which made him begin to conclude it none of the ancient doctrines of the church, but more lately brought into it. These his thoughts he communicated to Archbishop Cranmer, which was about the year 1546: whereupon they both set to examine it with more than ordinary care: and all the arguments that Cranmer gathered about it he digested into his book. Nor was the good Archbishop ashamed to make a public acknowledgment in print of this, as well as of his other popish errors, in his answer to Smith's preface, who, it seems, had charged him with inconstancy. "This I confess of myself, that, not long before I wrote the "said catechism, I was in that error of the real presence, as "I was many years past in many other errors, as of transub-"stantiation, of the sacrifice propitiatory of the priests in the "mass, of pilgrimages, of purgatory, &c. being brought up "from my youth in them. For the which, and other the "offences of my youth, I do daily pray unto God for par-"don and mercy. After it pleased God to shew me, by "his holy word, a more perfect knowledge of his Son Jesus "Christ, I put away my former ignorance. As God gave "me light, so through his grace I opened my eyes to re-

" ceive it. And I trust in God's mercy for pardon of my former errors." I set this down the more at large, to shew the great ingenuity as well as piety of this good man.

The Archbishop's great skill in this controversy.

Peter Martyr, in the year following this, printed a book of the sacrament, which was the sum of what he had read before upon that point in the university of Oxford. Which book he dedicated to his patron, the Archbishop of Canterbury: and, giving the reason why he made the dedication to him, said, " That he knew certainly that Cranmer had so " great skill in this controversy, as one could hardly find in " any one besides. That there was none of the Fathers which " he had not diligently noted; no ancient or modern book " extant, that he [Martyr] had not with his own eyes seen " noted by the Archbishop's hand. Whatsoever belonged " to the whole controversy, he said that the Archbishop " had digested into particular chapters; councils, canons, " Popes' decrees, pertaining hereunto: and that with so " great labour, that, unless he had been an eye-witness of it " and seen it, he could not easily have believed others, if " they had told him, in regard of the infinite toil, diligence, " and exactness, wherewith the Archbishop had done it." He added, " that the Archbishop had not bestowed such " kind of pains and study in the matter of the sacrament " only, but that he had done the same thing as to all other 258 " doctrines, in effect, which in that age were especially under controversy. And this, that learned man said, he had " made good observation of. Nor," as he went on, " that he " wantedskill, a method, and industry in defending what he " held. Which might," he said, " be known by this, because " he had so often conflicted with his adversaries, both publicly and privately, and by a marvellous strength of learning, quickness of wit, and dexterity of management, had asserted what he held to be true, from the thorny and intricate cavils of sophisters; [glancing at his controversies with " Winchester, who was commonly then called the Sophister;] " and that he wanted not a will, yea, a mind ready to defend " sound and Christian doctrines. That all men did sufficiently understand, who saw him burn with so great an endeavour of restoring religion, that for this cause only he " had great and heavy enemies, and neglected many com-

"modities of this life, and underwent horrible dangers." The great and intimate converse that P. Martyr had with Cranmer, gave him opportunity to know him very well: and therefore I have chosen to set down this character that he gave of him, and particularly of his ability in this controversy of the Eucharist.

P. Martyr enlightened by Cranmer.

And I am apt to think that the careful perusal of these authorities, collected by the Archbishop, and his conversation with this learned prelate, being much with him at Lambeth, was a cause of bringing Martyr to the true doctrine: for, at his first coming to Oxon, he was a Papist, or a Lutheran, as to the belief of the presence. And so Feckenham, Dean of St. Paul's, told Bartlet Green at his examination; and that Martyr, perceiving the King's council, as he uncharitably suggested, to be of another opinion, he, to please them, forsook the true catholic faith. But Mr. Green, who had been a hearer of him at Oxon, replied, that he had heard Martyr say, "That he had not, while he was a Papist, read "St. Chrysostom upon the tenth to the Corinthians, nor "many other places of the doctors: but when he had read "them, and well considered them, he was content to yield "to them, having first humbled himself in prayer, desiring "God to illuminate him, and bring him to the true under-"standing of Scripture."

Fox's Acts.

Fox's conjecture of the Archbishop.

As to the authorities the Archbishop allegeth in his book, it was the conjecture of John Fox, that he made use of Frith's book, which he wrote of the sacrament against More, divers years before; and that from the said author the Archbishop seemed to have collected the testimonies of the doctors, which he produced in his apology against the Bishop of Winchester: and that he gathered the principal and chiefest helps thence, that he leaned to. But although he might peruse Frith, as he did almost all other authors that wrote of this controversy, yet he was too well versed in the ecclesiastical writers, that he needed to go a borrowing to the readings of any others, for sentences and allegations out of them.

A second book of Gardiner against the Archbishop.

Cranmer lived to see his book replied again unto by his adversary Gardiner, in Latin, under the feigned name of Marcus Antonius Constantius, a divine of Lovain. His book went under this title, *Confutatio Cavillationum, quibus Sacrosanctum Eucharistiæ Sacramentum ab impiis Capernaitis impeti solet*. Printed at Paris, 1552. In this book he spared the name of the Archbishop, but reduceth all the Archbishop's book into no less than 255 objections: to each of which, one by one, the Catholic is brought in making answer. 259 Next, whereas Cranmer had laid down twelve rules for the finding out the true sense of the Fathers in their writings, the Catholic examines them, and enervates them. Then follows a confutation of the solutions, whereby the Sectary, as he is called, (that is, Cranmer,) endeavoured to take off the arguments of the Catholics. And, which is the fourth and last part of the book, he defends catholic men's sense of the allegations out of the Fathers against the Sectaries. Gardiner, when he compiled this book, was in the Tower a prisoner; but yet he was under so easy restraint, that he was furnished there with workmen and amanuenses. "As they of old to the building of the tabernacle, so " he to the preparing of his book, a kind of papistical ta- " bernacle, [to use the words of Martyr,] all sorts contri- " buted something. For his book was Pandora's box, to " which all the lesser gods brought their presents. For every " man, were his learning less or more, that had any argu- " ments for the popish doctrine, brought them all to him, " (many whereof were windy and trivial enough,) and he " out of the heap made his collections as he thought good." But Watson and Smith were his chief assistants.

Preface to P. Martyr's book in defence of Cranmer.

The Archbishop, though the times now soon after turned, and he cast into prison, was very desirous to prepare another book in confutation of Marcus Antonius, and in vindication of his own writing. He lived long enough to finish three parts: whereof too unhappily perished in Oxford, and the third fell into John Fox's hands, and for aught I know, that by this time is perished also. But the great desire he had to finish his answer to that book was the chief cause that, at his last appearance before the Queen's commissioners, he made his appeal to a general council: that thereby he might gain some time and leisure to accomplish what he had begun, before his life were taken away, which he saw was likely to be within a very short space. " Otherwise, [as he

The Archbishop begins a third book; but lives not to finish it.

Anno 1551. "writ to his lawyer, who was to draw up his appeal,] it "was much better for him to die in Christ's quarrel, and to "reign with him, than to be shut up and kept in that body: "unless it were to continue yet still awhile in this warfare, "for the commodity and profit of his brethren, and to the "further advancing of God's glory."

Martyr takes up the quarrel.

Peter Martyr, his surviving and learned friend, being solicited by many Englishmen by letter and word of mouth, undertook the answering this book. But before he had finished it, an English divine and friend of Martyr's, with whom he held correspondence in Queen Mary's reign, wrote him word, in the year 1557, that an answer to Antonius, by some other hand, was then in the press, naming the author. Martyr replied, "That he was rather glad of it, "than any ways moved or disturbed at it, as a disappointment "of what he was doing: and added, that he expected nothing from that man but what was very exquisite, acute, and 260 "elaborate; but that he feared the noise thereof would not "hold true." And so it proved. Whether this learned man withdrew his book, that he might give way to that which P. Martyr was writing, or whether it were a flam given out to stop Martyr in his design, it is uncertain. But not long after this learned Italian put forth his answer. He had it under the press at Zurick in December 1558; and it came out the next year. Wherein, as he wrote to Calvin, he did unravel and confute all the sophisms and tricks of the Bishop of Winchester. And it came forth very seasonably, as Martyr hoped. For hereby the English Papalins might see, at this time especially, that that book was not, as they boasted hitherto, invincible. He gave this title to his book, *Defensio Doctrinæ veteris et Apostolicæ de S. S. Eucharistiæ Sacramento.* In the preface to which he shewed, "How "this work fell to his lot: not that that most reverend father wanted an assistant, for he could easily have managed "Gardiner himself. For he knew how Cranmer, in many "and various disputes formerly had with him, came off "with victory and great praise; but because the Archbishop, when in prison, was forced to leave his answer, "which he had begun, unfinished, by reason of his strait "keeping, having scarce paper and ink allowed him, and no

Mart. Epist.

Martyr Ep.

" books to make use of; and being cut off so soon by death, " before he could bring to perfection what he had writ. " Wherein, as Martyr said, he had harder measure by far " from the Papists, than Gardiner had from the Protestants " in King Edward's days, when he wrote his book."

Cranmer puts out hi book of the sacrament in Latin.

Gardiner, in that book of his under the name of M. Constantius, had shewn such foul play with Cranmer's book, mangling it, and taking pieces and scraps of it here and there, and confounding the method of it, to supply himself with objections to give his own answers to with the most advantage; that the Archbishop thought, that if learned foreigners saw but his first book of the Sacrament, as he wrote it, it would be vindication enough against Gardiner's new book against it: and therefore he took order to have it translated into the same language in which Gardiner wrote, that is, Latin, that impartial strangers might be able to read and judge: and Sir John Cheke elegantly performed it for his friend the Archbishop. This book of Cranmer's, thus put into Latin, with some additions, came forth 1553. Before it he prefixed an epistle to King Edward VI. dated at Lambeth, idib. Mart. the same year: wherein he said, " It " was his care of the Lord's flock committed to him, that " put him upon renewing and restoring the Lord's supper " according to the institution of Christ. And that that was " the reason that, about three years ago, he set forth a book " in English against the principal abuses of the papistical " mass." Which book had great success upon the people's minds, in bringing them to embrace the truth. " Whereby," he said, " he perceived how great the force of truth was, " and understood the benefits of the grace of Christ, that " even the blind should have their eyes opened, and partake " of the light of truth, as soon as it was revealed, and " shewed itself clearly to them. But that this gave great " offence unto Gardiner, then Bishop of Winchester, so that " he thought nothing was to be done till he had answered " the book, supposing that there would be no helper of so 261
" declining and forsaken a cause, unless he put to his hand." And so the Archbishop proceeded to shew how that Bishop first put forth his English book, endeavouring to overthrow the true doctrine, and to restore and bring again into repute

Constantius libro Latine scripto, ita argumenta mea persequitur, ut sibi optimum

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the mass, with all its superstitions; and afterwards his Latin book, under a feigned name. In which Gardiner had so unfairly dealt with the Archbishop's arguments, chopping and changing, defacing and disfiguring them, that he could not know them for his own; and all that he might make it serve his own turn the better: insomuch that he resolved to have his own book translated out of English into Latin, that his true opinion and mind in this controversy might the better be apprehended. The whole epistle is writ in a pure elegant Latin style, with a good sharpness of wit.

videtur, et ut causam juvet; sæpe truncata, sæpe inversa, sæpe disjecta, sic introducit, ut non magis a me agnosci potuerint, quam Medeæ liberi in multa membra dissecti et deformati, &c.

The publication of this his Latin book he thought sufficient for the present to entertain the world, till he should put forth, in Latin also, a full answer to Gardiner, which he intended shortly to do. To this Latin book the Archbishop, occasionally reviewing it while he was in prison, made sundry annotations and additions; not of any new arguments, but only of more authorities out of the Fathers and ancient writers. This valuable autograph fell into the hands of some of the English exiles at Embden, it may be by the means of Bishop Scory, who was superintendent of the English church there, or Sir John Cheke, who also for some time was in this place; both great friends of the Archbishop. In the year 1557, the exiles here printed it with this title, *Defensio, &c. a Thoma Cranmero Martyre scripta. Ab Authore in vinculis recognita et aucta.* Before it is a new preface to the reader, made, as it is thought, by Sir John Cheke, relating to the Archbishop and this his book, shewing how well-weighed and well-thought on this doctrine of the Sacrament was, before he published it, and that he let it not go abroad till he had diligently compared and pondered all Scriptures and ancient authors, and confirmed it at last by his blood. In the body of the book, the places where any enlargements are, are signified by an hand pointing thereunto. In the margent is often to be found this word *Object.* with certain numbers added: which numbers shew those places which Gardiner, under the name of Marcus Antonius, did endeavour to confute. The very original these English exiles here at Embden kept, as a great treasure, among them, and as a memorial of the holy martyr.

Printed again at Embden.

Autographon ejus in nostra apud Æmbdanos ecclesia pro thesauro quodam, et clariss. viri, sanctique Christi martyris mnemosyno servamus. In Epist.

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Cranmer's second book intended to be put into Latin.

Fox Epp. MSS.

Besides this, the Archbishop fully intended to have his vindication of his book, impugned by Gardiner, put into Latin also; but he lived not to see that done. But care was taken of this business among the exiles: insomuch that both Sir John Cheke and John Fox were busied about it at the same time. But the former surceased, and left the whole work to Fox, then at Frankford, after he had finished the first part. In this piece done by Cheke, John a Lasco had an hand: for he put in the Latin school-terms, instead of more pure good Latin, which Cheke had used. And it was judged fit that such words should be used, where the Archbishop in his English had used them. And this Cheke and a Lasco themselves wrote to Fox. Fox undertook the rest, by the incitation and encouragement of P. Martyr, and of Grindal and Pilkington, both bishops afterwards: who gave him directions for the 262 translating; and, as doubts occurred concerning the sense of certain matters in the book, as he met with them, he consulted with these men for their judgments therein. Grindal, in one letter, bad him write a catalogue of all passages by him doubted of, and send it to him. Fox finished his translation in the year 1557, before June: for which he had a congratulatory letter from Grindal, who was his chief assistant and counsellor herein. The work was dispatched to the press, at Basil I suppose; and, when one part was printed, the censors of the press thought it would be better to defer an argument of that nature to better times, the controversy having been bandied up and down so much already: but Froscover undertook the printing of the whole book. Fox would do nothing of himself; but, leaving himself to the judgment of his learned brethren, to commit the work now to Froscover, or no, Queen Mary's death, and the return of the exiles, I suppose, stopped further progress in this matter. The original manuscript, under Fox's own hand, in very cleanly elegant Latin, I have lying by me: it bears this title; *De tota Sacramenti Eucharistiæ causa Institutionum Libri V. Autore D.* THOMA CRANMERO *Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi. Quibus et Stephani Garneri Episcopi Wintoniensi, et* SMYTHI *Doctoris Theologi, impugnationibus respondetur.*

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Some notes of Cranmer concerning the sacrament. Miscellan. A.

And, that I may bring here together all that relates to Cranmer, as to this matter of the sacrament, I must not omit what I saw in the Benet library. There is a thin note-book of this Archbishop's, with this title, wrote by his own hand, *De re Sacramentaria;* which I verily believe are his meditations and conclusions, when he set himself accurately to examine the sacramental controversy, and fell off from the opinion of the carnal presence. The notes consist of nothing but quotations out of ancient ecclesiastical authors about the Lord's Supper; interlined in many places by the Archbishop's pen. On the top of some of the pages are these sentences writ by himself, being doctrines proveable out of the sentences there produced, and transcribed.

Panis vocatur corpus Christi, et vinum sanguis.

Panis est corpus meum, et vinum est sanguis meus; figurativæ sunt locutiones.

Quid significet hæc figura, edere carnem, et bibere sanguinem.

Mali non edunt et bibunt corpus et sanguinem Domini.

Patres Vet. Testamenti edebant et bibebant Christum, sicut et nos.

Sicut in Eucharistia, ita in Baptismo, præsens est Christus. Contra Transubstantiationem.

After this, follow these writings of the Archbishop's own hand, (which Archbishop Parker elsewhere transcribed for his own satisfaction.)

Multa affirmant crassi Papistæ, seu Capernaitæ, quæ neque Scriptura neque ullus veterum unquam dixerat. Viz.

Quod accidentia maneant sine subjecto.

Quod accidentia panis et vini sunt Sacramenta: non panis et vinum.

263 *Quod panis non est figura, sed accidentia panis.*

Quod Christus non appellavit panem corpus suum.

Quod cum Christus dixit, Hoc est corpus meum, pronomen Hoc non refertur ad panem, sed ad corpus Christi.

Quod tot corpora Christi accipimus, aut toties corpus ejus accipimus, quoties, aut in quot partes, dentibus secamus panem.

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Thus having set down divers assertions of Papists, or *Capernaites*, as he styled them, which neither Scripture nor ancient Fathers knew any thing of; his notes proceed to state wherein Papists and Protestants disagree.

Præcipua capita in quibus a Papisticis dissentimus.

Christum Papistæ statuunt in pane, nos in homine comedente.

Illi in comedentis ore, nos in toto homine.

Illi corpus Christi aiunt evolare, masticato vel consumpto pane; nos manere in homine dicimus, quamdiu membrum est Christi.

Illi in pane statuunt per annum integrum, et diutius, si duret panis: nos in homine statuimus inhabitare, quamdiu templum Dei fuerit.

Illorum sententia, quod ad realem præsentiam attinet, non amplius edit homo quam bellua, neque magis ei prodest, quam cuivis animanti.

Martyr succeeds Cranmer in this province.

Thus God made use of this Archbishop, who was once one of the most violent asserters of the corporal presence, to be the chiefest instrument of overthrowing it. But this good work required to be carried on after Cranmer's death: for great brags were made of Gardiner's second book; and it was boasted, that none dared to encounter this their Goliath. P. Martyr was thought the fittest man to succeed Cranmer in this province, to maintain the truth that began now to shine forth. He, overcome by the solicitation of friends, composed a book against Gardiner, as was said before, and printed it at Zurick. Wherein, 1. He defended the arguments of our men; which had been collected together, and pretended to be confuted, by Gardiner's book. 2. He defended those rules which Cranmer had put forth in his tract of the sacrament. 3. He maintained those answers, whereby the arguments of the adversaries were wont to be refuted. And, 4. He asserted the just and true interpretation of certain places out of the Fathers, which Gardiner and his companions brought for themselves and their errors.

Writes against Gardiner.

Anno 1551. And Smith. After this defence followed another by the same author, printed in the same town of Zurick, against two books of Dr. Rich. Smith, concerning the single life of priests, and monastick vows: which he wrote at Lovain against Martyr. For when Martyr had read at Oxford upon 1 Corinthians, chap. vii. where the Apostle speaks much of virginity and matrimony, (the notes of which readings Smith had very diligently taken, being constantly present at them;) from thence he composed two books, not so strong as malicious, *Of the Celibacy of Priests*, and *Of Vows*: designing thereby to confute Martyr's arguments: which he therefore thought fit to vindicate. In this book he not only answered Smith's arguments, but whatever else he could meet with upon that 264 subject. But it was thought to be a very improper undertaking, and proved cause of mirth, that so filthy a fellow as Smith was known to be, and once taken in the act of adultery, should write a book of priestly chastity. Which occasioned these verses made by Laur. Humfrey;

Haud satis affabre tractans fabrilia Smithus,
Librum de vita cælibe composuit, &c.
Dumque pudicitiam, dum vota monastica laudat,
Stuprat, sacra notans fœdera conjugii.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Duke of Somerset's death. New Bishops.

The Duke of Somerset's death. THE Archbishop of Canterbury this year lost the Duke of Somerset, whom he much valued, and who had been a great assistant to him in the reformation of the church, and a true friend to it. His violent death exceedingly grieved the good Archbishop, both because he knew it would prove a great let to religion, and was brought about by evil men, to the shedding of innocent blood, for the furthering the ends of ambition: and begat in him fears and jealousies of the King's life. It is very remarkable what I meet with in one of my manuscripts. There was a

Inter Foxii MSS.

Anno 1551.

woman, somewhat before the last apprehension of the Duke, wife of one Woocock of Pool in Dorsetshire, that gave out, that there was a voice that followed her, which sounded these words always in her ears; "He whom the King did "best trust should deceive him, and work treason against "him." After she had a good while reported this, Sir William Barkley, who married the Lord Treasurer Winchester's daughter, sent her up to London to the council, with two of his servants. She was not long there, but, without acquainting the Duke of Somerset, whom it seemed most to concern, (he being the person whom the King most trusted,) was sent home again with her purse full of money. And, after her coming home, she was more busy in that talk than before. So that she came to a market-town called Wimborn, four miles from Pool, where she reported, that the voice continued following her as before. This looked, by the circumstances, like a practice of some popish priests, accustomed to dealing in such frauds, to make the world the more inclinable to believe the guilt of the good Duke, which Somerset's enemies were now framing against him. And so some of the wiser sort thereabouts did seem to think; for there were two merchants of Pool that heard her, and took a note of her words, and came to the house of Hancock, minister of Pool, who was known to the Duke, counselling him to certify my Lord of her. Which Hancock accordingly did, and came to Sion, where the Duke then was, and told him of the words. He added, "Whom the king doth best trust we do "not know, but that all the King's loving subjects did "think that his Grace was most worthy to be best trusted; "and that his Grace had been in trouble: and that all "the King's loving subjects did pray for his Grace to the 265 "Almighty to preserve him, that he might never come in "the like trouble again."

Then the Duke asked him whether he had a note of the words: which when he had received from Hancock, he said to him, suspecting the plot, "Ah! sirrah, this is "strange, that these things should come before the counsellors, and I not hear of it. I am of the council also." He asked Hancock, before whom of the council this

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matter was brought? who replied, he knew not certain, but as he supposed. The Duke asked him, whom he supposed? He answered, Before the Lord Treasurer, because his son-in-law, Sir W. Barkley, sent her up. The Duke subjoined, It was like to be so. This was three weeks before his last apprehension. This I extract out of Mr. Hancock's own narration of himself and his troubles: to which he added, that, at his first apprehension, the report was, that the Duke, what time as he was fetched out of Windsor Castle, having the King by the hand, should say, "It is not I that "they shoot at; this is the mark that they shoot at;" meaning the King. Which by the sequel proved too true. For that good, godly, and virtuous Prince lived not long after the death of that good Duke.

Winchester supposed to be in the plot.

Indeed it seemed to have been a plot of the Papists, and the Bishop of Winchester at the bottom of it. This is certain, when, in October 1549, the Duke was brought to the Tower, the Bishop was then born in hand he should be set at liberty: of which he had such confidence, that he prepared himself new apparel against the time he should come out; thinking verily to have come abroad within eight or ten days. But finding himself disappointed, he wrote an expostulatory letter to the lords within a month after, to put them in remembrance, as Stow writes.

Articles against the Duke.

The articles that were drawn up against the Duke, upon his second apprehension and trial, were in number twenty, which I shall not repeat here, as I might out of a manuscript thereof, because they may be seen in Fox. But I do observe one of the articles is not printed in his book, namely, the tenth, which ran thus: "Also, you are charged, that "you have divers and many times, both openly and pri-"vately, said and affirmed, That the nobles and gentle-"men were the only causes of the dearth of things, whereby "the people rose, and did reform things themselves." Whence it appears, that one cause of the hatred of the nobility and gentry against him was, because he spake against their debauches and excesses, covetousness and oppressions. But that which I chiefly observe here is, that the draught of these articles, which I have seen, were made by Bishop

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Gardiner, being his very hand, unless I am much mistaken. So that he, I suppose, was privately dealt with and consulted (being then a prisoner in the Tower) to be a party in assisting and carrying on this direful plot against the Duke, to take away his life: notwithstanding his outward friendship and fair correspondence in letters with the said Duke. But Gardiner was looked upon to be a good manager of accusations; and he was ready enough to be employed here, that he might put to his hand in taking off one 266 that was such a great instrument of promoting the reformation.

What he is blamed for.

He is generally charged for the great spoil of churches and chapels; defacing ancient tombs and monuments, and pulling down the bells in parish-churches, and ordering only one bell in a steeple, as sufficient to call the people together. Which set the commonalty almost into a rebellion.

The new book of Common Prayer established.

As the Archbishop the last year had procured amendments and alterations in the book of public prayers, and had consulted therein with the two learned foreign divines, Bucer and Martyr; so this year, in January, an act was made by the parliament for authorizing the new book, and obliging the subjects to be present at the reading of it. In this book the general Confession was added, and the Absolution. At the beginning of the second service was added the recital of the Ten Commandments, with the short ejaculation to be said between each commandment. Something was left out in the consecration of the sacrament, that seemed to favour a corporal presence. Several rites were laid aside, as that of oil in confirmation, and extreme unction, and prayer for the dead, which was before used in the communion-office, and that of burial: together with the change and abolishing of some other things that were offensive or superstitious: as may be seen by those that will take the pains to compare the two books, the one printed in the year 1549, and the other 1552. And this was brought about by the great and long diligence and care of our pious Archbishop, and no question to his great joy and satisfaction: so that I look upon that but as an improbable report, that was carried about in Frankford in those unseemly branglings

Anno 1551. Troubles at Frankford.

among the English exiles there, that Bullinger should say, "That Cranmer had drawn up a book of prayers an hundred times more perfect than that which was then "in being; but the same could not take place, for that he "was matched with such a wicked clergy and convocation, "with other enemies." But as his authority was now very great, so there was undoubtedly a great deference paid to it, as also to his wisdom and learning, by the rest of the divines appointed to that work: so that as nothing was by them inserted into the Liturgy but by his good allowance and approbation, so neither would they reject or oppose what he thought fit should be put in or altered.

Coverdale made Bishop of Exon.

The learning, piety, and good deserts of Miles Coverdale, in translating the holy Scriptures into the English tongue, and in a constant preaching of the Gospel, and sticking to the true profession for many a year; and withal, very probably, their ancient acquaintance in Cambridge, were reasons that made our Archbishop a particular friend to him. When the Lord Russel was sent down against the rebels in the west, he was attended by Coverdale to preach among them. Coverdale afterwards became coadjutor to Veyzy, the Bishop of Exeter, who seldom resided, and took little care of his diocese. But this year, whether voluntarily, or by some order, he resigned up his bishoprick, having first greatly spoiled it of its revenues. And when some wise and bold person, and excellent preacher, was found ex-
267 tremely needful to be sent thither to inspect the clergy and ecclesiastic matters in those parts, the late rebellion having been raised chiefly by priests in hatred to the religion, heating and disaffecting the minds of the common people, Coverdale was judged a very fit person to succeed in that charge. Being now Bishop elect of Exon, he had long attended at court to get his matters dispatched; namely, the doing of his homage, and the obtaining a suit to be excused the payment of his first fruits, being but a poor man. But such at that time were the great and urgent affairs of the state, or the secret hinderers of the Gospel, that he found nothing but delays. So that he was forced to apply himself unto his friend the Archbishop, to forward his business: who forthwith sent his letters to Secretary Cecyl,

making Coverdale himself the bearer, entreating him to use his interest to get this Bishop dispatched, and that with speed: urging this for his reason, (becoming his paternal care over his province,) that so he might without further delay go down into the western parts, which had great need of him. And also because he was minded, on the 30th of August, to consecrate him and the Bishop of Rochester, [Scory,] according to the King's mandate.

Scory Bishop elect of Rochester.

This Scory was at first preferred by the Archbishop to be one of the six preachers at Canterbury: and always continued firm to the purity of religion, and endured trouble for the good and wholesome doctrine that he preached; having been presented and complained of, both in the spiritual courts, and to the justices at their sessions, when the six Articles were in force. He was a married man, and so deprived at the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, fled beyond sea, and was superintendent of the English congregation at Embden in Friezland. There, in the year 1555, he wrote and printed *A comfortable Epistle unto all the Faithful that be in Prison, or in any other trouble for the defence of God's Truth. Wherein he doth as well by the promises of Mercy, as also by the Examples of divers holy Martyrs, comfort, encourage, and strengthen them patiently, for Christ's Sake, to suffer the manifold cruel and most tyrannous Persecutions of Antichristian Tormentors.* As the book bears title.

The Archbishop appoints a guardian of the spiritualties of Lincoln.

There were divers bishopricks vacant this year: as that of Lincoln by the death of Holbech. The Archbishop deputed the spiritualties to John Pope, LL.B. and Chancellor of that church. The church commending unto the Archbishop this Pope, and two more; *viz.* John Prin, LL. D. Subdean of the church, and Christopher Massingberde, LL. B. Archdeacon of Stow. So he chose the first: but yet he committed a special trust to Taylor, the Dean of Lincoln, (whom he knew to be tight to religion,) sending a commission fiduciary to him, before Pope entered upon his office, to give the said Pope his oath, "legally and faith-"fully to perform his office committed to him by the "Archbishop, and to answer to the said Archbishop for all "obventions coming to him by virtue of his jurisdiction and "office; and that he should not, by malice or wrong,

Cranm. Regist.

Anno 1551. "squeeze the subjects of the King, and of that diocese, "whether clerks or laicks; that he should not knowingly "grieve them in their estates or persons: and that he shall "abstain from oppressions, extortions, and unlawful exac-
268 "tions: and that he shall renounce the Bishop of Rome his "usurped jurisdiction and authority, according to the sta- "tutes of parliament." And of all this he wrote a letter to the said Pope, signifying that he required such an oath of him to be taken before the Dean. The tenor of the Archbishop's letter to the Dean went on further, "requiring him by "his sound counsel, singular prudence, and by the assistance "of his sincere judgment, to be present with him in any "hard cases, and of great moment; and that he would not "be wanting to him in any matters of that sort, being a "person of that knowledge in sacred and profane learning, "of that prudence, circumspection, and dexterity in manag- "ing business. And so finally joined him with Pope to per- "form all this piously and catholicly, according to the rule "of evangelic religion, and the exigency of the laws and "statutes of this kingdom." And deputed him his vicegerent. This letter was dated at Croyden, the 20th of August. This commission seemed to be somewhat extraordinary: the occasion whereof might be, because the Archbishop did not confide in this Chancellor of the church, suspecting his religion, and compliance with the King's proceedings, therefore he thought good to associate him with Taylor the Dean, of whom he was well assured.

And of Wigorn.

The church of Worcester became also vacant by the deprivation of Hethe the Bishop. The Archbishop committed the spiritualties thereof to John Barlo, Dean of the said church, and Roland Taylor, LL. D. his domestic chaplain. These he constituted his officials to exercise all episcopal jurisdiction. This commission was dated at Lambeth, Jan. 10, 1554, by an error of the scribe for 1551, as appears by a certificate sent from the church to that Archbishop, signifying the vacation of it.

Cranm. Regist.

And of Chichester.

Upon the vacancy of the church of Chichester by the deprivation of Day, the Archbishop made John Worthial, Archdeacon of Chichester, and Robert Taylor, LL. B. Dean of the deanery of South Malling, his officials. This commission to them, dated November 3, 1551, was to visit, &c.

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And of Hereford.

Upon the vacancy of the church of Hereford by the death of Skip, late Bishop there, the spiritualties were committed to Hugh Coren, LL. D. Dean of that church, and Rich. Cheney, D. D. Archdeacon of Hereford. Their commission was to visit, &c.

And of Bangor.

Upon the vacancy of the bishoprick of Bangor, either by the death of Bulkly the Bishop, or his resignation upon his blindness, the Archbishop made his commissaries, Griffin Leyson, his principal Chancellor and Official; Rowland Merick, a Canon of St. David's; and Geofrey Glynn, LL. DD. The church of Rochester also became this year vacant by the translation of Scory to Chichester. In these vacancies the bishopricks were lamentably pilled, by hungry courtiers, of the revenues belonging to them.

Hoper visits his diocese.

This year Bishop Hoper was by the council dispatched down (as was said before) into his diocese: where things were much out of order, and Popery had great footing; and therefore it wanted such a stirring man as he was. That he might do the more good, he had the authority of the lords of the council to back him, by a commission granted to him and others. He brought most of the parish-priests and 269 curates from their old superstitions and errors concerning the doctrine of the sacrament of the Lord's supper. The recantation of one of them of more note, named Phelps, the incumbent of Ciciter, which he made publicly and subscribed, may be seen in the Appendix. No. LXIII.

Two disputations concerning the sacrament.

This year there happened two learned conferences in Latin, privately managed, about the corporeal presence in the sacrament. The one on the 25th of November, in the house of Sir William Cecyl; Secretary of State, performed by the said Cecyl, Sir John Cheke; Horne, Dean of Durham; Whitehead, and Grindal, on the protestant side: and Feckenham and Yong on the popish. But first, before they began, Cecyl under his solemn protestation assured them, that every man should have free liberty to speak his mind, and that none should receive any damage or incur any danger. Cheke began by propounding this question; *Quis esset verus et germanus sensus verborum Cœnæ*, Hoc est corpus

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meum? *Num quem verba sensu grammatico accepta prę se ferebant, an aliud quiddam?* To whom Feckenham answered. There were present, besides those that disputed, these noble and learned persons; the Lord Russel, Sir Anthony Coke, Mr. Hales, Mr. Wroth, Mr. Frogmartin, Mr. Knolles, Mr. Harrington. The second disputation was December 3. following, in Mr. Morisin's house: where were present the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Rutland, the Lord Russel, and those above named, and Watson added on the Papists' side. Then Cheke again propounded the question, "Whether the words of the supper are to be understood in "a grammatical, or in a figurative sense?" To which Watson responded. Both these disputations are too large for this place, but they are set down in one of the manuscript volumes of the Benet library.

Miscellan. C.

Dr. Redman dies.

In November died Dr. John Redman, Master of Trinity college in Cambridge, and one of the great lights of that university, for the bringing in solid learning among the students: a prebendary of the church of Westminster; and who, in the year 1549, assisted in the compiling the English book of Common Prayer, and preached a sermon upon the learned Bucer's death the day following his funeral. He was a person of extraordinary reputation among all for his great learning and reading, and profound knowledge in divinity: so that the greatest divines gave a mighty deference to his judgment. And therefore, when he lay sick at Westminster, many learned men repaired to him, desiring to know his last judgment of several points, then so much controverted. And he was very ready to give them satisfaction. Among the rest that came, were Richard Wilks, Master of Christ's college, Cambridge; Alexander Noel, afterwards Dean of Paul's; and Yong, a man of fame in Cambridge for his disputing against Bucer about justification. In these conferences with these learned men, he called the see of Rome *sentina malorum,* "a sink of evils;" he said, "that purgatory, as the schoolmen taught it, was ungodly; and that "there was no such kind of purgatory as they fancied. "That the offering up the sacrament in masses and trentals "for the sins of the dead, was ungodly. That the wicked

Bacon's Reports.

Fox's Acts.

270 "are not partakers of the body of Christ, but receive the

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" outward sacrament only. That it ought not to be carried " about in procession. That nothing that is seen in the " sacrament, or perceived with the outward sense, is to be " worshipped. That we receive not Christ's body *corporaliter*, grossly, like other meats, but so *spiritualiter*, that " nevertheless *vere*, *truly*. That there was not any good " ground in the old doctors for transubstantiation, as ever " he could perceive; nor could he see what could be answered to the objections against it. That priests might by " the law of God marry wives. That this proposition, *Faith* " *only justifies*, so that this faith signify a true lively faith, " resting in Christ, and embracing him, is a true, godly, " sweet, and comfortable doctrine. That our works cannot " deserve the kingdom of God. And," he said, " that it " troubled him that he had so much strove against justification by faith only." A treatise whereof he composed, which was printed at Antwerp, after his death, in the year 1555. He said also to Yong, " that *consensus ecclesiæ* was " but a weak staff to lean to; and exhorted him to read the " Scriptures, for there was that which would comfort him, " when he should be in such a case as he was then in." One asked him concerning the doctrine of the school-doctors, that bread remained not after consecration. He replied, " there was none of the school-doctors knew what " *consecratio* did mean." And, pausing awhile, said, It was *tota actio*, *the whole action* in ministering the sacrament, as Christ did institute it. After the conference with him was ended, Yong, retiring into another chamber, said to Wilks, that Dr. Redman so moved him, that whereas he was before in such opinion of certain things, that he would have burned and lost his life for them; now he doubted of them. " But I " see," said he, " a man shall know more and more by process of time, and by reading and hearing others. And " Mr. Dr. Redman's saying shall cause me to look more diligently for them." Ellis Lomas, Redman's servant, said, he knew his master had declared to King Henry, that faith only justifieth, but that he thought that doctrine was not to be taught the people, lest they should be negligent to do good works. All this I have related of this divine, that I may in some measure preserve the memory of one of the learnedest men of his time; and lay up the dying words of a Papist, signifying so plainly his dislike and disallowance of many of their doctrines.

The sweating sickness.

The sweating sickness breaking out this year in great violence, (whereby the two sons of the Duke of Suffolk were taken off,) letters from the council, dated July 18, were sent to all the bishops, to persuade the people to prayer, and to see God better served.

The Archbishop and others appointed to reform the ecclesiastical laws.

It being enacted, 1549, that the King might, during three years, appoint sixteen spiritual men, and sixteen temporal, to examine the old ecclesiastical laws, and to compile a body of ecclesiastical laws, to be in force in the room of the old: this third year, October 6, a commission was issued out to the same number of persons, authorizing them to reform the canon laws; that is to say, to eight bishops, eight divines, eight civil lawyers, and eight common. Whose names, as they occur in an original, are as follow:

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Bishops.

The Archbishop of Canterbury; the Bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, Exeter, Glocester, Bath, Rochester.

Divines.

Mr. Taylor of Lincoln; Cox, Almoner; Parker of Cambridge, Latimer, Cook, [Sir Anthony, I suppose,] Peter Martyr, Cheke, Johannes a Lasco.

Civilians.

Mr. Peter, Cecyl, Sir Tho. Smith, Taylor of Hadeligh, Dr. May, Mr. Traheron, Dr. Lyel, Mr. Skinner.

Lawyers.

Justice Hales, Justice Bromly, Goodrick, Gosnal, Stamford, Carel, Lucas, Brook, Recorder of London.

The method they observed.

It was so ordered, that this number should be divided into four distinct classes, or companies; each to consist of two bishops, two divines, two civilians, and two common lawyers. And to each company were assigned their set parts: which when one company had finished, it was transmitted to the other companies, to be by them all well considered and inspected. But out of all the number of two and thirty, eight especially were selected, from each rank two; *viz.* out of the bishops, the Archbishop and the Bishop of Ely; out of the divines, Cox and Martyr; out of the civilians, Taylor and May; out of the common-lawyers, Lucas and Goodrick: to whom a new commission was made, November 9, for the first forming of the work, and preparation of the matter. And the Archbishop supervised the whole work. This work they plied close this winter: but, lest they should be straitened for time, the parliament gave the King three years longer for accomplishing this affair. So, Feb. 2, a letter was sent from the council to make a new commission to the Archbishop, and to the other bishops and learned men, civilians and lawyers, for the establishment of the ecclesiastical laws, according to the act of parliament made in the last session. This was a very noble enterprize, and well worthy the thoughts of our excellent Archbishop: who with indefatigable pains had been, both in this and the last King's reign, labouring to bring this matter about; and he did his part, for he brought the work to perfection. But it wanted the King's ratification, which was delayed, partly by business, and partly by enemies.

Bishops consecrated.

August the 30th, John Scory, Ponet being translated to Winchester, was consecrated Bishop of Rochester, at Croydon, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by Nicolas Bishop of London, and John Suffragan of Bedford. **Scory.** **Cranm. Regist.**

Miles Coverdale was at the same time and place consecrated Bishop of Exon, all with their surplices and copes, and Coverdale so habited also. **Coverdale.**

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CHAP. XXVII.

The Articles of Religion.

The Articles of Religion framed and published.

OUR Archbishop, and certain of the bishops and other divines, but whom by name I find not, were this year chiefly busied in composing and preparing a book of Articles of Religion; which was to contain what should be publicly owned as the sum of the doctrine of the church of England. This the Archbishop had long before this bore in his mind, as excellently serviceable for the creating of a concord and quietness among men, and for the putting an end to contentions and disputes in matters of religion. These articles the Archbishop was the penner, or at least the great director of, with the assistance, as is very probable, of Bishop Ridley. And so he publicly owned afterwards, in his answer to certain interrogatories put to him by Queen Mary's commissioners; *viz.* that the Catechism, the book of Articles, and the book against Winchester, were his doings. These Articles were in number forty-two, and were agreed to in the convocation 1552. And in the year 1553. they were published by the King's authority both in Latin and English. After they were finished, he laboured to have the clergy subscribe them: but against their wills he compelled none; though afterwards some charged him falsely to do so: which he utterly denied, as he declared before the said Queen's commissioners. But to enter into some particulars concerning so eminent a matter ecclesiastical as this was.

Fox.

The Archbishop's diligence in them.

In the year 1551, the King and his privy-council ordered the Archbishop to frame a book of Articles of Religion for the preserving and maintaining peace and unity of doctrine in this church, that, being finished, they might be set forth by public authority. The Archbishop, in obedience hereunto, drew up a set of Articles, which were delivered to certain other bishops to be inspected and subscribed, I suppose, by them. Before them they lay until this year 1552. Then, May 2, a letter was sent from the council to our Archbishop, to send the Articles that were delivered the last year

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to the bishops, and to signify whether the same were set forth by any public authority, according to the minutes. The Archbishop accordingly sent the Articles, and his answer, unto the lords of the council. In September I find the Articles were again in his hands. Then he set the book in a better order, and put titles upon each of the Articles, and some additions, for the better perfecting of the work, and supply of that which lacked. And so transmitted the book again from Croydon, September 19, to Sir William Cecyl and Sir John Cheke, the one the King's principal secretary, and the other his tutor, being the two great patrons of the reformation at the court: desiring them together to take these Articles into their serious considerations; for he well knew them to be both wise and good men, and very well seen in divine learning. And he referred it to their wisdoms, whether they thought best to move the King's Majesty therein before his coming to court; as though he conceived the King might make some demur in so weighty 273 an affair, till he should consult with the Metropolitan, in order to the coming to a resolution; or that there were some great persons about the King, that might cast some scruples and objections in his mind concerning it, which he by his presence might prevent, or be ready at hand to resolve. Cecyl and Cheke thought it more convenient the Archbishop should offer them to the King himself. So, coming to court soon after, he delivered the book to the King, and moved him for their publishing and due observation. And so, leaving them before the King and council, they were then again delivered unto certain of the King's chaplains, who made some alterations. For I find that, "October 2, a letter was directed to Mr. Harley, Bill, "Horn, Grindal, Pern, and Knox, to consider certain "Articles (which must be these Articles of Religion) "exhibited to the King's Majesty, to be subscribed by all "such as shall be admitted to be preachers or ministers "in any part of the realm; and to make report of their "opinions touching the same."

Council-Book.

The time of the year declined now towards the latter end of November; and the Archbishop being retired down from Croydon to his house at Ford near Canterbury, the privy-

Anno 1552. council, November 20, dispatched, by a messenger, the Articles unto him to be reviewed, and for his last hand, that they might be presented before the convocation, and allowed there; and so be published by the royal authority. The Archbishop received the book and letter from the council, November 23. And, making some notes upon it, enclosed them in a letter to the lords, and sent them, together with the book, the next day; beseeching them to prevail with the King, that all bishops should have authority to cause their respective clergy to subscribe it: and "then he trusted, "(as he wrote,) that such a concord and quietness in religion would soon follow, as otherwise would not be in "many years. And thereby God would be glorified, the "truth advanced, and their lordships rewarded by him, as "the setters forth of his true word and Gospel." This pious letter may be read in the Appendix. No. LXIV.

The Archbishop retires to Ford.

The King went a progress this summer; and the Archbishop retired to Croydon: where I find him in July, August, and September. And thence, October 11, he went to Ford, to spend some time in his diocese. Now he was absent from the court, and the King abroad at that distance that he could not frequently wait upon him, and be present at the council; his enemies were at work to bring him into trouble, as we shall see by and by.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Persons nominated for Irish Bishopricks.

Consulted with for fit persons to fill the Irish sees.

THERE were certain bishopricks in Ireland about this time vacant; one whereof was that of Armagh: and it was thought convenient to have them filled by divines out of England. In the month of August the Archbishop was consulted with for this; that so, by the influence of very wise 274 and learned men, and good preachers, the Gospel might be the better propagated in that dark region. But because it was foreseen to be difficult to procure any Englishmen, so endowed, to go over thither, therefore Secretary Cecyl, being then with the King in his progress, sent a letter to the Archbishop at Croydon, to nominate some worthy persons for those preferments, and whom he thought would be willing to undertake them. He returned him the names of four; *viz.* Mr. Whitehead of Hadley, Mr. Turner of Canterbury, Sir Thomas Rosse, and Sir Robert Wisdome. He said, "he knew many others in England that would be "meet persons for those places, but very few that would "gladly be persuaded to go thither:" for it seems the English were never very fond of living in Ireland. But he added concerning these four which he had named, "that he "thought they, being ordinarily called, for conscience-sake "would not refuse to bestow the talent committed unto "them, wheresoever it should please the King's Majesty to "appoint them." He recommended likewise a fifth person for this promotion, one [1] Mr. Whitacre, a wise and well-learned man, (as he characters him,) who was chaplain to the Bishop of Winchester [Poynet]. But he doubted whether he would be persuaded to take it upon him.

Some account of the four divines nominated by him for the Archbishoprick of Armagh.

It may not be amiss to make some inquiry who and what those four before-mentioned persons were.

Mr. Whithead.

Mr. Whithead was an exile in Queen Mary's reign, and pastor of the English congregation at Frankford. And at the conference in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's government, he was one of the nine disputants on the protestant side, and one of the appointed eight to revise the Service-Book. The writer of the *Troubles at Frankford* mentions three, *viz.* Coverdale, Turner, and this Whitehead; of whom he saith, "that they were the most ancient preachers "of the Gospel, and the most ancient fathers of this our "country; and that from their pens, as well as their "mouths, most of Queen Elizabeth's divines and bishops "first received the light of the Gospel." Why Cranmer should style him Whithead of Hadley, I do not apprehend; seeing Dr. Rowland Taylor, his chaplain, was now Parson of Hadley, who not long after was there burnt: and one

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[1] I suppose this might be a slip of the Archbishop's pen or memory, writing Whitacre for Goodacre, who afterwards was placed in that Irish see, and had been Poynet's chaplain.

Yeomans was Taylor's curate there, who also was afterwards burnt at Norwich. But I suppose this was some other Hadley.

Mr. Turner.

I find two about this time bearing the name of Turner; both eminent men, and preachers: the one was named William Turner, a doctor in physic, and greatly befriended by Sir John Cheke and Sir William Cecyl. This man, a native of Northumberland, was the first Englishman that compiled an herbal; which was the groundwork of that which Gerard laid the last hand unto. He was a retainer to the Duke of Somerset in Edward the Sixth's time, and was physician in ordinary to his family: and the year before this, *viz.* 1551, I find him Dean of Wells. The other was Richard Turner, a Staffordshire man, in former time Curate of Chartam in Kent, and commonly called Turner of Canterbury, living in the family of Mr. Morice, the Archbishop's secretary, (of whom afterwards,) who held the impropriation of that parsonage, and had presented this man to the
275 vicarage. For his free and bold preaching against popish errors, and asserting the King's supremacy, and for the extraordinary success of his ministry in bringing multitudes of people in those parts out of ignorance and superstition, he was put to much trouble and danger. He was first complained of to the King: and being brought up, the Archbishop, and other ecclesiastical commissioners, were commanded to examine him upon certain articles. But, by the secret favour of the Archbishop, and his own prudent answers, he was then discharged. Soon after, upon some false reports told of him, King Henry was so offended, that he sent for the Archbishop, willing him to have him whipt out of the country. But the Archbishop pacified the King, and sent him home the second time. Afterwards, a third time, his old enemies, the popish clergy, got him convented before the privy-council, and committed for doctrines preached by him before he came into Kent. The Archbishop being then down in his diocese, Turner was sent back to him with an order to recant: to whom, when his fast friend and patron, Mr. Morice, had applied himself in his behalf, the Archbishop himself, being now under some cloud, dared not to interpose, because, as he then said, it had been put into

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the King's head that he was the great favourer and maintainer of all the heretics in the kingdom. Morice then, that he might prevent this recantation, if possible, which would have been such a reflection to the doctrine he before had preached, addressed his letters to Sir Anthony Denny, gentleman of the King's bed-chamber, and Sir William Butts, his physician; relating at large Turner's case. And by their means the King became better informed of the man, and, in fine, commanded him to be retained as a faithful subject. This story is at large related by Fox. And this I judge to be that Turner, whom the Archbishop nominated for Ireland, having lived long in his diocese, and so well known to him; and whom he had, I suppose, removed to Canterbury, to a prebend, or some other preferment there. Here he did this remarkable and bold piece of service, that when, about three years past, the rebels were up in Kent, he then preached twice in the camp near Canterbury: for which the rebels were going to hang him. But God preserved him. In Queen Mary's time he fled to Basil; where he expounded upon St. James, the Hebrews, and the Ephesians, to the exiles there: when James Pilkington expounded Ecclesiastes, and both Epistles of Peter, and the Galatians; and Bentham, the Acts of the Apostles.

Bale's Cent.

Thomas Rosse, or Rose.

Thomas Rosse, or Rose, was also as memorable a man; very eminent both for his preachings and sufferings. He was a west-country man, but by providence was removed into Suffolk: and at Hadley had preached against purgatory and worshipping images, about the time that Bilney and Latimer did the like in Cambridge, (which was five and twenty or thirty years past;) whereby he had brought many to the knowledge of the truth in that town. About the year 1532, when certain persons, out of their zeal against idolatry, had stolen by night the rood out of the church at Dover Court in Essex, for which, being found guilty of felony, they were hanged; Rose seemed to have been privy 276 hereunto; for with the rood they conveyed away the slippers, the coat, and the tapers belonging to it: which coat Rose burnt. Whether for this, or some other thing, he was complained of to the council, and brought before them, and by the Bishop of Lincoln was committed to prison: where

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he lay for some days and nights with both his legs in an high pair of stocks, his body lying along on the ground. Thence he was removed to Lambeth, in the year that Cranmer was consecrated, (which was 1533,) who set him at liberty. Afterward he was admitted by Crumwel to be his chaplain, that thereby he might get a license to preach. After various tossings from place to place, for safety of his life, he fled into Flanders and Germany, and came to Zurick, and remained with Bullinger; and to Basil, where he was entertained by Grineus. After some time he returned back into England: but was glad to fly beyond sea again. Three years after, in his voyage back to his own country again, he was taken prisoner by some French, and carried into Diep, where he was spoiled of all he had. His ransom was soon after paid by a well-disposed person, who also brought him over into England. Then the Earl of Sussex received him, and his wife and child, privately into his house. But when this was known, the Earl sent him a secret letter to be gone: and so he lurked in London till the death of King Henry VIII. King Edward gave him the living of West Ham, near London, in Essex. Being deprived upon Queen Mary's coming to the crown, he was sometime preacher to a congregation in London. But was taken at one of their meetings in Bow-church-yard. Which, I suppose, was in the year 1555. For then he was in the Tower: and thence, in the month of May, by the council's letters, he was delivered to the Sheriff of Norfolk, to be conveyed and delivered to the Bishop of Norwich, and he either to reduce him to recant, or to proceed against him according to law. Much imprisonment and many examinations he underwent, both from the Bishops of Winchester and Norwich; but escaped at last, by a great providence, beyond sea, where he tarried till the death of Queen Mary. And after these his harassings up and down in the world, he was at last, in Queen Elizabeth's happy reign, quietly settled at Luton in Bedfordshire, where he was preacher, and lived to a very great age.

Robert Wisdome.

The fourth was Robert Wisdome, a man eminent, as the rest, both for his exemplary conversation and for his preaching, together with his sufferings attending thereon. In

Henry the Eighth his reign he was a person of fame among the professors of the Gospel in the south parts of the nation: whence, after many painful labours and persecutions, he fled into the north; as did divers other preachers of the pure religion in those times. There in Staffordshire he was one of those that were entertained by John Old, a pious professor, and harbourer of good men: and Thomas Becon was another, who was taken up with Bradford in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, and committed to the Tower. Of this Old the said Becon, in a [m] treatise of his, printed in Edward the Sixth his reign, gives this character: "That he was to him and Wisdom, as Jason was to "Paul and Silas: he received us joyfully into his house, 277 "and liberally, for the Lord's sake, ministered to our ne"cessities. And as he begun, so did he continue, a right "hearty friend, and dearly loving brother, so long as we "remained in the country." [n]While Wisdom was here, he was ever virtuously occupied, and suffered no hour to pass without some good fruit: employing himself now in writing, as he had before in preaching. Besides other books formerly writ by him, he penned here a very godly and fruitful exposition upon certain psalms of David: of the which he translated some into English metre. There is one of them, and I think no more, still remaining in our ordinary singing psalms; namely, the hundred twenty-fifth: which in the title is said to be composed by R. W. There is also a hymn of his preserved, and set usually at the end of our English singing psalms, in our Bibles, beginning, *Preserve us, Lord, by thy dear word.* He writ here also many godly and learned sermons upon the Epistles and Gospels, read on Sundays. He translated a postil of Antonius Corvinus, a Lutheran divine, and divers other learned men's works. And some of his adversaries having laid certain errors to his charge very unjustly, he writ a confutation thereof; a book, it seems, replenished with all kind of godly learning. These, and several other things, he writ while he was here, but they were not published. After his abode in this place some time, he was by letters called away again among his former friends and acquaintance. And what became of him afterwards, I find not; until here, in Edward the Sixth's reign, he was nominated by our Archbishop to be made Archbishop of Armagh. But in Queen Mary's reign he fled to Frankford, where he remained one of the members of the English congregation there. And when an unhappy breach was made there among them, some being for the use of the Geneva discipline and form, and others for the continuance of that form of prayers that had been used in England in King Edward's days; and the faction grew to that head, that the former separated themselves from the rest, and departed to Geneva: this Wisdome did, in a sermon preached at Frankford, vindicate the English book, and somewhat sharply blamed them that went away, calling them *madheads*. As one Tho. Cole wrote from thence to a friend, with this censure on him; "That he so called them, he "would not say, *unwisely*, [alluding to his name *Wisdom*,] "but he might well say, *uncharitably*."

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[m] The Jewel of Joy.

[n] They were both forced to recant openly at St. Paul's Cross, in the year 1544, together with one Shingleton. And hereupon, I suppose, they conveyed themselves into the north parts for security.

I have thought good to give this account of these men, that we may perceive hence the good judgment of our Archbishop in propounding them for those Irish preferments; so fit and well qualified for them, as in other respects of prudence and learning, so especially for their tried zeal and boldness in preaching the Gospel, and their constancy in suffering for it; which were virtues that there would be great occasion for in Ireland.

The character the Archbishop gave of the two former.

Of all these four, our Archbishop judged Mr. Whithead the fittest; giving this character of him, "That he was en"dued with good knowledge, special honesty, fervent zeal, "and politic wisdom." And the next to him in fitness he judged Turner: of whom he gives this relation; "That he "was merry and witty withal, *Nihil appetit, nihil ardet*, 278 "*nihil somniat, nisi Jesum Christum*. And, in the lively "preaching of him and his word, declared such diligence, "faithfulness, and wisdom, as for the same deserveth much "commendation."

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Turner designed for Armagh.

In fine, Turner was the man concluded upon by the King for the archbishoprick of Armagh: Whithead either being not overcome to accept it, or otherwise designed. And the Archbishop had order from court to send to Canterbury for him to come up: which accordingly he did. And now, about the middle of September, much against his will, as not liking his designed preferment, Turner waited upon the Archbishop: who, urging to him the King's will and pleasure, and his ordinary call unto this place, and suchlike arguments, after a great unwillingness, prevailed with him to accept it. But the Archbishop told the Secretary, that Turner seemed more glad to go to hanging, (which the rebels three years before were just going to do with him, for his preaching against them in their camp,) than he was now to go to Armagh. He urged to the Archbishop, "That if he went thither, he should have no auditors, "but must preach to the walls and stalls; for the people "understood no English." The Archbishop, on the other hand, endeavoured to answer all his objections. He told him, "They did understand English in Ireland; though "whether they did in the diocese of Armagh, he did "indeed doubt. But, to remedy that, he advised him to "learn the Irish tongue: which with diligence, he told him, "he might do in a year or two: and that there would this "advantage arise thereby, that both his person and doc"trine would be more acceptable, not only unto his diocese, "but also throughout all Ireland." And so, by a letter to Secretary Cecyl, recommended him to his care; entreating, "that he might have as ready a dispatch as might "be, because he had but little money."

But declines it.

Hist. Ref. vol. i. p. 205.

This letter of the Archbishop is dated Sept 29, 1552. So that it must be a mistake in the late excellent historian, when he writes, that Bale and Goodacre were sent over into Ireland to be bishops in the month of August: which cannot agree with this letter of Cranmer, which makes Turner to be in nomination only for that see a month after. And by certain memorials of King Edward's own hand, which I have, it appears, that as Turner at last got himself off from accepting that bishoprick, so by the date thereof it is evident, it was vacant in October following:

for the King, under that month, put the providing for that place, which Turner refused, among his matters to be remembered. The Archbishop's letters concerning this Irish affair are in the Appendix.

No. LXV. LXVI.

Goodacre made Archbishop of Armagh.

So that at last this charge fell upon Hugh Goodacre, the last man, as it seems, nominated by the Archbishop; whom he termed "a wise and learned man." He and Bale, as they came together out of Bishop Poynet's family unto their preferments, so they were consecrated together by Brown, Archbishop of Dublin, February 2; assisted by Thomas Bishop of Kildare, and Eugenius Bishop of Down and Connor: which makes me think they were not come over long before. Goodacre died about a quarter of a year after at Dublin, and there buried, not without suspicion of poison, by procurement of certain priests of his diocese, for preaching God's verity, and rebuking their common vices,
279 as Bale writes. He left many writings of great value behind him, as the said Bale, his dear friend, relates; but none, as ever I heard of, published. As he was a sober and virtuous man, so he was particularly famed for his preaching. He was at first, I suppose, chaplain to the Lady Elizabeth; at least to her he had been long known. And for him, about the year 1548, or 1549, she procured a license to preach from the Protector; as appears by a letter she wrote from Enfield to Mr. Cecyl, who then attended on him: of which Goodacre himself was the bearer. Wherein she gave this testimony of him; "That he "had been of long time known unto her to be as well of "honest conversation, and sober living, as of sufficient "learning and judgment in the Scriptures, to preach the "word of God. The advancement whereof," as she said, "she so desired, that she wished there were many such to "set forth God's glory. She desired him therefore, that as "heretofore, at her request, he had obtained license to "preach for divers other honest men, so he would re"commend this man's case unto my Lord, and therewith "procure for him the like license as to the other had been "granted."

Vocation of John Bale. *Beatæ memoriæ in Hibernia concionatorem vigilantissimum, ac theologica eloquentia non immerito commendatum.* Balæi Centur.

Letters from the council to

And lastly, that Goodacre and his colleague Bale might find the better countenance and authority, when they should exercise their functions in that country, the privy-council wrote two letters to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland; the one, dated October 27, in commendation of Bale, Bishop elect of Ossory; and the other, dated November 4, in commendation of Goodacre, bishop elect of Armachan.

Anno 1552. Ireland, recommending the Irish bishops. Council-Book.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Archbishop charged with Covetousness.

A rumour given out of the Archbishop's covetousness and wealth.

TO divert the King after the loss of his uncle, whom he dearly loved, Northumberland took him in progress in the summer of this year. While he was in this progress, some about his person, that they might the better make way for their sacreligious designs, and to make the King the more inclinable to lay hands on the episcopal demeans, or at least to clip and pare them, buzzed about the court rumours, how rich the Archbishop of Canterbury and the other bishops were; and withal, how niggardly and unsuitably they lived to their great incomes, laying up, and scraping together to enrich themselves and their posterities; whereby hospitality was neglected, which was especially required of them. Hereupon Sir William Cecyl the Secretary, who was now with the King, and took notice of these discourses, and saw well the malicious tendency thereof, (and moreover thought them perhaps in some measure to be true,) laboured to hinder the ill consequence: for he was ever a very great favourer, as of the reformed clergy, so of their estate and honours. This put him upon writing a private letter from court to the Archbishop, desiring him favourably to take a piece of good counsel at his hands, as he intended it innocently and out of a good mind, acquainting him with the reports at the court of his 280
riches, and of his covetousness; reminding him withal of that passage of St. Paul, "They that will be rich "fall into temptation and a snare;" meaning probably

Which Cecyl sends him word of.

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The Archbishop's answer for himself and the other bishops.

thereby, the danger that he and the rest of his brethren might expose their revenues to thereby. The Archbishop seemed somewhat nettled, and, perceiving the ill designs, dispatched an answer hereunto, giving a true account of his own condition, and of the other bishops, as to temporal things, and letting him understand, how much the world was mistaken in him and the rest: "That for him-"self he feared not that saying of St. Paul half so much as "he did stark beggary. That he took not half so much "care for his living, when he was a scholar of Cambridge, "as he did at that present: for although he had now much "more revenue, yet," he said, "he had much more to do "withal. That he had more care now to live as an "Archbishop, than he had at that time to live like a scholar. "That he had not now so much as he had within ten "years past by an hundred and fifty pounds of certain "rent, besides casualties. That he paid double for every "thing he bought: and that if a good auditor had this ac-"count, he should find no great surplusage to grow rich "upon." And then, as for the rest of the bishops, he told "him, that they were all beggars, but only one single [o] man "of them: and yet he dared well say, that he was not very "rich. And that if he knew any bishop that were co-"vetous, he would surely admonish him. Entreating the "Secretary, that, if he could inform him of any such, he "would signify him, and himself would advertise him, "thinking he could do it better than the other." Who seemed to have hinted his mind to the Archbishop, that he intended to do it. This letter will be found among the rest in the Appendix. No. LXVII.

No doubt the Archbishop was thus large and earnest on this subject to supply the Secretary with arguments to confute that malicious talk at court concerning the bishops, and to prevent the mischiefs hatching against them.

This very slander raised upon him to King Henry.

Nor indeed was this the first time this Archbishop was thus slandered. For some of his enemies, divers years before, had charged him to his loving master, King Henry

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[o] He probably was Holgate, Archbishop of York.

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VIII., with covetousness and ill housekeeping: and the chief of these, that raised this report, was Sir Thomas Seimour. But the King made him to convince himself, by sending him to Lambeth about dinner time upon some pretended message: where his own eyes saw how the Archbishop lived in far other sort than he had told the King, keeping great and noble hospitality. So that, when he returned, he acknowledged to his Majesty, that he never saw so honourable a hall set in this realm, besides his Majesty's, in all his life, with better order, and so well furnished in each degree. And the King then gave this testimony of him, "Ah, good man! all that he hath he spendeth in "housekeeping." Fox.

King Henry promised him lands.

For this reason probably it was, as well as upon the account of his good service, and also of the exchanges he was forced to make, that the said King gave him a promise of a grant of some lands, and by a general clause in his will signified as much; which was, "That certain persons 281 "should be considered." Accordingly I find in the forementioned manuscript-book of sales of King's lands, that Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury did, in the first year of King Edward VI, partly by purchase, and partly by exchange of other lands, procure divers lands of the King. He obtained the rectory of Whalley, Blackbourn, and Rochdale, in the county of Lancaster, lately belonging to the monastery or abbey of Whalley in the same county; and divers other lands and tenements in the counties of Lancaster, Kent, Surrey, London, Bangor. And this partly in consideration of King Henry VIII. his promise, and in performance of his will; and partly in exchange for the manor and park of Mayfield in the county of Sussex; and divers other lands and tenements in the counties of Middlesex, Hertford, Kent, Buckingham, and York. This purchase he made, I suppose, not for himself, but for his see.

This promise performed by King Edward.

His purchases.

About the same time he also bought of the King, for the sum of five hundred and eighty pounds eight shillings and four pence, the manor of Sleford in the county of Lincoln, and of Middleton Cheny in the county of Northampton, and divers other lands and tenements in the said counties. He made another purchase of the King the same year, that

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is, the first of his reign, for four hundred twenty-nine pounds, fourteen shillings and two pence, and "for the fulfilling the last will of the late King, and in consideration "of services," as it is expressed in the said book of sales. This purchase was the priory of Arthington in the county of York, and divers other lands and tenements in York, Nottingham, and Kent. An extract of which three purchases, exactly taken out of the said book, with the value of the lands, and the rent reserved, and the time of the issues, and the test of the patent, I have thought fit to insert in the Appendix: which probably may not be unacceptable to curious persons. Num. LXVIII.

The Archbishoprick fleeced by King Henry.

Which purchases when we consider, we might be ready to make a stand, to resolve ourselves how the Archbishop could represent his condition so mean as he did in the letter before-mentioned, as though he feared he should die a beggar. But it will unriddle this, if we think how the archbishoprick had been fleeced by King Henry VIII. in ten years before: insomuch that the rents were less by an hundred and fifty pounds per annum, than they were before; besides the loss of fines, and other accidental benefits, as it is mentioned by the Archbishop in his letter. Add those extraordinary expences he was at in the maintenance of divines and scholars, strangers, that were exiles for religion, and the salaries, and pensions, and gratuities, sent to learned men abroad: besides his great and liberal housekeeping, and constant table, and large retinue.

Lands past away to the crown by exchange.

But, to make appear more particularly in this place how King Henry pared his revenue, I will give one instance of what was past away at one clap by exchange: which was indeed so considerable, that it was commmonly called *The great exchange.* This way of exchanging lands was much used in those times; wherein the princes commonly made good bargains for themselves, and ill ones for the bishopricks. This exchange, made by Cranmer with the King, was on the first day of December, in the twenty-ninth
282 year of his reign, being the very year of the suppression of the greater abbeys and religious convents. They were the ancient demeans belonging to the archbishoprick, consisting of many noble manors, whereof some had palaces

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Villare Cantian.

annexed to them. I shall name only those that lay in the county of Kent, as I find them dispersed in Philpot's book of Kent.

I. The manor and palace of Maidstone: which palace, Leland saith, was once a castle.

II. The manor and palace of Charing.

III. Wingham.

IV. Wingham-Barton, in the parish of Alresford. But in this Philpot is mistaken; for this was let to Sir Edward Bainton for ninety-nine years, by means of the King's own solicitation to the Archbishop.

V. Wrotham.

VI. Saltwood; that had in times past a magnificent castle and park; and many manors held of it by knights' service: which made it called an Honour.

VII. Tenham.

VIII. Bexley.

IX. Aldington. Where was a seat for the Archbishop, a park, and a chase for deer, called Aldington-Frith. Besides Clive or Cliff; and Malingden, a manor appendant thereunto: which King Henry took away from this see and Bishop, without any satisfaction, as far as I can find. Also Pynner, Heyes, Harrow, Mortlake, &c. were part of this great exchange. In lieu of these demeans past over to the crown by way of exchange, the King conveyed several manors to the Archbishop, all which had appertained to the lately dissolved religious houses. Namely, these among others:

Lands made over to the Archbishop.

I. Pising; a parcel of the abbey of St. Radigunds.

II. Brandred; another manor belonging to the said abbey.

III. The college of Bredgar.

IV. Raculver; another abbey suppressed.

V. Dudmanscomb; belonging to the priory of St. Martin's in Dover.

The Archbishop parted also with Knoll and Otford to the King.

One author, *viz.* Kilburn, that hath wrote of Kent, makes Cranmer also to have made over to the King the sumptuous palace of Otford, built by Archbishop Warham, which cost him thirty-three thousand pounds, (a vast sum in those days,) as Lambard tells us. Philpot, another writer of that county, saith, that this was incorporated into the revenue of the

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crown by the builder himself, Archbishop Warham, about the twelfth year of that King's reign; together with the magnificent seat of Knoll near Sevenoke; exchanging both with the King for other lands, "to extinguish the passions of "such as looked with regret and desire upon the patrimony of "the church." But it appears, by a writing of Cranmer's own secretary, that this Archbishop parted with both Otford and Knoll at once to the King, after he had possessed them some years; and not Warham, as Philpot mistakes.

MSS. C.C.C.C.

What moved him to make these exchanges.

The world is apt to blame Cranmer for parting with these revenues of the see. But surely it was a true apology that the author before-named made for the Archbishop's 283 great exchange; namely, "Because he, finding that the "spreading demeans of the church were in danger to be "torn off by the talons of avarice and rapine, to mortify "the growing appetites of sacrilegious cormorants, ex-"changed them with the crown." Which may be enough to stop any clamours against this most reverend prelate for this his doing: especially considering what I shall add upon this argument hereafter, from his own secretary.

His cares and fears for the King;

His care and concern for the welfare of the English church made him ever most earnestly to love the King, and to have a very tender regard for the safety of his person. Who in the summer of this year, as was hinted before, went a progress, accompanied by the Duke of Northumberland; brought about probably by him to get more into the King's affections, and to have his own designs the better to take effect, and with the less opposition and control: and possibly, that the King might be the further off from the Archbishop to consult withal. But he had now a more especial concern upon him for his Majesty at this time, as though his mind had prophetically presaged some evil to befall the King in that progress; (and indeed it was the last progress that ever he made.) And so methinks do these expressions of the Archbishop sound, in a letter, dated in July, to Cecyl, then attending the court; "beseeching Almighty God to pre-"serve the King's Majesty, with all his council and family, "and send him well to return from his progress." And in a letter the next month, "he thanked Cecyl for his news; "but especially," said he, "for that ye advertise me that the

"King's Majesty is in good health: wherein I beseech "God long to continue his Highness." And when, in the latter end of the following month, the gests (that is, the stages of his Majesty's progress) were altered, which looked like some ill design, the Archbishop entreated Cecyl to send him the new resolved-upon gests from that time to the end, that he might from time to time know where his Majesty was; adding his prayer again for him, "that God would preserve and prosper him."

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CHAP. XXX.

His Care for the Vacancies. Falls sick.

His care for filling the vacancies of the church.

WHILE the King was thus abroad, and the Archbishop absent, unworthy or disaffected men were in a fairer probability of getting promotions in the church, while he was not at hand for to nominate fit men to the King, and to advise him in the bestowing the vacant dignities and benefices. The Archbishop knew very well how much learning and sobriety contributed towards the bringing the nation out of popery, and that nothing tended so effectually to continue it as the contrary. This matter the Archbishop seemed to have discoursed at large with Secretary Cecyl at parting: who therefore, by a letter sent to the said Archbishop, then at his house at Ford, desired him to send him up a catalogue of learned men, and such as he esteemed fit 284 for places of preferment in the church and university: that so, as any place fell in the King's gift, the said Secretary might be ready at the least warning to recommend fitting and worthy men to supply such vacancies, and to prevent any motion that might be made by any courtiers or simonists for ignorant persons, or corrupt in religion. In answer to which letter, the Archbishop writ him word, that he would send him his mind in that matter with as much expedition as he could. And undoubtedly we should have seen the good fruits of this afterwards in the church, had not the untimely death of that admirable Prince, that followed not long after, prevented this good design.

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Laboured under an ague this autumn.

This year the Archbishop laboured under two fits of sickness at Croydon. The latter was caused by a severe ague; of which his physicians doubted whether it were a quotidian, or a double-tertian; and, seizing him in the declining of the year, was in danger to stick by him all the winter. But, by the care of his physicians, in the latter end of August, it had left him two days, which made him hope he was quit thereof; yet his water kept of an high colour. That second day he wrote to Cecyl, and "desired him to "acquaint Cheke how it was with him. And now the "most danger was," as he said, "that if it came again that "night, it was like to turn to a quartan, a most stubborn "ague, and likelier to continue and wear him out." A disease, indeed, that carried off his successor, Cardinal Pole, and was, as Godwin observed, a disease deadly and mortal unto elder folk.

The great mortality of agues about this time.

The Archbishop's friends had reason to fear his distemper, if we think of the severity of agues in that age; greater, as it seems, than in this. Roger Ascham complaineth to his friend John Sturmius, anno 1562; "that, for four years "past, he was afflicted with continual agues: that no "sooner had one left him, but another presently followed; "and that the state of his health was so impaired and "broke by them, that an hectick fever seized his whole "body: and the physicians promised him some ease, but "no solid remedy." And I find, six or seven years before that, mention made of hot burning fevers, whereof died many old persons; and that there died in the year 1556, seven aldermen within the space of ten months. And the next year, about harvest time, the quartan agues continued in like manner, or more vehemently than they had done the year before; and they were chiefly mortal to old people, and especially priests: so that a great number of parishes became destitute of curates, and none to be gotten; and much corn was spoiled for lack of harvest-men. Such was the nature of this disease in these days.

Stow's Chron.

But the severity or danger of the Archbishop's distemper did not so much trouble him, as certain inconveniences that

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That which most concerned him in his sickness.

attended it; *viz.* that it put him off from those pious and holy designs that he was in hand with, for God's glory, and the good of the church. For so he expressed his mind to his friend the Secretary; "However the matter chance, "the most grief to me is, that I cannot proceed in such "matters as I have in hand, according to my will and desire: "this *terrenum domicilium* is such an obstacle to all good 285 "purposes." So strongly bent was the heart of this excellent prelate to the serving of God and his church. But out of this sickness he escaped; for God had reserved him for another kind of death to glorify him by.

The Secretary sends the Archbishop the copy of the Emperor's pacification.

A little before this sickness befel him, something fell out which gave him great joy. Cecyl knew how welcome good news out of Germany would be to him, and therefore in July sent him a copy of the pacification; that is, the Emperor's declaration of peace throughout the empire, after long and bloody wars; which consisted of such articles as were favourable unto the Protestants, after much persecution of them: "as, that a diet of the empire should shortly "be summoned, to deliberate about composing the dif"ferences of religion; and that the dissensions about re"ligion should be composed by placid, and pious, and easy "methods. And that in the mean time all should live in "peace together, and none should be molested for religion; "with divers other matters." And in another letter, soon after, the said Cecyl advised him of a peace concluded between the Emperor and Maurice, Elector of Saxony, a warlike prince, and who headed the protestant army: which being news of peace among Christians, was highly acceptable to the good father. But he wanted much to know upon what terms, out of the concern he had that it might go well with the protestant interest: and therefore, Cecyl having not mentioned them, the Archbishop earnestly, in a letter to him, desired to know whether the peace were according to the articles, meaning those of the pacification, or otherwise. Which when he understood, (for upon the same articles that peace between the Emperor and Duke Maurice stood,) it created a great tranquillity to his pious mind. Thus were his thoughts employed about the matters of Germany, and the cause of religion there: which he

Vid. Sleid. lib. 24.

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rejoiced not a little to see in so fair a way to a good conclusion.

CHAP. XXXI.

His kindness for Germany.

His kindness for Germany.

TO this country he had a particular kindness; not only because he had been formerly there in quality of ambassador from his master King Henry, and had contracted a great friendship with many eminent learned men there, and a near relation to some of them by marrying Osiander's niece at Norinberg; but chiefly, and above all, because here the light of the Gospel began first to break forth and display itself, to the spiritual comfort and benefit of other nations. He had many exhibitioners in those parts, to whom he allowed annual salaries: insomuch that some of his officers grumbled at it, as though his housekeeping were abridged by it. For when once in King Henry's reign, one, in discourse with an officer of his Grace, had said, "He wondered "his Lordship kept no better an house;" (though he kept a 286 very good one:) he answered, "It was no wonder, for my "Lord," said he, "hath so many exhibitions in Germany, "that all is too little to scrape and get to send thither."

His correspondence with Germany,

He held at least a monthly correspondence to and from learned Germans: and there was one in Canterbury, appointed by him on purpose to receive and convey the letters: which his enemies once, in his troubles, made use of as an article against him. And Gardiner, a prebend of Canterbury, and preferred by the Archbishop, of this very thing treacherously, in a secret letter, informed his grand enemy and competitor Gardiner, the Bishop of Winton.

and with Herman, Archbishop of Colen.

Among the rest of his correspondents in Germany, Herman, the memorable and ever-famous Archbishop and Elector of Colen, was one; who, by the counsel and direction of Bucer and Melancthon, did vigorously labour a reformation of corrupt religion within his province and territories. But, finding the opposition against him so great, and lying

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under the excommunication of the Pope for what he had done; and, being deprived thereupon by the Emperor of his lands and function, he resigned his ecclesiastical honour, and betook himself to a retired life: which was done about the year 1547. But no question, in this private capacity, he was not idle in doing what service he could for the good of that cause which he had so generously and publicly espoused, and for which he had suffered so much. I find that, in this year 1552, our Archbishop had sent a message to Secretary Cecyl, who accompanied the King in this summer's progress, desiring him to be mindful of the Bishop of Colen's letters. And in another letter, dated July 21, he thanked the Secretary for the good remembrance he had thereof. What the contents of these letters of the Archbishop of Colen were, it appeareth not: but I am very apt to think the purport of them was, that Cranmer would solicit some certain business in the English court, relating to the affairs of religion in Germany, and for the obtaining some favour from the King in that cause. But the King being now abroad, and the Archbishop at a distance from him, he procured the Secretary, who was ever cordial to the state of religion, to solicit that Archbishop's business for him: sending him withal that Archbishop's letters for his better instruction.

And this, whatever it was, seems to have been the last good office that Archbishop Herman did to the cause of religion; for he died, according to Sleidan, in the month of August; and our Archbishop's letter, wherein that Elector's letters are mentioned, was writ but the month before.

The suitableness of both these Archbishop's dispositions.

And if one may judge of men's commencing friendship and love according to the suitableness of their tempers and dispositions, our Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Archbishop of Colen, must have been very intimate friends. It was said of this man, that he often wished, "That either he "might be instrumental to the propagating the evangelical "doctrine and reformation of the churches under his jurisdic-"tion, or to live a private life." And when his friends had often told him what envy he would draw upon himself by the changing of religion, he would answer, like a true Christian philosopher, "That nothing could happen to him unexpectedly, 287 "and that he had long since fortified his mind against every "event." These two passages spake the very spirit and soul of Cranmer: which they may see that are minded to read what Fox saith of him, as to his undauntedness and constancy in the maintaining of the truth, against the many temptations and dangers that he met with during these three reigns successively.

Their diligence in reforming.

And lastly, as our Archbishop devoted himself wholly to the reforming of his church; so admirable was the diligence, pains, and study this Archbishop took in contriving the reformation of his. He procured a book to be writ concerning it, called *Instauratio Ecclesiarum,* which contained the form and way to be used for the redressing the errors and corruptions of his church. It was composed by those great German divines, Bucer and Melancthon; which book was put into English, and published here, as a good pattern, in the year 1547. This book he intended to issue forth through his jurisdiction, by his authority to be observed. But first he thought fit well and seriously to examine it: and spent five hours in the morning, for five days, to deliberate and consult thereupon: calling to him, to advise withal in this great affair, his coadjutor Count Stolberg, Husman, Jenep, Bucer, and Melancthon. He caused the whole work to be read before him; and, as many places occurred wherein he seemed less satisfied, he caused the matter to be disputed and argued, and then spake his own mind accurately. He would patiently hear the opinions of others for the information of his own judgment; and so ordered things to be either changed or illustrated. And so dexterously would he decide many controversies arising, that Melancthon thought that those great points of religion had been long weighed and considered by him, and that he rightly understood the whole doctrine of the church. He had always lying by him the Bible of Luther's version; and, as testimonies chanced to be alleged thence, he commanded that they should be turned to, that he might consider that which is the fountain of all truth: insomuch that the said Melancthon could not but admire and talk of his learning, prudence, piety, and dexterity, to such as he conversed with; and particularly to John Cæsar, to whom in a letter he gave a particular account of this affair. And it is to be noted by the way, that the said book, according to which the reformation was to be modelled, contained only, as Melancthon in his letter suggested, a necessary instruction for all children, and the sum of the christian doctrine: and the appointments for the colleges and ecclesiastical hierarchy were very moderate; the form of the ecclesiastical polity being to remain as it was, and so were the colleges, with their dignities, wealth, degrees, ornaments thereunto belonging; only great superstitions should be taken away. Which the wise Melancthon aforesaid did so approve of, that he professed he had often propounded it in diets of the German nation, as the best way to peace. And this I add, that it might be observed how Archbishop Cranmer went by the same measures in the reformation of the church of England; maintaining the hierarchy, and the revenues, dignities, and customs of it, against many in those times that were for the utter abolishing them, as relicks of popery. Such a correspondence there was between our Archbishop 288 and the wisest, moderatest, and most learned divines of Germany. But let us look nearer home.

Mel. Epist. printed at Leyden, 1647. pag. 34.

Nec aliam video, nisi hanc unam, ut retineant Episcopi et Collegia suæ ἀξιώματα, et suas opes, et recipiant doctrinam piam. Ubi supra.

CHAP. XXXII.

Troubles of Bishop Tonstal.

AS the last year we heard of the deprivation of two popish bishops, so this year another underwent the like censure; I mean Tonstal, Bishop of Durham: whose business I shall the rather relate, because our Archbishop had some concern in it. September 21, "A commission was issued out to the "Lord Chief Justice and his colleagues, to examine and de-"termine the cause of Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, and eight "writings touching the same; which he is willed to con-"sider, and to proceed to the hearing and ordering of the "matter, as soon as he may get the rest of his colleagues to "him." It was not long after, *viz.* about the midst of October, that this Bishop by these commissioners (whose

The troubles of Bishop Tonstal.

MS. of an old Council-Book.

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names, besides the Chief Justice, do not occur) was deprived, and his estate confiscated. "October ult. Sir John Mason "was ordered by the council to deliver, to the use of Dr. "Tonstal, (so he is now styled,) remaining prisoner in the "Tower, such money as should serve for his necessities, "until such time as further order shall be taken touching "his goods and money, lately appertaining to him. December 6, it was agreed by the council, that Dr. Tonstal, "late Bishop of Durham, should have the liberty of the "Tower:" where he continued till the time of Queen Mary.

The cause of this Bishop's punishment.

But we will look back to learn for what cause this severe punishment was inflicted upon this reverend grave Bishop; and the rather, because the Bishop of Sarum could not find, as he writes, what the particulars were. In the year 1550, a conspiracy was hatching in the north, to which the Bishop was privy at least, if not an abettor: and he wrote to one Menvile in those parts relating to the same. This Menvile himself related unto the council, and produced the Bishop's letter: which was afterwards, by the Duke of Somerset, withdrawn and concealed, as it seems, out of kindness to Tonstal. But upon the Duke's troubles, when his cabinet was searched, this letter was found: upon which they proceeded against Tonstal. This is the sum of what is found in the Council-Book: *viz.* "May 20, 1551, the Bishop of "Durham is commanded to keep his house. Aug. 2, he "had license to walk in the fields. December 20. Whereas "the Bishop of Durham, about July 1550, was charged by "Vivian Menvile to have consented to a conspiracy in the "north, for the making a rebellion; and whereas, for want "of a letter written by the said Bishop to the said Menvile, "(whereupon great trial of this matter depended,) the final "determination of the matter could not be proceeded unto, "and the Bishop only commanded to keep his house; the "same letter hath of late been found in a casket of the "Duke of Somerset's after his last apprehension. The said "Bishop was sent for, and this day appeared before the "council, and was charged with the letter, which he could "not deny but to be his own hand-writing: and, having "little to say for himself, he was then sent to the Tower, "there to abide till he should be delivered by process of "law." Agreeable to this is that King Edward writes in his Journal: "December 20, the Bishop of Durham was, "for concealment of treason written to him, and not dis-"closed, sent to the Tower."

A bill in parliament to attaint Tonstal.

In the latter end of the year 1551, a parliament sitting, it was thought convenient to bring in a bill into the house of Lords, attainting him for misprision of treason. But Archbishop Cranmer spake freely against it, not satisfied, it seems, with the charge laid against him. But it passed, and the Archbishop protested. But when it was carried down to the Commons, they would not proceed upon it, not satisfied with the bare depositions of evidences, but required that the accusers might be brought face to face: and so it went no further. But when the parliament would not do Tonstal's business, a commission was issued out to do it, as is above spoken.

The care of the diocese committed to the Dean.

In the mean time, that the bishoprick might not want a due care taken of it, during the Bishop's restraint, Feb. 18, 1551, a letter was sent from the council to the prebendaries of Durham, to conform themselves to such orders in religion and divine service, standing with the King's proceedings, as their Dean, Mr. Horn, shall set forth, whom the lords required them to receive and use well, as being sent to them for the weal of the country by his Majesty.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The new Common Prayer. The Archbishop in Kent.

The new Common Prayer began to be used.

THE book of Common Prayer having the last year been carefully revised and corrected by the Archbishop and others, the parliament in April this year enacted, that it should begin to be used every where at All-Saints day next. And accordingly the book was printed against the time, and began to be read in St. Paul's church, and the like throughout the whole city. But because the posture of kneeling was excepted against by some, and the words used by the

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priest to the communicant, at the reception of the bread, gave scruple, as though the adoration of the host were intended: therefore, to take off this, and to declare the contrary to be the doctrine of this church, October 27, a letter was sent from the council to the Lord Chancellor, to cause to be joined to the book of Common Prayer, lately set forth, a declaration, signed by the King, touching the kneeling at the receiving of the communion. Which in all probability was done by the motion of the Archbishop, who, in his late book, had taken such pains to confute the adoration; and now thought it necessary, that some public declaration should be made in the church-service against it. So now, the first of November being come, Dr. Ridley, the Bishop of London, was the first that celebrated the new service in St. Paul's church; which he did in the forenoon: and then, in his rochet only, without cope or vestment, preached in the 290 choir. And in the afternoon he preached at Paul's Cross, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and citizens, present. His sermon tended to the setting forth this new edition of the Common Prayer. He continued preaching till almost five a clock; so that the Mayor and the rest went home by torch-light. By this book of Common Prayer, all copes and vestments were forbidden throughout England. The prebendaries of St. Paul's left off their hoods, and the bishops their crosses, &c. as by act of parliament is more at large set forth.

Stow's Chron.

This book put into French for the King's French subjects.

Provision also was made for the King's French dominions, that this book, with the amendments, should be used there. And the Bishop of Ely, Lord Chancellor, (a great forwarder of good reformation,) procured a learned Frenchman, who was a doctor of divinity, carefully to correct the former French book by this English new one, in all the alterations, additions, and omissions thereof. For the first Common Prayer-Book also was in French, for the use of the King's French subjects: being translated by commandment of Sir Hugh Paulet, Governor of Calais: and that translation overseen by the Lord Chancellor and others at his appointment. The benefit of this last book was such, that one of the French congregation in London sought, by the means of A Lasco's interest with Secretary Cecyl, for a license

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under the King's letters patents, to translate this Common Prayer, and the Administration of Sacraments, and to print it, for the use of the French Islands of Jersey and Guernsey. But Cecyl, after a letter received from A Lasco in August to that effect, not willing to do this of his own head, and reckoning it a proper matter to be considered by the Archbishop, who were to be entrusted with the translating of such a book, desired him, being now at Ford, to give him his advice and judgment herein, both as to the work and as to the benefit. To whom the Archbishop gave this answer; "That the commodity that might arise by printing of the "book was meet to come to them who had already taken "the pains in translating the same." Informing the Secretary who they were; namely, those formerly and now of late employed by Sir Hugh Paulet, and the Lord Chancellor. But I find this book was not presently finished, being not printed till the year 1553, for the use of Jersey and Guernsey.

The age still vicious.

Notwithstanding this cleansing of the church from superstition and idolatry, and bringing in the knowledge of the Gospel, by the Archbishop's constant pains and study, the people generally, even the professors themselves, were bad enough as to their morals; and religion had yet got but little hold of them. A clear sight of the behaviour of these times may be seen by what Tho. Becon, a chaplain of Cranmer's, writ in his preface to a book put forth in those days:

Jewel of Joy.

"What a nomber of fals christians lyve ther at thys present "day, unto the excedynge dishonour of the christen profes- "sion, which with theyr mouth confesse that they know "God, but with theyr dedes they utterly denye hym, and "are abhominable, disobedient to the word of God, and "utterlye estranged from al good works? What a swarm of "grosse gospellers have we also among us, which can prattle "of the Gospel very fynely, talk much of the justification of "faith, crake very stoutly of the free remissyon of all theyr 291 "sins by Christ's blood, avaunce themselves to be of the "number of those, which are predestinate unto eternal glory? "But how far do theyr life differ from al true christianitie? "They are puffed up with al kynd of pryde: they swel with "al kynd of envy, malice, hatred, and enmity against theyr

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"neghbour, they brenne with unquencheable lusts of carnal "concupiscence, they walowe and tumble in al kynd of "beastly pleasures: theyr gredy covetous affects are insatiable: thenlarging of theyr lordshipps, thencreasyng of "theyr substance, the scrapyng together of theyr worldly "possessions infynite, and knoweth no end. In fyne, all "theyr endeavours tend unto thys end, to shew themselves "very ethnycks, and utterly estraunged from God in theyr "conversation, although in words they otherwise pretend. "As for theyr almes-dedes, theyr praying, theyr watchyng, "theyr fastyng, and such other godly exercises of the Spirit, "they are utterly banished from these rude and gross gospellers. All theyr religion consisteth in words and disputations; in christen acts and godly dedes nothyng at "all." These evil manners of the professors themselves looked with so sad a face, that it made the best men assuredly expect a change, and woful times to follow.

A new sect in Kent.

Council-Book.

September 27, a letter was sent from the council to the Archbishop to examine a sect newly sprung up in Kent. Whereof there was now a book of examinations sent him: and to commune with a man and a woman, (the informers,) bearers of the letter, who could inform him somewhat of the matter. And to take such order in the same according to the commission, that these errors might not be suffered thus to overspread the King's faithful subjects. What this sect was, appeareth not. The Anabaptists were taken notice of, and a commission issued out against them, some years before. These were sectaries more new, and whereof the council very lately was informed. It may be they were of the family of Love, or David George his sect, who made himself sometime Christ, and sometime the Holy Ghost. For a little before these times, divers sects sprang up under the profession of the Gospel, in High and Low Germany; some whereof dispersed themselves into England. Which sects began to do so much hurt to the reformation among us, that the author before mentioned laments it in these words: "What wicked and ungodly opinions are there sown nowadays of the Anabaptists, Davidians, Libertines, and such "other pestilent sects, in the hearts of the people, unto the "great disquietness of Christ's church, moving rather unto "sedition, than unto pure religion; unto heresy, than unto "things godly!"

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The Archbishop's business in Kent.

The examination of this new sect was one of the businesses the Archbishop was employed in while he was in his retirement at his house near Canterbury. Another was, the sitting upon a commission to him, and other gentlemen of Kent, for inquiry after such as had embezzled the plate and goods belonging to chauntries, &c. given by the parliament to the King, and converting them to their own uses. But this being somewhat an odious work, he was not very forward to enter upon, especially because he thought, whatsoever he and the other commissioners should recover, would be but swallowed up by the Duke of Northumberland and 292 his friends, and the King be little the better. But, because he did not make more haste, he was charged by his enemies at court as a neglecter of the King's business. Which cost him a letter in excuse of himself to the said Duke: signifying, that he omitted this business awhile till the gentlemen and justices of peace of Kent, who were then mostly at London, were come home.

A letter for installing Bishop Hoper. Council-Book.

December 2, a letter was sent from the council to the Archbishop, to grant out a warrant, *ad installandum*, for the Bishop of Worcester and Glocester, without paying any fees for the same; because he paid fees for another mandate, which served to no purpose.

The Vicar of Beden. Council-Book.

February 20, an order was sent to the Archbishop from the council to examine the Vicar of Beden in the county of Berks, according to an information enclosed, and to advertise the lords of his proceedings therein. What this Vicar's crime was, I know not; but I observe about these times the priests and curates were very busy men, and would take liberty, sometimes to speak against the King's proceedings, or his Archbishop, with bitterness enough, and sometimes to vent fond opinions, so that oftentimes they were fetched up to the council-board; and, after an appearance or two, referred to the Archbishop to examine and punish: as being matters relating to religion; and so proper for his cognizance.

Sampson and Knox.

About the latter end of this year, Thomas Sampson was preferred to the deanery of Chichester, having been Parson

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of Alhallowes, Bread-street, London. February the 2d, a letter was sent from the privy-council to the Archbishop, to bestow the said living upon Mr. Knox, who was one of the King's chaplains, and in good esteem in the court for his gift of preaching.

The council favour Knox. Collect. vol. ii. p. 42.

This Knox was the man whose name was so dashed in the King's Journal, where the names of the King's six chaplains were inserted, that Bishop Burnet could not read it. The council bare a great favour to him, as appears by those several letters they wrote in his behalf. One was mentioned before, sent to the Archbishop for a living in London; but in that Knox succeeded not, the Archbishop preferring Laurence Saunders (afterwards a martyr) thereunto. Knox being sent this year into the north one of the King's itinerary preachers, a warrant, dated October 27, was granted from the council to four gentlemen, to pay to him, his Majesty's Preacher in the north, (so he is styled,) forty pounds, as his Majesty's reward. And again, December 9, a letter was sent from the council to the Lord Wharton (who was Lord Warden in the northern borders) in commendation of Mr. Knox. And the next year, *viz.* 1553, being returned out of the north, and being then in Buckinghamshire, that he might find the more acceptance and respect there, the council wrote a letter to the great men in those parts, *viz.* the Lord Russel, Lord Windsor, to the justices of the peace, and the rest of the gentlemen within that county, in favour of the said Knox the preacher.

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A Bishop consecrated.

John Taylor.

June 26, John Taylor, S. Th. P. Dean of Lincoln, a learned and pious man, was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln, at Croyden chapel, by the Archbishop; assistedby Nicolas Bishop of London, and John Bishop of Rochester.

CHAP. XXXIV.

A Catechism. The Archbishop opposeth the Exclusion of the Lady Mary.

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Great use made of the Archbishop at council.

WE are now come to the last year of good King Edward's reign; when the Archbishop was as commonly at the council as he used to be before. For the counsellors made great use of him, and did not use to conclude any thing in matters relating to the church without him. And if he came not, they often sent for him: and once the last year, in October, when he had fixed his day of going into Kent, they stayed him for some days, that they might confer with him about some certain matter; I suppose, relating to the Articles of Religion, that were then under their hands. To look no further than the latter end of the last year; he was at council at Westminster in February, and this year in March and April. And the court being at Greenwich, where the King lay sick, and died, the Archbishop was there at council in June: but not after the eighth day. The reason he came no more we may well conjecture to be, because he did no ways like the methods that were now taking by Northumberland to bring the crown into his own family, and disinherit the King's sisters. For soon after, *viz.* June 11, the Lord Chief Justice Mountague, and some other Judges, with the King's Attorney and Solicitor, were sent for to the council to consult about drawing up the instrument.

The Articles of Religion enjoined by the King's authority.

On one of these council-days he procured the King's letters in behalf of the book of Articles, which he had taken such pains about the two last years, both in composing and in bringing to effect. The King had before given order to the Archbishop, by his letters, to put forth these Articles. And now they were put forth, he procured the King's letters also to his own officers, for to see the clergy of his diocese to subscribe thereunto. So the King's letters were directed to the Official of the court of Canterbury, and the Dean of the deanery of the Arches, and to their surrogates, deputies, &c. setting forth, "That whereas he "had given order unto Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury,

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" in letters sealed with his signet, for the honour of God, " and to take away dissension of opinion, and confirm con- " sent of true religion, that he should expound, publish, " denounce, and signify some articles and other things, " breathing the right faith of Christ, for the clergy and " people within his jurisdiction; the King therefore en- 294 " joined them, the Archbishop's officers, that they should " cause all rectors, vicars, priests, stipendiaries, school- " masters, and all that had any ecclesiastical employment, " to appear in person before the Archbishop in his hall at " Lambeth, there further to obey and do, on the King's " part, according as it shall be signified, and to receive " according to reason, and the office owing to the King's " royal dignity." And in obedience hereunto, the Official, John Gibbon, LL. D. Commissary of the deanery of the blessed Virgin of the Arches, signified by an instrument, dated June 2, to the Archbishop, that he had cited the clergy. I do not find the success of this; only that the city-clergy made their appearance before the Archbishop at Lambeth: and that he did his endeavour, by persuasion and argument, to bring them to subscribe: which, no question, very few refused. But this matter afterwards served Queen Mary's commissioners for one of their interrogatories to be put to the Archbishop, as though he had compelled many against their wills to subscribe. Which he denied, saying, he compelled none; but exhorted such to subscribe as were willing first to do it, before they did it.

The Catechism for schools.

In the month of May, the King by his letters patents commanded a Latin catechism to be taught by schoolmasters to their scholars. It was entitled, *Catechismus brevis, Christianæ disciplinæ summam continens.* The King in his letters, dated May 20, said, " it was made by a certain " pious and learned man, and presented to him; and that " he committed the diligent examination of it to certain " bishops and other learned men, whose judgment was of " great authority with him." The same bishops and learned men, I suppose, that were framing and preparing the Articles of Religion the last year. The author of this Catechism is not certainly known: some conjecture him to be Ponet, the Bishop of Winchester. The learned Dr.

Ward, one of the English divines sent to the synod of Dort, having this Catechism in his library, (now in the possession of a friend of mine,) wrote therein these words; *A*^{ro} *N*^{llo} *autore, siquid ego divinare possum:* meaning probably Alexander Nowel, who was now, if I mistake not, schoolmaster of Westminster, and afterwards Dean of St. Paul's. But whosoever was the author, the Archbishop we may conclude to be the furtherer and recommender of it unto the King: it being that Prelate's great design by catechisms, and articles of religion, and plain expositions of the fundamentals, to in stil right principles into the minds of the youth and common people, for the more effectual rooting out Popery, that had been so long entertained by the industrious nurselling up the nation in ignorance.

A Catechism set forth by the synod.

There was a Catechism that came forth about this time, (whether it were this or another, I cannot say,) allowed by the synod, or convocation. In the beginning of Queen Mary the popish divines made a great stir about this Catechism, and thought they had a great advantage against it, because it was put forth as from the synod, whereas that synod knew nothing of it. Whereupon Weston, the prolocutor in Queen Mary's first convocation, brought a bill into the house, declaring that Catechism, being pestiferous and full of heresies, to be foisted upon the last synod fraudulently, and therefore that the present synod disowned it. 295
To which he set his own hand, and propounded that all the house should do the like: which all but six consented to. One whereof was Philpot, Archdeacon of Winchester, who stood up and told them, in justification of those that published the said Catechism, that the synod, under King Edward, had granted to certain persons, to be appointed by the King, to make ecclesiastical laws. And whatsoever ecclesiastical laws they or the most part of them did set forth, according to a statute in that behalf provided, might well be said to be done by the synod of London; although such as were of the House then had no notice thereof before the promulgation. And therefore in this point he thought the setters forth of the Catechism had nothing slandered the house, since they had that synodal authority unto them committed. And moreover he desired the Prolocutor would

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be a means unto the lords, that some of those that were learned, and the publishers of this book, might be brought into the house, to shew their learning that moved them to set forth the same; and that Dr. Ridley, and Rogers, and two or three more, might be licensed to be present at this disputation, and be associate with them. But this would not be allowed.

The Archbishop opposeth the new settlement of the crown.

The last thing we hear of concerning our Archbishop in this King's reign was, his denial to comply with the new settlement of the crown, devised and carried on by the domineering Duke of Northumberland, for the succession of Jane, daughter to Gray, Duke of Suffolk, whom he had married to one of his sons. This he did both oppose, and, when he could not hinder, refused to have any hand in it. First, he did his endeavour to stop this act of the King. He took the boldness to argue much with the King about it once, when the Marquis of Northampton, and the Lord Darcy, Lord Chamberlain, were present. And moreover he signified his desire to speak with the King alone, that so he might be more free and large with him. But that would not be suffered: but if it had, he thought he should have brought off the King from his purpose, as he said afterward. But, for what he had said to the King, the Duke of Northumberland soon after told him at the council-table, "That " it became him not to speak to the King as he had done, " when he went about to dissuade him from his will." To the council the Archbishop urged the entailing of the crown by King Henry upon his two daughters, and used many grave and pithy reasons to them for the Lady Mary's legitimation, when they argued against it. But the council replied, "That it was the opinion of the judges, and the " King's learned counsel in the law, that that entailing " could not be prejudicial unto the King; and that he, " being in possession of the crown, might dispose of it as he " would." This seemed strange unto the Archbishop: yet, considering it was the judgment of the lawyers, and he himself unlearned in the law, he thought it not seemly to oppose this matter further. But he refused to sign: till the King himself required him to set his hand to his will, and saying, " that he hoped he alone would not stand out, and be more

" repugnant to his will than all the rest of the council " were." Which words made a great impression upon the Archbishop's tender heart, and grieved him very sore, out of the dear love he had to that King; and so he subscribed. 296 And, when he did it, he did it unfeignedly. All this he wrote unto Queen Mary.

Denieth before the council to subscribe to the exclusion of the Lady Mary. Foxii MSS.

To which I will add what I meet with in one of my manuscripts. " When the council and the chief judges had " set their hands to the King's will, last of all they sent for " the Archbishop, [who had all this while stood off,] requiring him also to subscribe the same will, as they had done. " Who answered, that he might not without perjury: for " so much as he was before sworn to my Lady Mary by " King Henry's will. To whom the council answered, that " they had consciences as well as he; and were also as well " sworn to the King's will as he was. The Archbishop answered, I am not judge over any man's conscience, but " mine own only. For as I will not condemn their fact, no " more will I stay my fact upon your conscience, seeing that " every man shall answer to God for his own deeds, and not " for other men's. And so he refused to subscribe, till he " had spoken with the King herein. And being with the " King, he told the Archbishop, that the judges had informed him, that he might lawfully bequeath his crown " to the Lady Jane, and his subjects receive her as Queen, " notwithstanding their former oath to King Henry's will. " Then the Archbishop desired the King, that he might first " speak with the judges: which the King gently granted. " And he spake with so many of them as were at that time " at the court, and with the King's Attorney also: who all " agreed in one, that he might lawfully subscribe to the " King's will by the laws of the realm. Whereupon he returning to the King, by his commandment granted at last " to set his hand."

Sets his hand.

The Archbishop ingratefully dealt with.

From the whole relation of this affair we may note, as the honesty, so the stoutness and courage of the Archbishop, in the management of himself in this cause against Northumberland, who hated him, and had of a long time sought his ruin: and the ingratitude of Queen Mary, or at least the implacableness of Cranmer's enemies; that the Queen soon

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yielded her pardon to so many of the former King's council, that were so deep and so forward in this business, but would not grant it him; (who could not obtain it till after much and long suit:) and that it should be put into two acts of her parliament (to make him infamous for a traitor to posterity) that he and the Duke of Northumberland were the devisers of this succession, to deprive Queen Mary of her right: which was so palpably false and untrue on the Archbishop's part. But this was, no question, Winchester's doing; through whose hands, being now Lord Chancellor, all these acts of parliament passed, and the wording of them.

The council subscribe and swear to the limited succession.

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Finally, I have only one thing more to add concerning this matter: which is, that, besides the instrument of succession, drawn up by the King's council learned in the law, signed by himself and thirty-two counsellors, and dated June 21, according to the History of the Reformation, there was another writing, which was also signed by twenty-four of the council. And to this I find our Archbishop's name. Herein they promised by their oaths and honours (being 297 commanded so to do by the King) to observe all and every article contained in a writing of the King's own hand, touching the said succession, and after copied out and delivered to certain judges and learned men to be written in order. This writing thus signed, with the other writing of the King, being his devise for the succession, may be seen in the Appendix, as I drew them out of an original.

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CHAP. XXXV.

The King dies.

The King dies.

THE good King made his most christian departure July the 6th, to the ineffable loss of religion and the kingdom; being in all likelihood, by his early beginnings, to prove an incomparable Prince to the English nation. It was more than whispered that he died by poison: and, however secretly this was managed, it was was very remarkable, that this

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rumour ran not only after his death, but, even a month or two before it, reports spread that he was dead. For which, as being rash speeches against the King, they studiously took up many people, and punished them. Before his father King Henry had him, his only son lawfully begotten, it was twenty-eight years from his first entrance upon his kingdom. And this heir made amends for the nation's so long expectation of a Prince: "His singular excellency in all "kind of princely towardliness (to use the words of one "who lived in those times) was such, that no place, no "time, no cause, no book, no person, either in public au-"dience, or else in private company, made any mention of "him, but thought himself even of very conscience bound "to powdre the same with manifold praises of his incom-"parable vertues and gifts of grace." And again; "How "happy are we Englishmen of such a King, in whose child-"hood appeareth as perfect grace, vertue, godly zeal, desire "of literature, gravity, prudence, justice, and magnanimity, "as hath heretofore been found in Kings of most mature "age, of full discretion, of antient fame, and of passing high "estimation." And again; "That God hath of singular "favour and mercy towards this realm of England sent "your Grace to reign over us, the thing itself, by the whole "process, doth declare."

Cooper's Chron.

His character.

Nic. Udal his Pref. to Erasm. Paraphrase.

The Archbishop his godfather took exceeding complacency in a Prince of such hopes, and would often congratulate Sir John Cheke his schoolmaster having such a scholar, even with tears. His instructors would sometimes give account to the Archbishop of his proficiency in his studies, a thing that they knew would be acceptable to him. Thus did Dr. Cox his tutor in a letter acquaint the Archbishop "of the Prince's towardliness, godliness, gentleness, and all "honest qualities: and that both the Archbishop, and all "the realm, ought to take him for a singular gift sent of "God. That he read Cato, Vives his Satellitium, Esop's "Fables, and made Latin, besides things of the Bible; and "that he conned pleasantly and perfectly." The Archbishop, out of his dear love to him, and to encourage him, would sometimes himself write in Latin to him: and one 298 of his letters to him is yet extant in Fox.

The Archbishop delights in this Prince's proficiency.

King Edward's writings. His great parts might be seen by his letters, journals, memorials, discourses, and writings; which were many: divers lost, but of those that are yet extant, these are the most:

Fox. A letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, his godfather, from Ampthil, in Latin, being then but about seven years old.

Fox. Another in Latin to the Archbishop from Hartford: which was an answer to one from the Archbishop.

Mr. Petyt's MSS. A letter in French to his sister, the Lady Elizabeth, writ December 18, 1546.

Sir W. H. MSS. A letter to his uncle, the Duke of Somerset, after his success against the Scots, 1547.

Sir W. H. MSS. To Queen Katharine Par, after her marriage with the Lord Admiral his uncle.

Sir W. H. MSS. Another letter to her.

Ibid. A letter to the Earl of Hartford, his cousin, in Latin.

Full. Ch. Hist. A letter to Barnaby Fitz-Patrick, concerning the Duke of Somerset's arraignment.

Full. Ch. Hist. Another to B. Fitz-Patrick, consisting of instructions to him when he went into France.

Ibid. Another to Fitz-Patrick, giving him an account of his progress, in August 1552.

Mr. Petyt's MSS. Orders concerning the habits and apparel of his subjects, according to their degrees and qualities.

Mention is also made in the History of the Reformation of letters in Latin to King Henry his father, at eight years old, and to Queen Katharine Par.

Cotton Lib. and Hist. Ref. His journal, writ all with his own hand, from the beginning of his reign 1547, until the 28th of November 1552.

Trinity Col. Libr. A collection of passages of Scripture against idolatry, in French; dedicated to the Protector.

Cott. librar. A discourse about the reformation of many abuses both ecclesiastical and temporal.

Cott. libr. A reformation of the Order of the Garter; translated out of English into Latin by King Edward. These four last are published in the History of the Reformation, volume ii. among the Collections.

Sir W. H. MSS. A book, written in French by him at twelve years of age, against the Pope, entitled, *A l'encontre les abus du Monde.*

Sir W. H. MSS. A memorial, February 1551.

Another memorial, dated October 13, 1552. Sir W. H. MSS.

Another memorial. Ibid.

His prayer a little before his death. Fox.

I shall rehearse none of these writings, but only one of the memorials; because it bordereth so near upon our present History, and shews so much this young prince's care of religion, and for the good estate of the church, animated, admonished, counselled, and directed in these matters by the Archbishop.

For Religion. October 13, 1552. 299

The King's memorial for religion.

I. A catechism to be set forth, for to be taught in all grammar-schools.

II. An uniformity of doctrine; to which all preachers should set their hands.

III. Commissions to be granted to those bishops that be grave, learned, wise, sober, and of good religion, for the executing of discipline.

IV. To find fault with the slightfulness of the pastors, and to deliver them articles of visitation, willing and commanding them to be more diligent in their office, and to keep more preachers.

V. The abrogating of the old canon-law, and establishment of a new.

VI. The dividing of the bishoprick of Durham into two; and placing of men in them.

VII. The placing of Harley into the bishoprick of Hereford.

VIII. The making of more homilies.

IX. The making of more injunctions.

X. The placing of one in a bishoprick in Ireland, which Turner of Canterbury hath refused.

Some of these things were already done, and some in hand. Hereby we may see what further steps in the reformation would have been made, had the good King lived. So that, in this King's reign, religion made a good progress, and superstition and idolatry was in a good manner purged out of the church. Which was the more to be wondered at, considering the minority of the King, the grievous factions at court, and the too common practice then of scoffing

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and buffooning religion, and the more conscientious professors of it. For of this sort of men, ruffians and dissolute livers, there were many followed the court, and were favourites to the leading men there; I mean, the two Dukes: and proved after base time-servers and flatterers in the reign of Queen Mary.

The Archbishop frequent at council.

During this reign Archbishop Cranmer was a very active man, and great deference seemed to be given to his judgment, by the King and council, in the matters that were then transacting; especially as concerning the reformation of religion. For I find him very frequently at the council-board, and often sent for thither, or sent unto when absent. And here I will not think much to set down all the particular days when, and places where, he was present in person with the privy-counsellors; from the year 1550 beginning, unto the middle of the year 1553, near the time of the King's death; as it was extracted carefully out of a Council-Book, that commenceth at the above-said year.

His presence in council in the year 1550.

Anno 1550. April 19, he was present at the council then at Greenwich. This month one Putto, who had been put to silence for his lewd preaching, [that is, against the steps made in the Reformation,] and did now nevertheless, of his own head, preach as lewdly as he had done before, was referred to the Archbishop, and the Bishop of Ely, to be corrected, April 28. The Archbishop present at council, May
300 2, 4, 7, 11, (on this day the Duke of Somerset was called again to council,) and 15. At the Star-chamber, May 16. At Westminster, May 28, June 5. At Greenwich, June 8, 11, 13, 20, 22. At Westminster, June 28, 29, 30. and July 1: about which time the Archbishop seemed to depart into his diocese, and there to remain that summer. October 11. there was an order of council for a letter to be writ to him, in answer to his of complaint against the Vicar of Dertford, to imprison him for his disobedience unto him; and in prison to endure, until the said Archbishop should come to court. October 18. was another order of council for three letters to be writ: the one to the Archbishop of Canterbury, another to the Bishop of Ely, and another to the Bishop of Lincoln. "Because (as the words run) the parliament "draweth near: before which time his Majesty thinketh it

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" expedient to have some matters there to be consulted. " Their lordships were required immediately to repair to " the court, where they shall understand his Majesty's " further pleasure. And that day his Grace was sent for." November 11, he was present at council. At Westminster, November 16, 17, 18, 26. December 4, when the Archbishop and Bishop of Ely answered the Bishop of Chichester, then before the council, as to the texts by him produced in behalf of altars. December 5, 9, 11, 13: on which day a letter was sent to the Lieutenant of the Tower, to bring the Bishop of Winchester to Lambeth before the Archbishop. January 13. he was present at the council at Greenwich, when Hoper was ordered to be committed to the Archbishop's custody. Present again at council at Greenwich, February 8. At Westminster the 16, 18: then, upon the report of the Archbishop made of one Young, a learned man, [I suppose he of Cambridge, that was Bucer's antagonist,] *viz.* that he had preached seditiously, [against the King's proceedings in religion,] it was ordered that the Archbishop, and the Bishop of Ely, should examine him, and thereupon order him, as they should think good. He was present at council, still at Westminster, March 4, 8, (when he was appointed to receive a sum of money in respect of his charges and pains in his process against the late Bishop of Winchester, now deprived,) 9, 11, 12, 22, 24.

In the year 1551.

Anno 1551. March 26, 31. At Greenwich, April the 8, 9, 11, 26. May 4, 10, 24, 25. June 4, 14, (when a letter was given to the Archbishop to send to the Lieutenant of the Tower, for the bringing White, Warden of New College in Winchester, and delivering him to the Archbishop, to remain with him till he might reclaim him,) 15, 21, 22. At Richmond, August 9. At Hampton-Court, October 1: when a licence was granted to Wolf, under the King's privilege, to print the Archbishop's book. At Westminster, October 17, 19, 22, 28. November 2, 5, 9, 10, 15, 17, 21, 26. December 11, 12, (13, a letter was sent from the council to the Archbishop to send them a book touching religion, sent out of Ireland,) 17, 18, 19. January 24, 31. February 8, 16, 22, 28. March 22.

In the year 1552.

Anno 1552. He was present at the council now sitting at

Anno 1553. Westminster, March 30. April 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 18, 19, 24. From which time, till the month of October, he was not at the council, and yet seems to have been at home. October 7, 301 the council sent to him to stay his going into Kent till Tuesday, because the lords would confer with him; that is, till October 11, when he was again present at council. The Archbishop now retired into his diocese, and was at his house at Ford: whither several messages and letters were sent to him from the council: as, November 20, they sent him the Articles of Religion (framed chiefly by him, and reviewed by the King's chaplains) for his last review, in order to the putting them into due execution. November 24, another sent him, according to the minute, of some business unknown. December 2, another letter to him for the installing of Hoper, without paying any fees. And another, February 2, in favour of Mr. Knox, to be by him collated to the living of Alhallows. This month he returned, and was at the council at Westminster. Likewise February 21, 22, 25, 27, 28.

Anno 1553. Anno 1553. March 25. April 1, 7. At Greenwich, June 2, 3, 6, 8: and that was the last time mentioned in the Council-Book, ending at June 17. Nor cared he to come afterwards, the business then in transaction not pleasing him.

A Bishop consecrated.

John Harley. May 26. John Harley, S. T. P. was consecrated (and was the last that was consecrated in this King's reign) Bishop of Hereford, upon the death of Skip, by the Archbishop, at Croyden chapel; Nicolas Bishop of London, and Robert Bishop of Carlile, assisting. This Harley was one of the King's six chaplains, Bill, Bradford, Grindal, Pern, and Knox, being the other five, that were appointed to be itineraries, to preach sound doctrine in all the remotest parts of the kingdom, for the instruction of the ignorant in right religion to God, and obedience to the King.

The end of the Second Book.

MEMORIALS

OF

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Queen Mary soon recognized. The Archbishop slandered and imprisoned.

Anno 1553.

The Archbishop's and counsellors' concern with the Lady Jane.

I FIND the Archbishop present among Queen Jane's counsellors: whose party seemed to be resolute for her until the 19th of July. All these persons of quality were with her in the Tower, consulting of affairs for her service: Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury; the Bishop of Ely, Lord Chancellor; the Earl of Winchester, Lord Treasurer; the Dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland; the Earls of Bedford, Arundel, Shrewsbury, Pembroke; the Lords Darcy and Paget; Sir Thomas Cheiney, Sir Richard Cotton, Sir William Petre, Sir John Cheke, Sir John Baker, Sir Robert Bowes; being all of her council. All which (excepting Northumberland) signed a letter, dated July 19, to the Lord Rich, Lord Lieutenant of the county of Essex, who had signified to them that the Earl of Oxford was fled to the Lady Mary. In their letter they exhorted him to stand true and tight to Queen Jane, as they said they did, and would do. It was penned by Cheke; for Secretary Cecyl was absent, and Petre, the other Secretary, though present, did it not, though he signed it. The letter is in the Appendix. The day before this letter was sent, *viz.* July 18, there being a rising in Buckinghamshire, and the parts thereabouts, Queen

No. LXIX.

Anno 1553.

Jane herself, thinking herself sure of Sir John Bridges and Sir Nicolas Poyntz, signed a letter to them, therein ordering them to raise with speed all the power they could of their servants, tenants, officers, and friends, to allay that tumult: and so she had written to other gentlemen in those parts to do. This letter also I have put in the Appendix. No. LXX.

They declare for Queen Mary.

And yet, (to see the vicissitude of men's minds, and uncertainty of human affairs,) July 20, divers of those very counsellors, that but the day before set their hands resolvedly to stand by Queen Jane, proclaimed Queen Mary in the city of London, and immediately dispatched the Earl 304 of Arundel and the Lord Paget unto her with a letter, writ from Baynard's Castle, (where they now were removed from the Tower.) In which letter "they beg her pardon, and "to remit their former infirmities, and assure her, calling "God to witness to the same, that they were ever in their "hearts her true subjects since the King's death: but could "not utter their minds before that time without great de"struction and bloodshed of themselves and others." The copy of this letter may be read in the Appendix. No. LXXI.

And write to Northumberland to lay down his arms.

The same day the council wrote to the Duke of Northumberland their letters, dated from Westminster, sent by an herald: wherein the Duke was commanded and charged, in Queen Mary's name, to disarm and discharge his soldiers, and to forbear his return to the city, until the Queen's pleasure. And the same was to be declared to the Marquis of Northampton, and all other gentlemen that were with him. The herald was also, by virtue of his letters from the council, to notify in all places where he came, "that if the Duke "did not submit himself to the Queen's Highness, he should "be taken as a traitor, and they of the late King's council "would persecute him to his utter confusion." And thus far our Archbishop went. For this was signed by him, and the Bishop of Ely, Lord Chancellor; the Marquis of Winchester, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earls of Bedford, Shrewsbury, Pembrook; the Lord Darcy, Sir Richard Cotton; Petre and Cecyl, Secretaries; Sir John Baker, Sir John Mason, Sir Robert Bowes. The Duke saw it in vain to oppose, and so submitted to this order: and the plot that his

Stow.

ambition had been framing so long, and with so much art, fell on a sudden.

Anno 1553.

The Queen owned by the ambassadors.

Very speedily Queen Mary was owned abroad, as well as at home: Dr. Wotton, Dean of Canterbury; Sir William Pickering, Sir Thomas Chaloner, ambassadors in France, writ their letters to her and the council, acknowledging her, and ceasing any further to act as ambassadors. She continued Dr. Wotton, and sent for Pickering and Chaloner home; and sent Sir Anthony St. Leger, the beginning of August, ambassador thither, joined with Wotton. This determination the council, August 12, signified to the said three ambassadors.

The Archbishop misreported to have said mass.

But now to cast our eyes upon the state of religion at this time. Upon this access of Queen Mary to the crown, whose interest as well as education made her a zealous Papist, the good progress of religion was quite overthrown; and the pious Archbishop's pains and long endeavours in a great measure frustrated; and he himself soon after exercised with great afflictions. The first pretended occasion of which was this: it was reported abroad, soon after King Edward's death, that the Archbishop had offered to sing the mass and *Requiem* at the burial of that King, either before the Queen, or at St. Paul's church, or any where else; and that he had said or restored mass already in Canterbury. This indeed had the Suffragan of Dover, Dr. Thornton, done; but without the Archbishop's consent or knowledge.

Mass at Canterbury

But however, such good impressions of religion had the Archbishop left at Canterbury, that, though mass was set up there, and priests were through fear forced to say it, yet it was utterly contrary to their wills. And, about new-year's-tide, there was a priest said mass there one day, and the next came into the pulpit, and desired all the people to forgive him. For he said, "he had betrayed Christ; but not "as Judas did, but Peter." And then he made a long sermon against the mass. 305

Which he makes a public declaration against.

But the aforesaid slanderous report so troubled the Archbishop, that, to stay it, he wrote a letter to a friend of his, that he never made any promise of saying mass, nor that he did set up the mass in Canterbury: but that it was done by "a false, flattering, lying monk, Dr. Thornden," (such a

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Foxii MSS.

character in his just anger he gave him,) who was Suffragan of Dover, and Vicedean of that church, in the absence of Dr. Wotton, who was then abroad in embassy. This Thornden, saith my manuscript, (writ but a few years after by Scory, or Becon, as I conjecture,) was "a man having neither wit, learning, nor honesty. And yet his wit is very "ready. For he preacheth as well *extempore*, as at a year's "warning: so learnedly, that no man can tell what he "chiefly intendeth or goeth about to prove: so aptly, that "a gross of points is not sufficient to tie his sermon together: not unlike to Jodocus a monk, of whom Erasmus "maketh mention in his Colloquies, who, if he were not "garnished with these glorious titles, Monk, Doctor, Vicedean, and Suffragan, were worthy to walk openly in the "streets with a bell and cock's comb." Besides this letter, the Archbishop resolved to do something in a more public manner, in vindication of the reformation, as well as of himself. So he devised a declaration: wherein he both apologized for himself against this false report, and made a brave challenge, with the assistance of Peter Martyr, and a few more, to maintain, by disputation with any man, the reformation made under King Edward. This declaration, after a first draught of it, he intended to enlarge; and then, being sealed with his own seal, to set it upon the doors of St. Paul's church, and other churches in London. This writing, wherein the good religion and doctrine practised and taught in the former reign was so nobly owned, and offered to be defended in such a public manner, was not only read by somebody boldly in Cheapside, but many copies thereof were taken; and so became dispersed. It was also soon after printed in Latin, and, I suppose, in English too. Sure I am, in the year 1557, it was printed beyond sea by the exiles: from which print I shall here transcribe it, being sent from Grindal to John Fox, for his use in the writing his history.

A Declaration of the Reverend Father in God Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, condemning the untrue and slanderous Report of some, which have reported, That he should set up the Mass at Canterbury, at the first coming of the Queen to her Reign 1553.

The declaration.

" AS the Devil, Christ's ancient adversary, is a liar, and " the father of lying; even so hath he stirred his servants " and members to persecute Christ, and his true word and " religion. Which he ceaseth not to do most earnestly at " this present. For whereas the most noble Prince of famous memory, King Henry VIII. seeing the great abuses " of the Latin masses, reformed something herein in his 306 " time; and also our late sovereign Lord King Edward VI. " took the same whole away, for the manifold errors and " abuses thereof, and restored in the place thereof Christ's " holy supper, according to Christ's own institution, and as " the Apostles in the primitive church used the same in the " beginning: the Devil goeth about by lying to overthrow " the Lord's holy supper, and to restore the Latin satisfactory masses, a thing of his own invention and device. And, " to bring the same more easily to pass, some have abused " the name of me, Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, bruiting abroad, that I have set up the mass at Canterbury, " and that I offered to say mass before the Queen's Highness, and at Paul's church, and I wot not where. I have " been well exercised these twenty years to suffer and bear " evil reports and lies; and have not been mych grieved " thereat, and have borne all things quietly. Yet when untrue reports and lies turn to the hindrance of God's truth, " they be in no wise to be tolerate and suffered. Wherefore " these be to signify to the world, that it was not I that did " set up the mass at Canterbury; but it was a false, flattering, lying, and dissembling monk, which caused the mass " to be set up there, without my advice or counsel.

" And as for offering myself to say mass before the " Queen's Highness, or in any other place, I never did, as " her Grace knoweth well. But if her Grace will give me " leave, I shall be ready to prove against all that will say " the contrary; and that the Communion Book, set forth

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"by the most innocent and godly Prince, King Edward VI. "in his high court of parliament, is conformable to the "order which our Saviour Christ did both observe and "command to be observed, and which his Apostles and primitive church used many years. Whereas the mass, in "many things, not only hath no foundation of Christ, his "Apostles, nor the primitive church, but also is manifest "contrary to the same: and containeth many horrible blasphemies in it. And although many, either unlearned, or "maliciously, do report, that Mr. Peter Martyr is unlearned; yet, if the Queen's Highness will graunt thereunto, I, with the said Mr. Peter Martyr, and other four or "five which I shall choose, will, by God's grace, take upon "us to defend, that not only our Common Prayers of the "churches, ministration of the sacraments, and other rites "and ceremonies, but also that all the doctrine and religion, "by our said sovereign Lord King Edward VI. is more "pure, and according to God's word, than any that hath "been used in England these thousand years: so that God's "word may be the judge, and that the reason and proofs "may be set out in writing. To thentent as well all the "world may examine and judge them, as that no man shall "start back from their writing; and what faith hath been "in the church these fifteen hundred years, we will joyne "with them in this point: and that the doctrine and usage "is to be followed, which was in the church fifteen hundred years past. And we shall prove, that the order of "the church, set out at this present in this church of England by act of parliament, is the same that was used in the 307 "church fifteen hundred years past. And so shall they never "be able to prove theirs."

Appears before the commissioners at Paul's.

Some copies of this declaration soon fell into the hands of certain bishops, who brought them to the council. The council sent a copy to the Queen's commissioners: who soon after ordered him to appear before them, and to bring in an inventory of his goods. The reason, as is alleged, of his being ordered to bring in this inventory, was, because it was then intended that he should have a sufficient living assigned him, and to keep his house, and not meddle with religion. So on the day appointed, which was August 27, the Archbishop, together with Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary of State to King Edward, and May, Dean of St. Paul's, came before the Queen's commissioners in the consistory of Paul's: and the Archbishop brought in his inventory. We are left to guess what he was now cited for. I suppose, it was to lay to his charge heresy, and his marriage; what more was done with him at this time I find not. He retired to his house at Lambeth, where he seemed to be confined.

And before the council.

For about the beginning of August, as may be collected from a letter of the Archbishop's to Cecyl, he was before the council, about the Lady Jane's business, without all question. And then, with the severe reprimands he received, was charged to keep his house, and be forthcoming. At that time he espied Cecyl, who was in the same condemnation; and would fain have spoken with him, but durst not, as he told him in a letter dated August 14; as it seems, out of his love and care of him, lest his very talking with Cecyl might have been prejudicial to that pardon which he now lay fair for. But by letter he desired him to come over to him to Lambeth, because he would gladly commune with him, to hear how matters went, and for some other private causes, Cecyl being now at liberty. September 13. following, the Archbishop was again summoned to appear that day before the Queen's council. Then he appeared, and was dismissed; but commanded to be the next day in the Star-chamber. And so he was. The effect of which appearance was, that he was committed to the Tower, partly for setting his hand to the instrument of the Lady Jane's succession, and partly for the public offer he made a little before of justifying openly the religious proceedings of the deceased King. But the chief reason was, the inveterate malice his enemies conceived against him for the divorce of King Henry from the Queen's mother: the blame of which they laid wholly upon him, though Bishop Gardiner and other bishops were concerned in it as deep as he. In the Tower we leave the good Archbishop awhile, after we have told you, that, soon after the Queen coming to the Tower, some of the Archbishop's friends made humble suit for his pardon, and that he might have access to her: but she would neither hear him, nor see him.

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The Archbishop of York committed to the Tower; and his goods seized; C.C.C.C. Librar. Miscell. B.

At Battersea.

Holgate also, the other Archbishop, about the beginning of October, was committed to the Tower, upon pretence of treason, or great crimes: but chiefly, I suppose, because he was rich. And, while he was there, they rifled his houses at Battersea and Cawood. At his former house they seized in gold coined three hundred pounds; in specialties and good debts, four hundred pounds more; in plate gilt and parcel gilt, sixteen hundred ounces: a mitre of fine gold with two pendants, set round about the sides and midst with very fine pointed diamonds, sapphires, and balists, and all the 308 plain with other good stones and pearls, and the pendants in like manner, weighing one hundred twenty-five ounces. Six or seven great rings of fine gold, with stones in them; whereof were three fine blue sapphires of the best; an emerald, very fine; a good Turkeys, and a diamond; a serpent's tongue set in a standard of silver, gilt and graven; the Archbishop's seal in silver, his signet, an old antick in gold: the counterpane of his lease of Wotton, betwixt the late Duke of Northumberland and him, with letters patents of his purchase of Scrowby.

At Cawood.

Taken from Cawood, and other places appertaining to the Archbishop, by one Ellis Markham; first, in ready money, nine hundred pounds: two mitres; in plate, parcel gilt, seven hundred and seventy ounces; and gilt plate, eleven hundred fifty-seven ounces; one broken cross of silver gilt, with one image broken, weighing forty-six ounces; three obligations, one 37l. 5s. 10d; another for 15l; another for 10l. Sold by the said Markham five score beasts, and four hundred muttons. Sold all the sheep belonging to the Archbishop, supposed to be two thousand five hundred. Moreover, he took away two Turkey-carpets of wool, as big and as good as any subject had: also a chest, full of copes and vestments of cloth of tissue: two very good beds of down, and six of the best young horses that were at Cawood. Proffered to make sale of all his household stuff in five houses; three very well furnished, and two metely well. Sold all his stores of household: wheat, two hundred quarters; malt, five hundred quarters; oats, sixty quarters; wine, five or six tun. Fish and ling, six or seven hundred, with very much household store; as fuel,

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hay, with many other things necessary for household. Horses at Cawood, young and old, four or five score: they received rent of his own land, five hundred pounds yearly at the least. This was done by this Markham, upon pretence that he was guilty of treason, or great crimes. He gave to many persons money to the value of an hundred pounds and above, that they should give information against him. Besides, they took away good harness and artillery sufficient for seven score men. All this spoil was committed when he was cast in the Tower. Of all this injury he made a schedule afterwards, and complained thereof to the lords. By this one instance, which I have set down at large, as I extracted it from a paper in the Benet college library, we may judge what havock was made of the professors of religion, in their estates as well as their persons; as this Bishop was served, before any crime was proved against him.

Gardiner's passage of the two Archbishops.

Thus the other Archbishop (of York) was not to go without animadversion, any more than he of Canterbury. The former lay eighteen months in the Tower, and was deposed at last for being married, as well as Cranmer. Of this Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, in his sermon at Paul's Cross, (at which were present King Philip and Cardinal Pole,) gave as he thought, this nipping gird: "Thus while we desired "to have a supreme head among us, it came to pass, that 309 "we had no head at all; no, not so much as our two Arch-"bishops. For that on one side, the Queen, being a woman, "could not be head of the church; and on the other side, "they were both convicted of one crime, and so deposed." This Archbishop of York continued in prison till 1554, when the Queen granted the request of the new King for the liberty of a great many prisoners, whereof this Prelate was one. He died the next year through grief (as it is probable) and suffering.

BOOK III.

CHAP. II.

Anno 1553.

Protestant Bishops and Clergy cast into Prisons, and deprived.

This reign begins with rigour.

INDEED in this first entrance of Queen Mary's reign, it was a wonder to see that fierceness that it was ushered in with; the Papists thinking that this rigour at first would terrify all out of their former principles of true religion, and bring them to the devotion of the church of Rome again. And it was as marvellous to observe the steadfastness of the generality of the professors. "This Queen began her "reign after that manner, (I use the words of one that "lived in that time,) that it might be conjectured, what "she was like after to prove: sending up for abundance "of people to appear before the council, either upon the "Lady Jane's business, or the business of religion; and "committing great numbers into prisons. And indeed she "boasted herself a virgin sent of God to ride and tame the "people of England."

Hales' oration.

The protestant bishops deprived.

To explain somewhat these austerities. They thought fit to begin with the protestant clergy, bishops and others. For this purpose a commission was directed to the Bishops of London, Winchester, Chichester, and Durham, men sufficiently soured in their tempers by what befel them in the last reign. These were to discharge the protestant bishops and ministers of their offices and places, upon pretence either of treason, heresy, or marriage, or the like, to make way for their own men. "Thus John Tayler, "Bishop of Lincoln, was deprived, because he had a bad "title, there being this clause in the letters patents, "whereby he was made bishop, *Quamdiu bene se gesserit*, "and because he thought amiss concerning the Eucharist. "John Hoper was deprived of the bishoprick of Worcester "by the restitution of Nicolas Hethe, formerly deprived: "and removed from the see of Glocester for his marriage, "and other demerits. John Harley, Bishop of Hereford,

Registr. Eccl. Cant.

" deprived for wedlock and heresy. Robert Farrar, Bishop " of St. David's, deprived for wedlock and heresy. William Barlow, Bishop of Bath, made a voluntary resignation. " The bishoprick of Rochester was void three years, since " Scory was translated to Chichester. John Bird, an old " man, married, was deprived of the bishoprick of Chester. " Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, (for I do " but transcribe now out of the register of the church " of Canterbury,) being called into question for high " treason, by his own confession was judged guilty thereof: " whence, in the month of December, the see of Can- 310 " terbury became vacant. Robert Holgate, Archbishop of " York, was deprived for wedlock, and was cast into the " Tower, and led a private life. The like happened to " Miles Coverdale of Exeter, by the restoring John Vayse, " who, out of fear, had formerly resigned. Cuthbert " Bishop of Durham, formerly deprived, was restored. " Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, restored: Nicolas " Ridley being removed from the said see, and cast into " prison for making an ill sermon, and being noted for " heretical pravity. Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Win" chester, restored: John Poinet being ejected and impri" soned, and deprived of episcopacy for being married." To which I must add, the see of Bristol, resigned by Paul Bush, the Bishop thereof.

The hard usage of the inferior clergy.

How they proceeded with the inferior clergy in general for being married, may be measured by their proceedings with the clergy of London and Canterbury, which we shall see by and by: so that King Edward's clergy were now in the very beginning of this Queen very hardly used. " Some were deprived, never convict, no, nor never called[a]; " (I use the words of an [b]author that lived in that " Queen's reign, and felt her severity;) some called that " were fast locked in prison, and yet nevertheless deprived " immediately[c]. Some deprived without the cause of mar" riage after their orders[d]. Some induced to resign upon " promise of pension, and the promise, as yet, never per-

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[a] Mr. Rich. Wilks.

[b] Dr. Parker.

[c] Mr. Bradford, Bullingham, and May.

[d] A great number.

Preface to the *Defence of Priests' Marriage.*

Harbour for faithful Subjects.

"formed[e]. Some so deprived, that they were spoiled of "their wages, for the which they served the half year "before; and not ten days before the receipt sequestered "from it. Some prevented from his half year's receipt, "after charges of tenths and subsidy paid, and yet not "deprived six weeks after. Some deprived of their receipts "somewhat after the day, with the which their fruits to "the Queen's Majesty should be contented. And in "general the deprivations were so speedy, so hastily, so "without warning, &c. The bishops (saith another [f]writer "and sufferer in these days) that were married were "thrust out of the parliament-house, and all married deans "and archdeacons out of the convocation: many put "out of their livings, and others restored, without form of "law. Yea some noblemen and gentlemen were de- "prived of those lands which the King had given them, "without tarrying for any law, lest my Lord of Win- "chester should have lost his quarter's rent. Many churches "were changed, many altars set up, many masses said, many "dirges sung, before the law was repealed. All was done "in post haste."

Professors cast into the Marshalsea.

Winchester's alms.

Nor was their deprivation all they endured; but they, together with many other professors of the religion, were taken up very fast: for Winchester did resolve to make quick work to reduce, if he could, the realm to the old religion. So that they came into the Marshalsea thick and threefold for religion, sent by him thither. And, that they might be sure to suffer hardship enough, when the Bishop's almoner, Mr. Brooks, (he who was, I suppose, after Bishop of Glocester,) came to this prison with his master's alms-basket, he told the porter, named Britain, that it was his lord's pleasure that none of the hereticks that lay there, should have any part of his alms. And that, if 311 he knew any of them had any part thereof, that house should never have it again so long as he lived. To which the porter replied, "That he would have a care of that, he "would warrant him; and that, if they had no meat till "they had some of his Lordship's, they should be like to

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[e] Dr. Ponet, Tayler, Parker.

[f] Mr. Aylmer.

"starve. And so he bad him tell his lord: and added, "That they should get no favour at his hand."

These sufferings P. Martyr, now gotten out of England, took notice of in a letter to Calvin, dated November 3; where, having related to him how the two Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of Worcester and Exon, and many other learned and pious preachers, were in bonds for the Gospel, and, together with them, many other godly persons were in extreme danger, he proceeded to mention two things to Calvin, to mitigate the trouble he knew he conceived for this ill news. The one was, "That, "although the infirmity of some betrayed them, yet great "was the constancy of far more than he could have "thought. So that he doubted not England would have "many famous martyrs, if Winchester, who then did all, "should begin to rage according to his will. The other "was, that it was the judgment of all that this calamity "would not be long: and therefore," said Martyr, "let us "pray to God, that he would quickly tread down Satan "under the feet of his church."

Peter Martyr writes of this to Calvin.

P. Martyr's Epist.

The same learned man, speaking in another letter concerning the good forwardness of religion at the first coming of Queen Mary to the crown, said, "That he had "many scholars in England, students in divinity, not to be "repented of, whose harvest was almost ripe: whom he "was forced to see, either wandering about in uncertain "stations, or remaining at home unhappily subverted. "And that there was in this kingdom many holy as well as "learned bishops, that were then in hard confinement, and "soon to be dragged to the extremest punishments, as if "they were robbers. And that here was the foundation of "the Gospel, and of a noble church laid: and by the "labours of some years the holy building had well gone "forward, and daily better things were hoped for. But "that unless Θεὸς ἀπὸ τῆς μηχανῆς, *God from above*, came to "the succour of it, he thought there would not be a "footstep of godliness left at last, as to the external "profession."

The state of the church now.

P. Martyr amico cuidam.

All the matters of the church the Queen left wholly to the management of the Bishop of Winchester, whom she

The Queen leaves all matters to Winchester.

Anno 1553. now advanced from a prisoner in the Tower, to be Lord High Chancellor of England. And indeed the governance of the whole realm was committed to him, with a few other. He ruled matters as he would, and that all England knew and saw plainly. Nay, the consent of the whole parliament followed his head and his will. So that against their wills, and against the wills of many thousand true hearts in the realm, as they of the parliament well knew, they condescended unto him: and what he could not do in one parliament, that he did in another. So that in a year and an half he had three parliaments: during which time, many things the parliament condescended unto against their wills. As that the Queen should marry with a foreign Prince; that the service in the English 312 tongue should be taken away; that the Bishop of Rome should have his old ejected authority here again: as one of the divines in those times had intended to have told Winchester to his face, had he been permitted speech. J. Rogers.

The Queen crowned.

October 1, the Queen was crowned at the abbey-church at Westminster. And then was proclaimed a pardon; but not over-gracious: for all the prisoners in the Tower and Fleet were excepted, and sixty-two besides; whereof the printers of the Bible, Grafton and Whitchurch, were two. Most of these excepted were of the chief professors of the Gospel: no pardon for them. At the coronation, among other triumphal shows, Paul's steeple bare top and topgallant, like a ship with many flags and banners, and a man stood triumphing and dancing on the top. Whereat one Underhill, a gentleman that sat on horseback there to see the show, said to those about him, "At the "coronation of King Edward I saw Paul's steeple lay at "anchor, and now she wears top and topgallant: surely "the next will be shipwreck or it be long." And indeed their followed a shipwreck of the church.

The service still said.

The service established in King Edward's days did not cease upon Queen Mary's grasping the sceptre: but the ministers performed the worship of God, aud celebrated the holy sacrament, and used the Common Prayer diligently and constantly: and the people frequented the same with more seriousness than before. They foresaw what

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times were coming; which made them meet often together, while they might: lamenting bitterly the death of King Edward, and partaking of the sacrament with much devotion. It was the Bishop of Winchester's resolution to redress this in London: for he was purposed to stifle the religion as speedily and as vigorously as he could. And one way he had to do this was, to send his spies into all the churches in London: and these would come into the churches, and disturb the ministers with rude words and actions in their very ministration; and then go to the Bishop, and make their informations. And so the ministers were fetched up by the officers before him, and then committed, unless they would comply: and this in the very beginning of the Queen's reign, when the preachers did but according to the laws then in force, before the parliament had repealed the book of Common Prayer, and the rest of King Edward's reformation. And there were forward men in most parishes, that were very active and violent for the restoring the old superstitions. For the Queen had set forth a proclamation, which did declare what religion she did profess in her youth; "that she "did continue in the same, and that she minded therein "to end her life: willing all her loving subjects to embrace "the same." And this they reckoned to be sufficient warrant to set up mass, and introduce popish priests and popish usages every where, without staying for orders and acts of parliament.

The Queen's proclamation of her religion.

Nor was this change of religion, and these miseries following it, unexpected. The learned and pious sort in King Edward's time did reckon upon a great calamity impending over their heads: concluding thereupon, from two causes, among others. One was, the corrupt manners that generally overspread the nation, notwithstanding the light of the Gospel, and the much and earnest preaching up of sobriety and virtue. The other was, the taking 318 off by death divers most eminent men, the great stays of religion: so that the preachers did commonly in their sermons declare and foretel, what afterwards indeed fell out. This Becon, an exile, in his epistle to those in England that suffered persecution for the testimony of

Signs of a change of religion.

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Christ's Gospel, spake of in these words: "Divers signs "had we long before, besides the godly admonitions of "the faithful preachers, which plainly declared unto us an "utter subversion of the true christian religion to be at "hand, except it were prevented by hasty and harty repentance. What shall I speak of that good and mighty "Prince Edward, Duke of Somerset, which, in the time "of his protectorship, did so banish idolatry out of this our "realm, and bring in again God's true religion, that "it was a wonder so weighty a matter to be brought to "pass in so short a time. Was not the ungentle handling "of him, and the unrighteous thrusting him out of office, "and afterwards the cruel murthering of him, a man, "yea, a mirror of true innocency, and christian patience, "an evident token of God's anger against us? The sudden "taking away of those most goodly and vertuous young "imps, the Duke of Suffolk and his brother, by the "sweating sickness, was it not also a manifest token of "God's heavy displesure against us? The death of those "two most worthy and godly learned men, M. Paulus "Fagius, and D. Martin Bucer, was it not a sure prognostication, some great mishap concerning christen religion to be at hand? But, passing over many other, "to come to that which is most lamentable, and can never "be remembered of any true English heart without large "tears, I mean the death of our most godly Prince and "christen King, Edward VI. that true Josias, that earnest "destroyer of false religion, that fervent setter up of God's "true honour, that most bounteous patron of the godly "learned, that most worthy maintainer of good letters "and vertue, and that perfect and lovely mirror of true "nobility, and sincere godliness: was not the taking away "of him (alas! for sorrow) a sure sign and an evident "token that some great evil hanged over this realm of "England? Who, considering these things, perceived not a "shipwreck of the christen religion to be at hand?"

CHAP. III.

The Archbishop adviseth Professors to fly.

THE favourers of religion, seeing it was now determined to proceed in all manner of severity against them, began to flee into other countries for their safety as fast as they could. Indeed there were some that made a case of conscience of it: among the rest, one Mrs. Wilkinson, a woman of good quality, and a great reliever of good men. Her the Archbishop out of prison advised to escape, and avoid a place where she could not truly and rightly serve God. He took off, with spiritual arguments, the objections which she or others might make for their stay; as, 314 their lothness to leave their friends and relations, and that it might look like a slandering of God's word, if they should thus run away, and decline the open and bold defence of it. The letter of the Archbishop deserves to be read, as it fell from that venerable Prelate's own pen: which I have therefore put in the Appendix.

Anno 1553. **The Archbishop adviseth to flight.**

Num. LXXII.

Though Cranmer himself refused to flee, being advised by his friends so to do, because of the reports that were abroad, that he should be speedily carried to the Tower. For he said, "It would be no ways fitting for him to go "away, considering the post in which he was; and to "shew that he was not afraid to own all the changes "that were by his means made in religion in the last "reign."

Cranmer will not flee.

But great numbers fled, some to Strasburgh, some to Wesel, some to Embden, some to Antwerp, some to Duisburgh, some to Wormes, some to Frankford, some to Basil, Zuric, and Arrow in Switzerland, and some to Geneva, to the number of eight hundred, and upwards. And these are the names of some of these refugees.

Whither the professors fly.

BISHOPS.

Poynet of Winchester, Barlow of Bath and Wells, Scory of Chichester, Coverdale of Exon, and Bale of Ossory.

And who.

BOOK III.

Anno 1553.

Deans.

Richard Cox, Dean of Christ's Church Oxon, and of Westminster; James Haddon, Dean of Exeter; Robert Horn of Durham; William Turner of Wells; Thomas Sampson of Chichester.

Archdeacons.

Edmund Cranmer, the Archbishop's brother, Archdeacon of Canterbury; John Ælmer of Stow; Bullingham of Lincoln; Thomas Young, Precentor of St. David's.

Doctors of Divinity and Preachers.

Edmund Grindal, Robert King, Edwin Sands, Joh. Jewel, Reinolds; Pilkingtons, two brothers; John Joseph, David Whitehead, John Alvey, John Pedder, John Biddil, Thomas Becon, Robert and Richard Turner, Edmund Allein; Levers, three brothers; John Pekins, Tho. Cottisford, Tho. Donel, Alex. Nowel, with his brother; Barthol. Traheron, John Wollock, John Old, John Medwel, Joh. Rough, John Knocks, John Appleby, John Perkhurst, Edward Large, Galf. Jones, Robert Crowley, Robert Wisdome, Robert Watson, William Goodman, Ant. Gilby, Will. Whittingham, John Makebrey, Hen. Reynolds, James Perse, Jugg, Edmunds, Cole, Mounteyn, two Fishers, Da. Simson, John Bendal, Beaumont, Humfrey, Bentham, Reymiger, Bradbridg, Saul, &c.

Besides, of noblemen, merchants, tradesmen, artificers, and plebeians, [g] many hundreds. And God provided graciously for them, and raised them up friends in England, that
315 made large contributions from time to time for their relief, and for the maintenance of such as were scholars and students in divinity especially. And great was the favour that the strangers shewed to their fugitive guests.

Duke of Northumberland put to death.

Here at home vengeance was taken upon those that set up the Lady Jane. And the chief of all, the Duke of Northumberland, was brought to Tower Hill to lose his head: who indeed was cared for by no body, and was the only instrument of putting the King upon altering the

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[g] Chiliades. Pref. to Cranmer's book of the Sacrament, in Latin.

Anno 1553.

succession; and who was broadly talked of to have been the shortener of that excellent Prince's life by poison, to make room the sooner for his son's advancement, who had married the said Jane. In prison he was visited by Bishop Hethe, and afterwards pretended to be brought off by him to the acknowledgment of the Roman catholic religion. After his condemnation, he, with the Marquis of Northampton, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John Gates, Sir Thomas Palmer, heard a mass within the Tower, and received the sacrament in one kind, after the popish fashion. The Duke of Northumberland was drawn hereunto by a promise that was made him, "That, if he would recant and "hear mass, he should have his pardon, yea, though his "head were upon the block."

His speech.

In his speech, August 22, when he was executed, he acknowledged, "how he had been misled by others; and "called the preachers seditious and lewd, and advised the "people to return home to the old religion. And that, "since the new religion came among them, God had "plagued them by wars and tumults, famine and pesti-"lence. He propounded the example of the Germans, "how their new doctrine had brought ruin upon them: "and quoted that article in the Creed to them, *I believe* "*the catholic church*, to convince them of the Roman ca-"tholic faith." If this speech were not of Hethe's inditing, to be used by the Duke, yet this argument from the Creed, I am apt to think, was his, it being his custom to make use of it. For I find, in a conference betwixt this Bishop and Rogers, he asked him, if he did not know his Creed, and urged *Credo sanctam ecclesiam catholicam.* But Rogers could tell him, that he did not find the Bishop of Rome there. If any be minded to see the Duke's speech at length, he may have recourse to the Appendix, where I have set it down, as I found it in one of the Cottonian volumes.

Num. LXXIII.

Sir John Gates his speech;

But Gates and Palmer, notwithstanding their hearing mass at their execution the same day and place, confessed the faith they had learned in the Gospel. The former confessed, "That he had lived as viciously and wickedly all "his life, as any in the world. And yet, that he was a

Anno 1553. "great reader of the Scripture; but a worse follower there "was not living. For he read it, not to edify, but to "dispute, and to make interpretations after his own fancy: "exhorting the people to take heed how they read "God's word, and played and gamed with God's holy "mysteries. For he told them, that, except they humbly "submitted themselves to God, and read his word charitably, and to the intent to be edified thereby; it would "be but poison to them, and worse. And so asked the "Queen, and all the world, forgiveness."

Palmer's speech.

Palmer thanked God for his affliction: for "that he 316 "had learned more in one little dark corner of the Tower, "than ever he learned by any travels, in as many places "as he had been. There he had seen God, what he was, "and his numerous works, and his mercies. And seen "himself thoroughly what himself was; a lump of sin "and earth, and of all vileness the vilest. And so concluding, that he feared not death; that neither the "sprinkling of the blood of two shed before his eyes, nor "the shedding thereof, nor the bloody axe itself, should "make him afraid. And so, praying all to pray for him, he "said some prayers, and without any daunting laid down "his head upon the block."

The Duke's labours to get his life. Wardword, p. 43.

But the Duke of Northumberland submitted himself to base and mean practices to save his life. He renounced his religion: nay, disavowed "that he ever was of the religion professed in King Edward's days, (if we may believe "Parsons,) but only hypocritically, for worldly ends, complied with it. And if he might but have lived, he could "have been contented to spend his days in a mouse-hole." For from a priest I have this relation, and the Papists best knew the intrigues of Queen Mary's reign. After sentence pronounced upon him, he made means to speak with Bishop Gardiner, who he knew could do most of any with the Queen. When the Bishop came to him, in company with another counsellor, to be witness of their discourse, (who himself told my author these passages,) the Duke asked the Bishop, "If there were no hope at all "for him to live, and to do some penance the rest of his "days for his sins past. Alas! (said he,) let me live a

" little longer, though it be but in a mouse-hole. The " Bishop replied, That he wished to God any thing could " have contented his Grace but a kingdom, when he " was at liberty, and in prosperity. And even at that " present he wished it lay in his power to give him that " mouse-hole: for he would allow him the best palace " he had in the world for that mouse-hole. And did " moreover then offer to do for him what he could possible. " But because his offence (he said) was great, and sen" tence passed against him, and his adversaries many, it " would be best for him to provide for the worst: and " especially, that he stood well with God in matter of con" science and religion. For to speak plainly, (as he went " on,) it was most likely he must die. The Duke an" swered, he would dispose himself; and desired he might " have a learned priest sent him for his confession, and " spiritual comfort. And as for religion, (said he,) you " know, my Lord Bishop, that I can be of no other but " of yours, which is the catholic. For I never was of any " other indeed, nor ever so foolish as to believe any of that " which we had set up in King Edward's days; but only " to use the same for my own purpose of ambition: for " which God forgive me. And so I mean to testify pub" licly at my death: for it is true. The Bishop (saith my " author) went away with an afflicted heart, and shed many " tears, as he returned: and went to the Queen, and " entreated so earnestly for him, as he had half gained her " consent for his life. Which so much terrified the Duke's " adversaries, as presently they got the Emperor Charles, " that was in Flanders, to write to the Queen a very " resolute and earnest letter, that it was not safe for her, " nor his estate, to pardon his life. And with that he was " executed."

Whatever credit is to be given to the rest of this relation, 317 I can hardly believe that passage that he is reported to say to the Bishop, " that he was never otherwise than a Roman " catholic, and that he did all along dissemble his religion " for worldly ends: and that he would testify as much at " his death." Because this doth no ways comport with his speech upon the scaffold; wherein he mentioneth no such

Whether he was always a Papist.

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thing, but rather the contrary. Nor did he declare any such thing when he came to die. He said, indeed, that he was *deceived and misled*, but no where that he *dissembled*. And if he were deceived, he dissembled not.

CHAP. IV.

Peter Martyr departs. A Parliament.

P. Martyr departs.

THE strangers had this piece of mercy shewn them, that they were suffered to depart the kingdom. Among the rest that went away this year was Peter Martyr, the famous and learned professor of divinity in Oxford. But with much ado; for at first he was not only forbid to read his lectures, but not to stir a foot out of the city of Oxon, nor to convey any of his goods away. He obeyed, and afterwards was permitted by the council to depart. He came first to Lambeth to the Archbishop; but, when he was committed to prison, Martyr went to London, where he remained in great danger, both for his religion, and for his great familiarity with the Archbishop, and other pious protestant bishops. However, he thought not fit to transport himself without leave from the government. He signified to them, that he came not hither on his own head, but that he was sent for by King Edward, and sent from the town of Strasburgh: and produced his broad-seals from both. And so, since there was no further need of him, he desired leave to depart: which he obtained by letters from the Queen herself. But the Papists, his fatal enemies, cried out, that such an enemy of the popish religion ought not to be dismissed, but to be fetched out of the ship, and carried to prison, and punished. He understood also by his friends, that, when he was got over the sea, the danger was not past: for there were snares for him in Flanders and Brabant; whereby they made no doubt to take him. But he used his wits to save

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himself: for, when other congregations of protestant strangers went straight, some for Freezland, and some for Denmark, by vessels they had hired, (among which was John a Lasco's congregation,) he procured an honest and godly shipmaster, who kept him fourteen days in his own house, that so all might think he was gone with the other strangers, and his enemies cease making search for him in the vessels that were bound for foreign parts. And then the master sailed away with P. Martyr to Antwerp, going into that place by night for the more privacy. And by him he was brought to his friends; and by them, before day, conveyed in a waggon out of town, and so travelled safely, through countries that hated him, unto Strasburgh. And by God's goodness, and his own celerity, he arrived safe among his friends, who received him with the greatest 318 joy. And the senate conferred upon him his old place which he enjoyed before he went for England.

Vit. P. Mart. per Simler.

Malice towards him.

And Martyr needed not to be discontented that he was gotten out of England, considering how insufferably he was affronted, undermined, belied by the popish party in Oxon: who, one would think, might have better entreated a man of quality by birth; a man, besides, of great learning, integrity, and reverence, and whom the King had thought good, for his great parts, to place for his professor of divinity in that university; and a man who also had always carried himself inoffensively unto all. The blame of this inhospitable usage might lie upon the English nation, and be a reflection upon the natives, were it not more truly to be laid to the furious spirit that popish principles inspire men with. This Peter Martyr did resent, and took notice of to the Archbishop of Canterbury in his epistle dedicatory, before his book of the Eucharist. There he writes, "That he could not have thought there were any in the "world, unless he had found it, that with such crafty wiles, "deceitful tricks, and bitter slanders, would rage so against "a man that deserved no manner of evil of them, nor ever "hurt any one of them either in word or deed. And yet "they tore his name with most shameless lies; and would "never make an end." And if they did thus rudely carry themselves towards him in King Edward's time, what then may we conclude they would do, when the government favoured them?

Anno 1553. A scandal of the Queen.

In this first year of Queen Mary, a very foul scandal was blown about of her, that she was with child by her Chancellor, Bishop Gardiner; however it was raised, whether of her enemies to render her odious, or of some zealous of popish religion, to shew the desire they had of her matching with him, or some other round Roman catholic, as he was, and for whom she carried a very great reverence. A great reflection upon her chastity, and might have spoiled her marriage. It fled as far as Norfolk, and there spread itself. But such an infamous report not being fit to be put up, Henry Earl of Sussex, being Lord Lieutenant of that county, took upon him to examine this scandal, and to search it to the very first reporter. And so I find a bill drawn, in the Cotton library, subscribed by that Earl's own hand, which set forth that Laurence Hunt, of Disse in Norfolk, came to Robert Lowdal, chief constable, and told him, "That he "did hear say, that the Queen's Majesty was with child by "the said Bishop, and that his wife did tell him so." And when his wife was examined, she said, she had it of one Sheldrake's wife. And when Sheldrake's wife was examined, she said, she had it of her husband. And when he was examined, he said, he had it of one Wilby of Diss. And Wilby examined, said, he had it of one John Smith of Cock-street. And John Smith said, he heard it of one widow Miles. And she, being examined, said, she had it of two men, but what they were she could not tell, nor where they dwelt. And then, after this bill, follow all their examinations distinctly: which, I suppose, was drawn up for the council, signed with Sussex's hand. And what followed of this I know not: only in another manuscript there is a memorial of one John Albone, of Trunch in 319 Norfolk, who in the first of the Queen was indicted for saying, "That the Queen was with child by Win"chester."

Titus B. 2

A parliament.

A parliament met this year in the month of October. The Queen knew how difficult it would be to obtain her purpose, to overthrow all that had been established concerning religion in her brother's days; and therefore, when

Hale's oration.

this parliament was to be summoned, she impeached the free election of members by dispatching abroad into the several counties her letters directing the choice. And such knights and burgesses were chosen by force and threatening for many places, as were judged fit to serve her turn. And divers that were duly chosen, and lawfully returned, were thrust out; and others, without any order or law, put in their places. For the people were aware what the Queen intended this parliament should do; and therefore did bestir themselves in most places to return honest men. In the upper House, Taylor, Bishop of Lincoln, was in his robes violently thrust out of the House. In the House of Commons, Alexander Nowel, and two more, chosen burgesses, lawfully chosen, returned, and admitted, were so served: which, according to the judgment of some, made the parliament actually void, as by a precedent of the parliament holden at Coventry in the 38th of Henry VI. it appeareth. As also her third parliament was reckoned by many to be void, because in the writs, from Philip and Mary, part of the title of the Kings of England, *viz. Supreme Head of the Church of England*, was left out: which by a statute made in the 35th of Henry VIII. was ordained to be united and annexed for ever to the imperial crown of this realm. In which third parliament of the Queen they repealed what was done by King Henry VIII. for the restitution of the liberty of the realm, and extinguishing the usurped authority of the Bishop of Rome. This flaw Gardiner the Lord Chancellor well seeing, thought craftily to excuse by saying, (as may be seen in a piece of the statute made in the same parliament, cap. 8,) "That it lay in the "free choice and free liberty of the Kings of this realm, "whether they would express the same title in their style, "or no." But it is replied to this, that though any man may renounce his own private right, yet he may not renounce his right in that which toucheth the commonwealth, or a third person. And this title and style more touched the commonwealth and the realm of England, than the King.

The parliament repeal Queen

In this first parliament an act was made for confirmation of the marriage of the Queen's mother to her father

Anno 1553.

Katherine's divorce; and Cranmer taxed for it.

King Henry. Herein the leading men shewed their malice against the good Archbishop by their wording of the preamble: as, "that Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop, "did, most ungodly and against law, judge the divorce "upon his own unadvised understanding of the Scriptures, "and upon the testimonies of the universities, and some "bare and most untrue conjectures." And they declared the sentence given by him to be unlawful. But I cannot let this pass, for the reputation of the Archbishop, without taking notice of the censure, that the Bishop of Sarum doth worthily bestow upon Bishop Gardiner, whom he concludes to be the drawer up of this act: "That he "shewed himself herein to be past all shame, and that it "was as high a pitch of malice and impudence, as could be
320 "devised. For Gardiner had been setting this on long "before Cranmer was known to the King, and had joined "with him in the commission, and had given his consent "to the sentence. Nor was the divorce merely grounded "upon Cranmer's understanding the Scriptures, but upon "the fullest and most studied arguments that had perhaps "been in any age brought together in one particular case. "And both houses of convocation had condemned the "marriage before his sentence."

Hist. Reform. vol. ii. p. 254.

CHAP. V.

The Archbishop attainted.

The Archbishop attainted of treason.

THIS parliament attainted Cranmer, with the Lady Jane and her husband, and some others. And in November he was adjudged guilty of high treason at Guildhall. And under this judgment he lay for a good while: which was very uneasy to him, desiring to suffer under the imputation of heresy under this government, rather than treason. He was now looked upon as divested of his archbishoprick, being a person attainted: and the fruits of his bishoprick were sequestered.

Anno 1553.

The Dean of Canterbury acts in the vacancy.

Ex Reg. Eccl. Cant.

Canterbury being now without an Archbishop, the Dean, Dr. Wotton, acted in that station, according to his office, in the vacancy of the see. So he sent out many commissions. There was a commission from him to John Cotterel and William Bowerman, to exercise jurisdiction in the see of Wells, by the resignation of Barlow, Bishop there. Another commission to the see of Bristol, upon the resignation of Bush. Another for the see of Lichfield, upon the death of Richard Sampson: which commission was directed to David Pool, LL.D. dated 1554. September ult. Another to exercise jurisdiction in the see of Exon, vacant by the death of Veysy, February 9, 1554. Another for the consecration of Gilbert Bourn Bishop of Bath and Wells, John White Bishop of Lincoln, Morice Griffith of Rochester, John Cotes of Chester, Henry Morgan of St. David's, James Brook of Glocester: who were all consecrated together in the church of St. Saviour's, Southwark, April 1, 1554. This commission, I suppose, was to the Bishop of Winchester. Another commission for the consecration of Hopton Bishop of Norwich, dated October 6, 1554, consecrated October 28. following. Another commission to consecrate Holiman Bishop of Bristol, and Bayn Bishop of Lichfield, dated November 16, 1554, consecrated November 18. following. Another commission to consecrate James Turbervil Bishop of Exon, who was consecrated September 8, 1555. And for William Glin, Bishop of Bangor, the same date. All these five last named were consecrated in a chapel of the Bishop of London in London.

The Archbishop sues for pardon of treason.

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The poor Archbishop most instantly sued to the Queen for his pardon, acknowledging his fault in the most submissive manner that could be. But though she had granted pardons to divers others that had signed King Edward's will, and made no such boggle to do it as the Archbishop did, yet the Archbishop remained unpardoned. He sent divers humble petitionary letters to the Queen and her council for the obtaining this favour. In one letter to her, he called it his "hainous folly and offence:" and said, "that he never "liked it; nor that any thing that the Queen's brother ever "did, grieved him so much: and that if it had been in his "power, he would have letted the doing of it: that divers

Anno 1553.

"of the Queen's council knew what he had said to the "King and the council against proceeding in it: and that "he endeavoured to talk to the King alone about it, but "was not permitted: and that when he could not dissuade "him from this will, he was hardly brought to sign it, not-"withstanding what the judges told him, to satisfy him in "point of law. And that at last it was the King's earnest "request to him, that he would not be the only man that "refused it: which, with the judgment of the lawyers, "overcame him to set his hand." But I refer the reader to the Appendix to weigh this whole letter, as it is there transcribed. Another petition the next year, 1554, he sent up from Oxon, by Dr. Weston, to the council. And therein he begged them to intercede with the Queen for his pardon. But Weston, carrying it half way to London, and then opening it, and seeing the contents of it, sent it back again to the Archbishop, and refused to be the messenger.

Num. LXXIV.

Obtains it.

This at length was the resolution that was taken concerning him in this matter: (because for shame they could not deny him a pardon, when others, far more guilty, and deeper in the business, had it:) that he should be pardoned the treason as an act of the Queen's grace, and then he should be proceeded against for heresy; for die they were resolved he should. When this pardon was at length obtained, he was right glad; being very gladly ready to undergo afflictions for the doctrine that he had taught, and the reformation he had set on foot, because this he reckoned to be suffering for God's cause, and not as an evil-doer.

He desires to open his mind to the Queen concerning religion.

The Archbishop looked now with weeping eyes upon the present sad condition of religion, and the miserable apostasy of the church, lapsed into all the formerly rejected superstitions. Nor could he now procure any redress. Yet he felt a pressure upon his spirit to do something towards it. So he attempted, in a letter to the Queen, to get liberty from her freely to open to her his mind about the state of religion: hoping that when she heard plainly and truly the reasons that moved her father and brother to do what they did, (a thing studiously concealed from her,) she might be better inclined. He told her, "that indeed it lay not in him, nor in "any private subject, to reform things, but only in her Ma-

"jesty, but quietly to suffer what they could not amend; "yet he thought it his duty, considering what place he once "bore, and knowing what he did, and bearing a great part "in all the alterations made in religion, to shew the Queen "his mind. And when he had done this, then he should "think himself discharged. And therefore he earnestly "sued to her for her leave." But I do not find that ever he obtained it.

CHAP. VI.

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A Convocation.

A Convocation.

THERE was now a convocation; which was so packed, or so compliant, that six only of the whole house publicly owned King Edward's reformation: Haddon, Dean of Exon; Philips, Dean of Rochester; Young, Chanter of St. David's; Philpot, Archdeacon of Winchester; Elmer, Archdeacon of Stow; and Cheiny, Archdeacon of Hereford; which last owned the presence with the Papists, but denied the transubstantiation. The Queen commanded this convocation to hold a public disputation, at St. Paul's church, concerning the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar: which, how well it was opposed by four or five of the six, (for Young went away,) in the presence of abundance of noblemen and others, recourse is to be had to Fox. There was a true report of the disputation of these men at this convocation, which Philpot, one of the disputants, wrote, and had it printed: which he owned at one of his examinations before the Bishop of London and others; and perhaps may be the same we have extant in Fox's Monuments.

How it opened.

But because both Fox and Bishop Burnet are brief concerning the opening of this convocation, therein I shall be more large and particular. The Bishop of London's chaplain, Harpsfield, began in a sermon at Paul's to the clergy then assembled. That finished, those of the upper House advised those of the lower to choose a Prolocutor. And they

Anno 1553. chose Weston, Dean of Westminster: who by Py, Dean of Chichester, and Wymbesly, Archdeacon of London, was presented by speeches to the bishops. At which time Weston made his gratulatory oration to the House, and the Bishop of London answered him. Which sermon and four orations were put together in a book, printed in December 1553, by Cawood. Harpsfield's text was, *Attendite vobis, et universo gregi, &c.* Act. xx. Whence he took occasion to treat of three things: "I. How well Paul took heed to himself and "his flock. II. How ill the pastors of late regarded each. "III. What way was to be used, that they might take "heed to themselves and their flocks. Under the first head "he shewed how St. Paul took heed to himself by keeping "under his body, and bringing it into subjection: by taking heed of three pests of an ecclesiastical life, *flattery, avarice, and vainglory:* and that he might in all things propound himself a pattern to believers. And, secondly, as "he thus took heed to himself, so he took heed to the "flock in three particulars: in the doctrine which he "preached; in his diligence to preserve his flock from "wolves; and in his imposition of hands, whereby he provided fit ministers for the church." And then, when he came unto the second head in the division of his discourse, he took occasion at large to vent his malice against the reformed ministers in King Edward's days; shewing how they failed in all the particulars before said: "That they were "belly-gods; gave themselves over to junketings and pam-
322 "pering of their carcases: that they were unchaste, taking "to themselves wives, some that had lived threescore years "single. That they were flatterers, insinuating themselves "into the favour of the courtiers: covetous also, keeping "no hospitality; vainglorious, vaunting themselves to understand the holy Scripture as well as any of the ancients, "daring to compare themselves with Hierom, Augustin, "Ambrose, &c. And some of them from a shop, endued "with no liberal discipline, not so much as grammar, would "mount the pulpit, and there give out themselves for "learned men, if they did but rail against whatsoever was "holy, and boast that they had the Spirit. No vice of the "laity, but they were guilty of it. And then, as to their

" neglect of the flock, their doctrine was such, as they " might well repent and be ashamed of. How did they tear " the Lord's flock, and how many souls send to hell, and " what pernicious doctrines bring into the kingdom! That " they brought into the ministry, and to preach God's word, " coblers, dyers, weavers, fullers, barbers, apothecaries, " beggars, jesters, fitter for the plough-tail than the ministry " of the word." And with a great deal more of such railing stuff were the minds of the clergy to be prepared vigorously to overthrow all the reformation, and to bring back Popery again.

The Arch-bishop and three more crowded together in the Tower.

The Tower, as well as the fleet and Marshalsea, was crowded with prisoners: all that were supposed to favour religion, or that made any whisper against the popish religion, or that had any the least hand in Queen Jane's business, being taken up and committed. The Tower being so full, our Archbishop Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Bradford, were all thrust together into one chamber: which however inconvenient it were, yet they were very glad to be together; that they might have the opportunity of conferring with one another, and establishing one another. There they read over the New Testament together with great deliberation and study; on purpose to see if there were any thing that might favour that popish doctrine of a corporal presence. But, after all, they could find no presence but a spiritual: nor that the mass was any sacrifice for sin. But they found in that holy book that the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross was perfect, holy, and good; and that God did require none other, nor that it should be ever done again: as Latimer, one of the four, related in his protestation given to Weston.

BOOK III.

Anno 1553.

CHAP. VII.

The Queen sends to Cardinal Pole.

The Queen sends to Pole.

THE Queen, out of that great opinion she had of Cardinal Pole, either to make him her husband, or her Archbishop in Cranmer's room, sent letters to him, one dated from London, October 28, written in Latin, conveyed to him from the Emperor's court: probably brought thither by Commendone, who had been sent by the Pope's legate in that court a private agent unto her: and another, dated January 324 28. The Cardinal was coming now from the Pope, as his legate, and in his journey staid, for some reason of state, in the Emperor's dominions. In this stay he thought fit, in answer to both her letters, to send his mind at large by his messenger Thomas Goldwel; who was once, if I mistake not, Prior of the church of Canterbury; but long since fled out of England, and lived with Pole; and by the Queen afterwards preferred to the bishoprick of St. Asaph.

The contents of her letters. Concerning the supremacy.

The contents of the Queen's former letter consisted in two points: the one concerning the difficulty she feared in renouncing the title of the supremacy. For she writ him, that, when the parliament yielded to the abolishing of the laws, wherein her mother's matrimony was made illegitimate, the Lower House willingly agreed to the establishment of her right of succeeding to the crown, but made a great boggle of abolishing the title of the supremacy; thinking that might be a way to the introducing the Pope's authority again, which they could not gladly hear of: and therefore neither did they like to hear of a legate from the Pope. Hence the Queen, who knew Pole was now commissioned by the Pope for his legate in this kingdom, and ready to come, did entreat him to stop for a while. And she desired his advice, in case the parliament would not be brought to let go the law, wherein the supremacy was placed in the crown imperial of this land. The other point, wherein the Queen desired information of the Cardinal, was, how the commission she had privately given to Commendone was published in the consistory of Rome, as her ambassador, resident at Venice, had certified her.

Anno 1553.

Concerning the new bishops.

The sum of her other letter to the Cardinal was, concerning certain persons that she had in her intentions to make bishops in the void sees: they were Morgan, White, Parfew, Coates, Brooks, Holiman, and Bayn: how they might be put into those sees without derogation to the authority of the see apostolick. For she intended not to extend the power of the crown further than it was in use before the schism. She sent him also the two acts that had passed in the parliament, the one of the legitimation of the matrimony of Queen Katharine with King Henry, and the other of the sacraments to be used in that manner as they were used the last year of King Henry VIII., which she sent to him, because she knew they would be matter of comfort and satisfaction to him.

Pole's advice to the Queen.

Instructions to Goldwel. Titus B. 2.

As to both these letters of the Queen, he gave instructions to Goldwel to signify to her Majesty what his thoughts were. As to the first, his advice was, "that the authority "and acceptableness of the person goes a great way to "make any proposition well entertained and received by "the people. And that, seeing there were none, neither of "the temporalty nor spiritualty, but that had either spoke "or writ against the Pope's supremacy; therefore he thought "that her Majesty herself would be the fittest person to propound it with her own mouth. Which was the course "the Emperor took to justify his war with the French King. "He did it by his own mouth before the Pope and Cardinals. He would have her at the same time to let the parliament know plainly, that he, (Cardinal Pole,) being the "Pope's legate, was to be admitted and sent for. And 325 "therefore that, in order to this, the law of his banishment "might be repealed, and he restored in blood." As to the second point, which seemed to offend the Queen, that Commendone had revealed that in the consistory which she told him in much secresy, Pole said, "that he kept her counsel, "and told nothing that he heard from her mouth, but only "what he had heard of certain devout catholicks that knew "the Queen's mind. Which was in general concerning the "devout mind her Majesty bare to God and the church:

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"but that nothing was spoken of that particular matter, "that she would have none but the Pope made acquainted "with." Which private matter, it seems, was, that she desired the Pope to make Pole his legate to England.

Disgusts his stop.

But that he should be thus stopped in his journey, when the Pope had sent him upon such a weighty errand, the Cardinal signified in the same letter his disgust of. And, "he feared it might be so ill taken by the Pope and Cardinals, that they might send for him back again to Rome, "and not permit him to go on that intended charitable design. And that it was contrary to her first commission; "when she shewed more fervency to receive the obedience "of the church: (as he took the confidence to tell her.) "And that therefore he was in some suspicion, that the next "commission he should receive from the Pope should be to "return back into Italy again: because the Pope might "think that he had done his part touching his demonstration of his care of the Queen and her realms, when he "offered both so readily all graces that tended to make a "reconciliation of both to the church. In which perhaps "(said he) the cardinals would think his Holiness had been "too liberal. And, that they might take his stop, without "their consent, for a greater indignity. And this revocation "he still more feared, if his stay should be deferred any "longer space."

Sends to Rome about this his stop;

The Cardinal, upon this his stay, sent a servant of his by post to Rome to make a fair excuse for this stop; namely, that the Queen shortly trusted that the matters of the parliament should have that satisfaction that the Cardinal desired: which was the effect of a letter the Queen writ to one Henry Pyning, his servant. He also let the Pope know, by the aforesaid messenger, that it was the Emperor's advice that the Queen should proceed in matters of religion warily and slowly, and not to be too hasty, until temporal matters were better settled.

And to the Emperor.

He also wrote letters to the Emperor, which he sent by his servant Pyning, to persuade him to remove this stop: and bad his said servant to repair to the Emperor's confessor, that he should personally resort unto him, and by all means possible move the Emperor to let the Cardinal go forward.

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His judgment of two late acts of parliament.

As to the two acts of parliament which the Queen sent him, he wrote her, "that they were partly to his satis-"faction, and partly not. For the act of ratification of the "matrimony was defective, in that the parliament mention-"ing the wisdom of the parents in making the match, did "make no mention of their wisdom; in that, besides their "own consent, they procured the Pope's dispensation, and "the authority of the see apostolic; whereby the impedi-"ments of conjunction, by the laws of the church, were 326 "taken away: which (he added) ought by all means to "have been mentioned. As to the other act for confirma-"tion of the sacraments, the defect of that (he said) lay, "in that this act made those capable of partaking of the "sacraments that were not yet entered into the unity of "the church, and remained still in schism." But, to receive more full satisfaction in these matters, I refer the reader to the instructions given by the Cardinal to Goldwel, as they may be read in the Appendix. No. LXXV.

CHAP. VIII.

The Dealings with the married Clergy.

The married clergy deprived and divorced.

THE marriage of the clergy gave great offence to those that were now uppermost. For many of both persuasions, Papists as well as Protestants, had taken wives; it being allowed by a law in King Edward's days; but would now no longer be endured, and was pretended to be against an oath they had taken, when they received holy orders. For the Queen sent a letter and instructions, dated March 4, to all the bishops; some of the contents whereof were, "to "deprive all the married clergy, and to amove them from "their benefices and promotions ecclesiastical; and besides "this, not to suffer them to abide with their wives, or "women, (as the Papists now chose rather to style them,) "but to divorce and punish them. But that such priests "should be somewhat more favourably dealt withal, that, "with the consent of their wives, did openly promise to "abstain. These nevertheless were to be enjoined penance

Anno 1553. "by the bishop, and then it lay in him to admit them again "to their former ministration; but not in the same place "they were in before. Of which they were to be deprived; "and a part of that benefice they were outed of was to be "allowed them, according to the bishop's dicretion." According to these instructions of the Queen, a sad havock was made among the clergy; some thousands being computed to be put out of their livings upon this account. And a good expedient it proved to get rid of the soberer clergy, that were not for the present turn.

That the reader may take some prospect of these transactions with the married clergy, I will here set down what was done with some of them under the jurisdiction of Canterbury by the Dean and Chapter, our Archbishop being now laid aside.

Married priests in London cited to appear.

Of those priests, beneficed in London, that pertained to the Archbishop of Canterbury's jurisdiction there, nine were cited, by a citation, March 7, (that is, but three days after the Queen's letter,) from the Dean and Chapter, *Sede Cant. tunc vacante,* (as it is said in the said citation,) to appear in Bow-church, London, before Henry Harvey, LL. D. Vicar-general, for being married men. These persons thus cited were these: John Joseph, Rector of the church of St. Mary le Bow; Stephen Green, Rector of St. Dionys back-church; Laurence Saunders, Rector of the church of Alhallowes in 327 Bred-street; Peter Alexander, Rector of Alhallowes, Lumbard-street; Christopher Ashburn, Rector of St. Michael's, Crooked-lane; Thomas Mountain, Rector of St. Michael's in Rio-lane, John Turnor, Rector of St. Leonard's in East-cheap; Richard Marsh, Rector of St. Pancrace; John Eliot, schoolmaster in the parish of St. Leonard, East-cheap. It may not be amiss to set down the tenour, wherein the citation ran, *viz.*

Ex Regist. Eccl. Cant.

"That since it was (alas!) notoriously manifest, *Quod* "*rectores et presbyteri, quorum nomina in pede hujus edicti* "*specificantur, contra jura ecclesiæ, sanctorum patrum decreta,* "*et laudabiles ecclesiæ catholicæ generatim observatas et usita-* "*tas consuetudines, sese prætextu fœderis conjugalis cum non-* "*nullis fœminis illicite conjunxerint, sub falsa matrimonii ap-* "*pellatione, cum iisdem publice cohabitaverint, et impudice vix-*

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"*erint, in voti sui alias emissi violationem, animarum suarum* "*detrimentum, ac aliorum Christi fidelium exemplum longe* "*perniciosum, in Christi ecclesia non ferendum; unde pro* "*officii nostri debito, et tantorum scelerum ab ecclesia Christi* "*eliminatione penitus eradicandum, &c. juxta illustrissimæ* "*Dominæ nostræ Reginæ monitionis in ac parte continentiam* "*procedere volentes, &c.*" The citation was returned by the apparitor: who declared, that he found and personally cited Richard Marsh and John Turnor, and that he affixed the citation of the rest on the church-doors belonging to the respective rectors, on March 8. And no wonder the apparitor met with no more of them, some being fled, and some in prison, and some already violently turned out of their churches and gone. On March 16, according to the citation, Marsh and Turnor made their personal appearance, and were sworn to make true answer to such interrogatories as should be put to them. What those interrogatories were, I shall set down by and by. These persons confessed, that they made profession of religious vows; and, after holy orders, were married, and lived with their wives. Hereupon sentence was denounced against them, to prohibit them to officiate, and to suspend them from the profits of their benefices; and, on Monday following, to appear again to receive further sentence of deprivation, divorce, &c. John Eliot, schoolmaster, it seems, submitted to penance: for he was not presently thrust out of of his school, but enjoined not to teach his scholars matins, psalter, or the like, in English, but in Latin; so as they might be able to answer the priest that officiated. The rest, that appeared not, were declared contumacious; and to be proceeded against, on Monday following, by deprivation, &c.

Interrogatories for the married clergy.

The interrogatories ministered unto these men, and to be ministered to all other married priests, were these:

I. *An fuit religiosus: cujus ordinis; et in quo monasterio sive domo.*

II. *An fuit promotus ad sacros ordines, dum fuit in monasterio.*

III. *In quo et quibus sacris: et an ministravit in altaris ministerio; et quot annis.*

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IV. *An citra professionem regularem conjunxit se mulieri sub appellatione matrimonii.*

V. *Cum qua: et in qua ecclesia fuit solemnizatio matrimonii; et per quem.*

327 VI. *Quam duxit, eratne soluta, an vidua.*

VII. *An cohabitavit cum ea in una et eadem domo, ut vir cum uxore.*

VIII. *An prolem vel proles ex ea sustentaverit, necne.*

IX. *An post et citra matrimonii hujusmodi solemnizationem, assecutus fuit, et est, beneficium ecclesiasticum, habens curam animarum, et quot annis illud obtinuit.*

X. *An officium sacerdotis post et citra assertum matrimonium hujusmodi contractum, in altaris ministerio se immiscuit, et sacramentis et sacramentalibus ministrandis se ingessit.*

XI. *An præmissa omnia et singula fuerunt et sunt vera.*

According to these articles, the confessions of Marsh, Turnor, and Eliot, are registered at large. On Monday, March 19, sentence was pronounced against Marsh and Turnor. 1. Of deprivation from their benefices. 2. Of suspension from their priestly function. 3. Of inhibition to cohabit with their wives. 4. Of nulling and voiding the pretended bond of matrimony; and, 5. of declaration of further punishments, according to the canons of the church. And, March 20, the like sentence was pronounced against the rest that did not appear. Next, the sentence of divorce against John Turnor and his wife was pronounced: and he was ordered to do penance on May 14, 1554, in his late parish-church of East-cheap, by holding a burning wax taper, and making a solemn confession openly and distinctly, with a loud voice, standing in the body of the church, before the face of the people, in these words following:

Turnor's confession. Ex Regist. Eccl. Cant.

"Good people, I am come hither, at this present time, to "declare unto you my sorrowful and penitent heart, for "that, being a priest, I have presumed to marry one Amy "German, widow; and, under pretence of that matrimony, "contrary to the canons and custom of the universal church, "have kept her as my wife, and lived contrary to the canons "and ordinances of the church, and to the evil example of "good christen people: whereby now, being ashamed of "my former wicked living here, I ask almighty God mercy "and forgiveness, and the whole church; and am sorry "and penitent even from the bottom of my heart therefore. "And in token hereof, I am here, as you see, to declare "and shew unto you this my repentance; that before God, "on the latter day, you may testify with me of the same. "And I most heartily and humbly pray and desire you all, "whom by this evil example doing I have greatly offended, "that for your part you will forgive me, and remember me "in your prayers, that God may give me grace, that hereafter I may live a continent life, according to his laws, "and the godly ordinances of our mother the holy catholick "church, through and by his grace. And do here before "you all openly promise for to do, during my life." The manner of the restitution of these priests, thus performing their penance, may be seen in the Appendix. No. LXXV.

Boner deprives the married clergy in London, without order.

And this is some account of the church of Canterbury's doings, in pursuance of the Queen's instructions before mentioned. But Bishop Boner, with his zeal, was beforehand with the Queen; not staying for any orders from above in dealing with his clergy; but of his own power, in the latter end of February, deprived all married priests, in 329 his diocese in London, from their livings. And, after this done, commanded them all to bring their wives within a fortnight, that they might be divorced from them.

Married prebendaries in Canterbury proceeded against.

These were some of the doings with the married priests in London. And in the same manner did they proceed about this time in Canterbury with Edmund Cranmer, the Archbishop's brother, Archdeacon and Prebendary of that church; together with William Willoughby, William Devenish, and Robert Goldson, Prebendaries; and divers others. For March 15, at the chapter-house in Canterbury, before Henry Harvey, LL. D. Vicar-general; Richard Bishop of Dover, Subdean; Richard Parkhurst and John Mills, Prebendaries of the said church; personally appeared the said Archdeacon and Prebendaries; Thomas Brook and Thomas Stevens, preachers; and Sherland and Goodrick, petty canons of the said church: who all subscribed with their own hands to a confession of certain articles exhibited against

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them, touching their being married. And, being asked what they could say why they should not be suspended and deprived for the said pretended marriages, they gave this answer, as it is set down in the register of that church; *Se nihil habere dicendum, &c.* "That they had nothing to say "that might be profitable for them; the ecclesiastical law, "and the decrees of the holy fathers, standing in their full "force: but, by the law of God, they thought they had "lawfully married their wives; and, being married, might "not forsake them with a safe conscience." Then sentence of suspension from priestly function, sequestration, deprivation, and prohibition to live with their wives, was pronounced. It is registered, "that they aquiesced in these "sentences against them; no one of them appealing, but "all remaining silent." This is the account of the good Archbishop's brother, his manner of deprivation, and his peaceable behaviour under it.

Edmund Cranmer deprived of all. Reg. Eccl. Cant.

Thus he was deprived of his prebend, and one Robert Collins was admitted into the same: of his rectory of Ickham, and Robert Marsh succeeded him there, April 12, 1554: and of his archdeaconry, and Nicolas Harpsfield was admitted thereunto. Who at the same time entered into obligation to pay, out of the profits of the said archdeaconry, unto William Warham, late Archdeacon, during his life, a yearly pension of forty pounds sterling, March 31, 1554. But some of the church then appeared not, being either fled, or in prison; and those were pronounced contumacious, *viz.* John Joseph, Peter Alexander, and Bernard Ochin, prebendaries; Lancelot Ridley, Richard Turner, Thomas Becon, and Richard Besely, preachers.

The injustice of these proceedings.

These doings in all quarters of the realm raised great admiration among the people, upon divers and sundry considerations, incident and depending upon such proceedings: since these marriages were no more than what were agreeable to the laws of the land. So that these married preachers, in marrying themselves, were no transgressors of the law: and yet underwent as great punishments, as though they were so in some high degree. And the proceedings seemed contrary even to the Queen's commission, comprised in certain articles (before mentioned) to her bishops: which was, 330

" That they should proceed, according to learning and dis-" cretion, in these weighty matters, and that they should " not put any other canons and constitutions of the church " in exercise, than such as might stand with the law of the " realm." Yet they went in most places both against learning and discretion, and the laws of the land.

Martin's book against Priests' Marriage.

For the bringing this to pass, they first possessed the Queen with great prejudices against these marriages. They cried in her ears, how uncomely these copulations were; how against God and his honour; how against the church's decrees and discipline; and how worthy to be dissolved again. And when they had obtained their ends with the Queen, and gotten out her letter and instructions for that purpose, and by warrant thereof executed their purposes; then, for the giving a better countenance to a thing that looked so odious, and had so much severity in it, to the ruining of so many thousand families, books were thought fit to be published; the purpose of which was, to make married priests contemptible, and to shew how unlawful and wicked marriage was in men of holy orders. Dr. Thomas Martin's book made the greatest noise; a book writ with a brow of brass, so did it abound with confident untruths and falsehoods. And, to the further accumulation of the heavy state of the ministers deprived, were added in this book most slanderous accusations, and untrue matters surmised against them to the Queen and realm. The author greatly pretended antiquity and authority all along for his doctrine: whereas indeed it was nothing but counterfeited imitation of authority, and belying antiquity. And, in short, (to give you the sense of one[g] who wrote against the book, and did sufficiently expose it,) "it was mere subtilty without " substance, wit without wisdom, zeal without knowledge, " and heat without charity." To give but one instance of the unfair and false dealing of the author, he saith, in his book, " that the hereticks affirmed, that all priests and " bishops must of necessity marry, whether they have the " gift of sole life, or no; and that they were so beastly and " ignorant, that they should teach that the fellowship and

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[g] Supposed to be Bishop Ponet.

"company of a woman, in a spiritual man, is a means to "perfect religion, and that single life was an hinderance "to the same, and that they should despise all manner of "virginity and single life in them that had the gift of God; "and that they pronounced it wicked and abominable, and "termed it a doctrine of devils, and the invention of Antichrist." All which Bishop Ponet, in the name of all the Protestants, in his book did utterly deny that ever they said, writ, or thought so.

Wherein Winchester had the greatest hand.

This book was indeed made by the Bishop of Winchester, when he was in the Tower, (and he borrowed much of it from Albertus Pighius,) and published about that time. Martin being then a student at the university of Bourges in France, it once happened, in some conversation there, that Edward the King of England was commended, whether it were for his virtue, or learning, or abilities, beyond his years; whereat Martin began, as it seemed, to eclipse the King's honour, by mentioning the imprisonment of Winchester, saying, that there was a head Papist prisoner in England, meaning him. Upon which several asked him, 331 whether it was not the same Winchester that had set out an hodge-podge concerning marriage of priests? He, laughing, answered, "It was even he." But that no man ought to marvel; for that Winchester was more meet for warlike than for ecclesiastical disputations. Which passage I have from Bale; who was acquainted at that university with Franciscus Baldwin, the learned professor of law there. Out of this book Martin framed that which went under his name, with Winchester's privity: and this was well enough known to Bale and others in those times. Ponet said, that Martin was abused by others, who set him a-work to bear the name, and to desire the fame of so gay a book, rather than he was the author of it indeed.

Declaration of Boner's articles, 1554.

Thomas Martin, or Winchester under that name. fol. 15. Mr. Martin, Winchester's own voice. fol. 40. Gardiner in his book lately spread under the name of Thomas Martin. fol. 77. Bale's declar.

The said Ponet, or Poinet, late Bishop of Winchester, but now an exile, very learnedly answered this book in two several treatises. The first was entitled, *An Apology against Thomas Martin's Blasphemies.* In this treatise, upon occasion of the Papists' prohibition of marriage to priests, he proved that the said Papists were hereticks, and had taken part in the most principal parts with all the hereticks that

Answered by Ponet.

Anno 1553.

had corrupted the true Church of Christ. The second treatise, replenished with great learning, he lived not to finish; (though some doubt whether he were the author of this book;) but the copy falling into the hands of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, he published it, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, with very large and excellent additions of his own. Ponet had thoroughly studied this point, and I believe was put upon the study of it by Archbishop Cranmer, whose chaplain he was: for before this he put forth two books upon this argument, *viz. Of the Marriage of Ministers;* and *a Defence of that Marriage.*

The confessions of the married priests.

The last thing I have to say concerning these orders taken with the married clergy, is, that there were two things thought very hard, which were put upon those that were willing to comply, and put away their wives. The one was in relation to the public confessions they were to make: which were put into their mouths by others, and drawn up for them in that manner, as made them tell horrible lies. They must speak their own shame in bills of their penance: lying against themselves most vilely and most shamefully; disabling their credit and estimation for ever. And to give an instance: one such confession, which was much cried out against, was made by one Sir John Busby of Windsor, June 29, in the year 1555. Which Ponet calleth a goodly confession of his hearty and earnest repentance. "Which," saith he, "was so finely penned, and so catholickly tracted, "that I warrant you it was none of the smallest fools that "forged it."

Def. of Pr. Marr. p. 269.

Married priests that did their penance hardly dealt with.

The other thing was, that, after these poor men had thus done their penances, and spoke their confessions, the imposers of these penalties upon them were not so good as they pretended they would be, and as the Queen's instructions required them to be, towards them: not restoring them to their ministration. Some, that had been two or three years parted from their wives, could not be admitted again to ministration: yet they must do open penance, and go by the cross, without any redemption or entreaty, that could be made.

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CHAP. IX.

Evils in this Change. A Parliament.

A twofold evil upon this turn of religion.

BY this time the face of the church was perfectly changed: and all the reformation that was made for twenty years before, namely, from Cranmer's first ascent to the archiepiscopal chair, to this time, was unravelled in less than a year, and abolished. But the favourers of the Gospel lamented it exceedingly: and Bishop Ridley writ a treatise, wherein he shewed what a deplorable change in religion this was, by setting down at large what religion was in King Edward's days, and what it was at that present; laying the cause of this sore judgment upon the vile and naughty lives of the people, so unsuitable to the good religion professed. The professors lamented two great evils, lighting upon the people upon this turn of religion; not only that it brought the people into error and superstition, but involved them universally in the crime of perjury: the blame of which they laid upon the popish clergy. For they not only had connived at, but allowed and encouraged, the casting off the Pope's supremacy, and made both priests and laity swear to the King. And now they set up the Pope's authority again in England, and required all to swear to that. For they compelled not only such as were priests to perjure themselves, but all the laity, nobility, gentry, magistrates, merchants, and others; for hardly any were exempted the oath of supremacy in the former reigns. For in every law-day, the keepers of the same were sworn to call all the young men of their hundred, even as they came to years of discretion, to swear never to receive the Bishop of Rome, nor no other foreign potentate, to be head of the people of England, but only the King and his successors. Which oath, if it were unlawful, as the clergymen now said, then all the realm had reason of high displeasure against them, that so led them and knew it.

The dissimulation of the priests.

Such gross dissembling were the bishops guilty of to the involving the people in guilt. And this dissembling quality the priests still retained in this Queen's days. For when any came to some of them, shewing them that his conscience was not satisfied in the present way of religion, the priest would tell him, "that he said the truth; my con-"science," would he say, "is as yours; but we must bear "for a time: and that he himself looked for another "change." When another of a contrary opinion came to the priests, and talked about religion, they would say to him, "that they had been deceived; and thanks be to "God," said they, "that ye kept your conscience all this "while. And even so was mine; but I durst not do any "otherwise, but trusted that this time would come, as is "now; thanks be to God." Nay, and sometimes, in the same town, they would minister the service two ways to the people, to please both: insomuch that the bishops and priests grew, for this cause, as well as for their cruelty, into great dislike with the people. This more at large is shewed in a short manuscript treatise I have, made by a certain person nameless, imprisoned for religion, entitled thus; *All sorts of people of England have just cause of displeasure against the Bishops and Priests of the same.* 333

A parliament restore the Pope.

There was, this year, April 2, a new parliament; that the last year being dissolved. Great was the sadness that now possessed the hearts of the English nation, even of Papists themselves, the most considerate and wisest part of them, seeing the great slavery the kingdom was like to be ensnared in, by what the parliament was now in doing; that is to say, restoring the Pope's tyranny here in England, that had been so long and happily cast out, and allowing the Queen's matching with Prince Philip; whereby a Spaniard should become King of England. Which when P. Martyr had signified in a letter from Strasburgh to Calvin, May 8, he told him, *Tanta est rerum perturbatio, ut nullo pacto explicari queat:* "that it could not be told "what a disturbance there now was;" and that all good men, that could, fled away from their own country, from all parts of the land: mentioning three noble knights to be come lately to Strasburg, not less famous for piety than learning, Morisin, Cheke, and Cook. At this parliament, wherein the mass was set up, and confirmed by an act, all that were suspected to favour the truth were turned out of

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the House: which made Hoper out of prison in one of his letters write; "Doubtless there had not been seen before "our time such a parliament as this, that as many as were "suspected to be favourers of God's word, should be "banished out of both Houses."

A design to revive the six Articles.

In this parliament a strong and certain report went, that the bloody act of the six Articles should be revived and put in execution. This created abundance of terror in men's hearts. There was nothing but sighs and lamentations every where: and a great many were already fled out of the realm; unto whom this rumour had reached. John Fox, a learned and pious man, who had an excellent pathetic style, was now set on work: who took his pen in his hand, and, in the name of the protestant exiles, wrote a most earnest expostulatory letter to the Parliament, to dissuade them from restoring this law again. He told them, "they "had a Queen, who, as she was most noble, so she was "ready to listen to sound and wholesome counsel. And "that they had a Lord Chancellor, that, as he was "learned, so of his own nature he was not bad, were it "not for the counsels of some. But that, as among "animals, some there were that were born to create "trouble and destruction to the other: so there were "among mankind some by nature cruel and destructive; "some to the church, and some to the state." The letter is worthy the reading: which I have therefore placed in the Appendix, as I transcribed it out of a manuscript collection of Fox's letters. There was indeed such a design in the House of Commons of bringing again into force that act of the six Articles; but whether it were by the importunity of this and other petitions, or that the court thought it not convenient so much to countenance any of King Henry's acts, this business fell. And this parliament was shortlived, for in May it was dissolved; by reason of a bill for confirming abbey-lands to the present possessors, which it seems gave offence to the court.

Num. LXXVI.

CHAP. X.

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Archbishop Cranmer disputes at Oxon.

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A convocation appoint a dispute with Cranmer at Oxford.

A CONVOCATION of the clergy now met in St. Paul's, but was adjourned, the prolocutor Dr. Weston, Dean of Westminster, and some other of the members, being sent to Oxon (and it was generally thought the parliament would remove thither too) to dispute certain points of religion in controversy with three of the heads of the protestant party, Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley, and old father Latimer, now all prisoners: who, for that purpose, in the month of April, were removed from the Tower, by the Queen's warrant to the Lieutenant, towards Windsor, and there taken into custody of Sir John (afterwards Lord) Williams, who conveyed them to Oxford, there to remain in order to a disputation. The convocation, while they sat at London, agreed upon the questions to be disputed; and they resolved, that these three pious men should be baited by both the universities; and therefore that they of Cambridge should be excited to repair to Oxford, and engage in this disputation also. The questions were these:

The questions.

I. *In sacramento altaris virtute verbi divini a sacerdote prolati, præsens est realiter, sub speciebus panis et vini, naturale corpus Christi, conceptum de Virgine Maria: item naturalis ejus sanguis.*

II. *Post consecrationem non remanet substantia panis et vini, neque alia ulla substantia, nisi substantia Christi, Dei et hominis.*

III. *In Missa est vivificum ecclesiæ sacrificium pro peccatis, tam vivorum, quam mortuorum, propitiabile.*

Sent to Cambridge.

These questions the convocation sent to the University of Cambridge, requiring them seriously to weigh and deliberate upon them, and, if they contained true doctrine, then to approve of them. Accordingly the senate of that University met, and, after due deliberation, found them agreeable in all things to the catholick church, and the Scripture, and the ancient doctrine taught by the Fathers: and so did confirm

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The disputants of Oxford and Cambridge.

This Oxford disputation was after this manner: Hugh Weston, S. T. P. Prolocutor of the lower House of Convocation; Owin Oglethorp, John Seton, W. Chedsey, S. Th. PP.; Hen. Cole, Will. Geffrey, LL. PP.; William Pye, Joh. Feckenham, Joh. Harpsfield, S. T. BB. representing the whole lower House of Convocation, went down to Oxford. To them were joined, by commission, the Chancellor of the University, the Vicechancellor, the professors and doctors, &c. as namely, Holyman, Tresham, Ri. Marshal, Morwent, Smith, S. T. PP. of Oxford: and John Young, William Glyn, Ri. Atkinson, Tho. Watson, Cutbert Scot, Alban Langdale, Tho. Sedgwick, S. Th. PP. of Cambridge; in the name of the whole University. All these being met at St. Mary's, there were read the letters commissional to them, sealed with the Bishop of London's seal, and the subscription besides of the Bishops of Winton, Durham, Wi-

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gorn, Chichester, Lincoln, Bath, Ross, Hereford, St. David's, Glocester, and Oxon. And with these letters were conveyed certain articles, which had been lately by the upper House resolved upon; which articles were, of the Sacrament of the Altar, of Transubstantiation, and of the Adoration of the Eucharist, and the Reservation of the Sacrament of the Church, and of its institution, and by whom, and for whom, and to whom, it is to be offered. The contents of the letter were, to summon before them Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and to propound those articles to them to dispute on publicly. The sum of which, it seems, were contracted into the three questions above said. Then they provided themselves three public notaries. Next, they celebrated and sung the mass of the Holy Ghost. Then they went a procession according to the custom of the University. This formal pageantry being finished, and the commissioners returned to St. Mary's, and being come into the choir, to the number of three and thirty, seated themselves before the altar. And then sent to the Mayor and Bailiffs to bring Dr. Cranmer before them, by virtue of the Queen's letters to them: who within a while was brought, guarded with bill-men.

Cranmer brought before them.

Coming before them, he gave them great reverence, and stood with his staff in his hand. They offered him a stool to sit, but he refused. Then Weston the prolocutor began a speech, wherein "he commended unity in the church of "Christ: and withal, turning to the Archbishop, told him, "how he had been a catholick man once, and in the same "unity; but that he had separated himself from it by "teaching and setting forth erroneous doctrine, making "every year a new faith. And therefore that it had pleased "the Queen to send them to him to recover him again, if it "might be, to that unity." And then shewed him the articles to be disputed on, causing them to be read to him, and requiring his answer and opinion thereupon. Then the Archbishop answered *extempore*, that, as for unity, he was very glad of it; and said, that it was a preserver of all commonwealths, as well heathen as Christian: and illustrated the matter by some stories out of the Roman history. And added, 336 that he should be very glad to come to an unity, so it were in

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Christ, and according to the church of God. Then he read over the articles three or four times: and, being asked whether he would subscribe to them, he answered, That in the form of words in which they were conceived, they were all false and against God's word; and therefore that he would not agree in that unity with them. Nevertheless, he said, if they would give him a copy of the articles, and time to consider of them, he would by to-morrow send them an answer. Which was granted him, the Prolocutor bidding him write his mind of them that night. It was moreover agreed between them, that, in whatsoever he dissented from them, they would proceed to public disputation thereupon, in the public schools, by scholastical arguments in Latin. And lastly, they told him, he should have what books he would ask for. And so Weston gave the Mayor charge of him, to be had to Bocardo, where he was before.

His behaviour.

His behaviour all this while was so grave and modest, that many masters of art, who were not of his mind, could not forbear weeping. This was the work of Saturday. On Sunday Cranmer sent in what he had writ upon the articles to the Prolocutor to Lincoln College, where he lay.

Ridley brought,

After Cranmer was carried back, the Mayor and Bailiffs brought Bishop Ridley. And when the same articles were read to him, he said, that they were not true: but desired a copy of them, and he would draw up in writing his answer, and soon transmit it to them. And did offer to dispute, as Cranmer had done before.

And Latimer.

Lastly, Latimer was brought, to whom the Prolocutor said as he had to the two former. Latimer confessed, that in the sacrament of the altar there was a certain presence, but not such an one as they would have: and he also promised to send them his answer shortly to these articles, requiring a copy. But, by reason of his old age, his infirmities, and the weakness of his memory, he said, he could not bear a dispute; but that he could and would declare his mind of the said articles. All this that I have above said concerning the managery of this affair, I do for the most part extract out of a letter of Weston's, writ unto the Bishop of London, from Oxon. I cannot here omit old

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father Latimer's habit at this his appearing before the commissioners, which was also his habit while he remained a prisoner in Oxford. He held his hat in his hand; he had a kerchief on his head, and upon it a night-cap or two, and a great cap such as townsmen used, with two broad flaps, to button under his chin: an old threadbare Bristow freez gown, girded to his body with a penny leather girdle, at which hanged, by a long string of leather, his Testament; and his spectacles, without case, hanging about his neck upon his breast. This was the work of Saturday.

Cranmer brought to his disputation.

On Monday Cranmer was brought into the respondents' place in the Divinity-Schools, the Mayor and Aldermen sitting by him. In the midst of the disputation, because what he was to answer was more than he could well remember *extempore*, he gave in to Dr. Weston his opinion, written at 337 large, in answer to each proposition; and desired Weston, who sat on high, to read it. These writings are preserved in Fox's Monuments, and may there be seen. This disputation began at eight in the morning, and lasted till two. The Beadle had provided drink, and offered the Archbishop thereof sometimes, but he refused; nor did he stir all the while out of his place, though the Prolocutor had granted him leave to retire for a while, if he had any occasion. And, after having learnedly and boldly maintained the truth against a great many clamorous opponents, he was carried back by the Mayor to prison. And then, the two next days, Ridley and Latimer took their courses.

His notaries.

Cranmer had cautiously provided two notaries to take notes of what he said, lest he might be misrepresented. And they were Jewel, afterward Bishop of Sarum, and one Gilbert Mounson: who also at Ridley's request, were granted him.

Cranmer's demands.

Cranmer required, at the commissioners' hands, more time to have these weighty matters more diligently scanned and examined: urging, that he had so much to speak, that it would take up many days, that he might fully answer to all that they could say. He required also, that he and his fellows might oppose, as well as respond: that they might produce their proofs before the popish doctors, and be answered fully to all that they could say. But neither

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of these demands would be allowed him: which he in a letter complained of to the council. For indeed, as Cranmer plainly apprehended, the design now was not to look impartially into the truth or falsehood of these doctrines, but to gain glory to themselves, and to have a shew for the resolution that was before taken up of condemning them all three.

Cranmer disputes again.

The same week, on Thursday, Harpsfield disputed for the degree of bachelor of divinity: and, among other opponents, Cranmer was called forth for one by Dr. Weston. Where, first taking notice of Weston's opposing Harpsfield out of the Scripture against a corporal presence, (which was Harpsfield's question,) but whereas he left the sense of the Scripture to the catholick church, as judge, Cranmer told him, "He was much mistaken, especially because that, "under the name of church, he appointed such judges as "had corruptly judged, and contrary to the sense of the "Scriptures. He wondered also (he said) why Weston "attributed so little to the reading of Scriptures, and "conferring of places, seeing Scripture doth so much commend the same, in those very places which himself had "alleged. And as to his opinion of these questions, he "said, they had neither ground of the word of God, nor "the primitive church. Nay, and that the schools have "spoken diversely of them, and do not agree among them-"selves." And, having prefaced all this, he began his disputation with Harpsfield, by asking him some questions: as, how Christ's body was in the sacrament, according to his mind and determination? And whether he had the quantity and qualities, form, figure, and such-like properties, of bodies? And when there was great declining to answer this; and some affirmed one thing, and some another; Harpsfield said, they were vain questions, and not fit to spend time about; and added, that "Christ was there
338 "as it pleased him to be there." Cranmer to that said, "He would be best contented with that answer, if their "appointing of the carnal presence had not driven him of "necessity to have inquired, for disputation-sake, how they "placed him there, sithence they would have a natural "body." Then some denied it to be *quantum;* some said,

it was *quantitativum;* and some affirmed, that it had *modum quanti:* and some denying it, Dr. Weston then stood up, and said, it was *corpus quantum, sed non per modum quanti.* A very grave decision of the point!

Then Cranmer asked, "Whether good and bad men do "eat the body in the sacrament; and then, how long "Christ tarried in the eater?" Harpsfield said, "They were "curious questions, unmeet to be asked." Cranmer replied, "He took them out of their schools, and schoolmen, "which they themselves did most use." Then he asked, "How far he went into the body, and how long he abode in "the body?" With these questions Cranmer puzzled them most heavily: for which way soever they answered, there would follow absurdities and inextricable difficulties. In conclusion, Dr. Weston gave him this compliment; "That "his wonderful gentle behaviour and modesty was worthy "much commendation: giving him most hearty thanks in "his own name, and in the name of all his brethren." At which all the doctors put off their caps.

The Papists' indecent management of the disputation.

On Wednesday, as soon as Latimer, who came up last, had ended his disputation, the Papists cried *Victoria*, applauding themselves loudly, as though they had vindicated their cause most strenuously and satisfactorily against Cranmer and his two fellows. And so Weston had the confidence to tell them to their faces. Though to him that reads the whole disputation, and considereth the arguments on both sides impartially, there will appear no such matter: allowing for all the hissings and noises, confused talk and taunts, that were bestowed upon these very reverend and good men. Whereof Ridley said, in reference to his disputation, "That he never in all his life saw or heard any "thing carried more vainly and tumultuously; and that he "could not have thought, that there could have been "found among Englishmen any persons, honoured with "degrees in learning, that willingly could allow of such vanities, more fit for the stage than the schools." He added, "That, when he studied at Paris, he remembered "what clamours were used in the Sorbon, where popery "chiefly reigned; but that that was a kind of modesty in "comparison of this thrasonical ostentation. Whence he

In his Preface to his Account of his Dispute.

"concluded very truly, that they sought not for the sincere "truth in this conference, and for nothing but vainglory."

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The Protestants glad of this disputation.

But the professors of the Gospel, on the other hand, were as glad of this dispute, wherein these three chief fathers of the church had so boldly and gallantly stood in the defence of the truth, and maintained the true doctrine of the sacrament so well. And Dr. Rowland Taylor, in prison elsewhere at this time for Christ's sake, wrote them a congratulatory letter in the name of the rest. Which is as followeth:

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Dr. Taylor to the three fathers after their disputations.

"RIGHT reverend fathers in the Lord, I wish you to "enjoy continually God's grace and peace through Jesus "Christ. And God be praised again for this your most "excellent promotion, which ye are called unto at this present; that is, that ye are counted worthy to be allowed "amongst the number of Christ's records and witnesses. "England hath had but a few learned bishops that would "stick to Christ *ad ignem inclusive*. Once again I thank "God heartily in Christ for your most happy onset, most "valiant proceeding, most constant suffering of all such "infamies, hissings, clappings, taunts, open rebukes, loss of "living and liberty, for the defence of God's cause, truth, "and glory. I cannot utter with pen how I rejoice in my "heart for you three such captains in the foreward, under "Christ's cross, banner, or standard, in such a cause and "skirmish: when not only one or two of our dear Redeemer's strong holds are besieged, but all his chief castles, "ordained for our safeguard, are traitorously impugned. "This your enterprize, in the sight of all that be in heaven, "and of all God's people in earth, is most pleasant to behold. This is another manner of nobility, than to be in "the forefront in worldly warfares. For God's sake, pray "for us, for we fail not daily to pray for you. We are "stronger and stronger in the Lord, his name be praised; "and we doubt not, but ye be so in Christ's own sweet "school. Heaven is all, and wholly of our side. Therefore "*Gaudete in Domino semper, et iterum gaudete, et exultate*: "Rejoice always in the Lord, and again rejoice and be "glad.

"Your assured in Christ, Rowland Taylor."

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Ridley pens the relation of his disputation.

Ridley, knowing their tricks, and suspecting they would publish his disputation unfairly, and to their own advantage, prudently took his pen, and gave an account of it with the greatest exactness, as he could recover it in his memory. He was promised by the Prolocutor, that he should have a view of the dispute, as it was taken by the notaries, that he might supply and amend, and alter, as he should see any error or mistake in the notes. He promised him likewise, and that in the face and hearing of the rest of the commissioners, and the whole schools, that he should have a time and place allowed him, wherein he might produce what he had more to say, for the confirmation of his answers. But nothing was performed. Ridley never found language more ready to him, nor such a presence of mind in any business he had to do, as he had in this disputation: which he took particular notice of, and thanked God for. Of this relation, as he himself had penned it, he wrote to Grindal, then at Frankford, "That except he had "that he gathered himself after his disputation done, he "could not think that he had it truly; but if he had that, "then he had therewithal the whole manner, after the "which he was used in that disputation."

The University sends the disputations up to the Convocation.

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This whole disputation between these three excellent men, and the Oxford divines, was, under the seal of the University, and the subscription of notaries, exhibited into the house of Convocation by Hugh Weston, and some lawyers. This John Fox had found some years after, writ in the register of a certain church in London. Whereupon, for the sight hereof, he applied himself to Dr. Incent, that had been actuary: but he put him off, telling him the writings were in Boner's hand, or in the custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and that he had them not; probably not being minded they should come to light. Fox, when his pains succeeded not, wrote to the Archbishop and the Bishop of London, Parker and Grindal, about 1567, acquainting them with this; and desired their assistance: and the rather, because perhaps there might have been other things met with there, not unworthy knowledge, under the same seal. And so he left the Archbishop and Bishop to consult as they thought fit for the finding out these writings of the disputations.

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Various copies of these disputations.

Fox, by his diligence, procured many and divers copies of them. Which I have seen; and that which he printed in his Acts and Monuments, was, I suppose, from a copy which he reckoned the largest and truest. Ridley apprehended there would many copies of these disputations fly about, (as there were,) whereby they might be wronged. Therefore, to prevent misrepresenting, as I said before, he wrote a brief account of what he had said at his disputation. This, whether he writ it in English or Latin originally, I cannot tell; I suppose in Latin; as it was lately, in the year 1688, published at Oxon. Among Fox's manuscripts I meet with a better copy than that, which, by comparing both, I find faulty in many things: besides Ridley's epilogue to the reader, which is there placed as a preface before the book, the true place being at the end of it.

CHAP. XI.

Cranmer condemned for an Heretick.

Cranmer condemned for heresy.

WITHIN two days after these disputations were ended, that is, on Friday April 20, Cranmer, with his two fellows, were brought again to St. Mary's, before the commissioners. Weston dissuaded them from their opinions; and asked them, whether they would subscribe? and required them to answer directly and peremptorily: and told the Archbishop that he was overcome in disputation, with more words to that purpose. To whom the Archbishop boldly replied, "That "whereas Weston said, that he had answered and opposed, "and could neither maintain his own error, nor impugn the "truth; he said, all that was false: for he was not suf- "fered to oppose as he would, nor could answer as he was "required, unless he would have brawled with them, and "ever four or five interrupting him." Latimer and Ridley, being asked what they would do, said, they would stand to that which they had said. Then, being called together, sentence was read over them, that they were no members of the church; and therefore they were condemned as hereticks. And, while this was reading, they were asked if they would turn? They bad them read on in the name of God: for they were not minded to turn. And so the sentence of condemnation was awarded against them. Then the Archbishop said, "From this your judgment and sentence I ap- 341 "peal to the just judgment of the Almighty: trusting to be "present with him in heaven. For whose presence in the "altar I am thus condemned." And so Cranmer was returned to Bocardo, and the other two to other places: as they were kept apart almost all the while they were in Oxon.

Cranmer writes to the council.

Weston, after this ingrateful business done, went up the next week to London. And Cranmer wrote to the lords of the council a letter, containing two points: one was, to desire the Queen's pardon as to his treason, (for so little favour could he find at court, that he had not yet this absolutely granted him;) and the other was, an account of the disputation: Weston being desired by the Archbishop to carry the letter. But, after he had carried it half way, reading the contents, he liked them so ill, that he sent back the letter most churlishly to Cranmer again. Indeed he cared not to carry complaints of himself to the court. But, because it gives further light into these matters, I have inserted it in the Appendix. Num. LXXIX.

Disputation intended at Cambridge.

It was such an imaginary victory, as they had now got at Oxford, that they intended also to obtain at Cambridge. And much talk at this time arose, that Hoper, Rogers, Crome, and Bradford, whom they had in prisons at London, were to be had to this university, to be baited, as Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, newly had been at Oxford: and several of the doctors of Oxford should be sent in likewise to Cambridge for this purpose. But Hoper, Farrar, Taylor, Philpot, Bradford, and the others, having an inkling of it, consulted among themselves what to do; and resolved to decline it, unless they might have indifferent judges. And for this purpose Bradford sent a private and trusty messenger to Oxford to Ridley, to have his, and his two fellows, their judgments concerning this matter. They were at this time all separated from one another: so, though Ridley signified this in a letter to Cranmer, yet he could only give his

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In his letter to Bradford.

own sense. "He misliked not (he said) what they were "minded to do: for he looked for none other, but that, if "they answered before the same commissioners that he and "his fellows had done, they should be served and handled "as they were, *though ye were as well learned* (said he) *as* "*ever was either Peter or Paul.* Yet he thought occasion "might afterward be given them; and the consideration of "the profit of their auditory might perchance move them "to do otherwise. But determinately to say what was best, "he could not; but trusted he, whose cause they had in "hand, would put them in mind to do that which should "be most for his glory, the profit of his flock, and their "own salvation." It came at length to that forwardness, that Weston and his complices had taken out the commission. And it was easy to obtain such a commission at such a Lord Chancellor's hands. And they were likely speedily to put it in execution. Hoper, who seemed to have the first notice of it, sent the intelligence in a letter to Farrar, Taylor, Bradford, and Philpot, prisoners in the King's Bench. He shewed them what his advice was, and desired them to consult among themselves what course were best to be taken. His own thoughts were, considering what foul play the three learned men had at Oxford, and which they were like to have themselves at this disputation; I. Because they did
342 commonly make false allegations of the doctors, and took pieces and scraps of them to prove their tenets, against the real mind and sense of those authors; they should therefore refuse wholly to dispute, unless they might have books present before them. II. To have sworn notaries, to take things spoken indifferently; which would be hard to have, the adversaries having the oversight of all things: and so would make theirs better, and the Protestants worse. III. If they perceived, when they were disputing, that two or three, or more, spake together, and used taunts and scoffs, as they did at Oxon, then to refuse to dispute any longer; but to appeal to be heard before the Queen, and the whole council. Whereby this benefit would happen, that they should be delivered from the commissioners, appointed to hear and judge them, who meant nothing less than to hear the cause indifferently, being all enemies already unto the Protestants,

and their cause, and at a point to give sentence against them. And then many at the court might be strengthened, who know the truth already; and others better informed who erred rather of zeal than malice; and a third sort, that be indurate, might be answered fully to their shame. He knew, he said, the adversaries would deny their appeal; but yet he advised to challenge it, and to take witness thereof, of such as should be present, and require, for indifferency of hearing and judgment, to be heard either before the Queen and council, or else before all the parliament, as it was used in King Edward's days. So wise and wary now were they. But I do not find that this project of the Papists went further.

Hoper's letter.

Their condition after condemnation.

And let us return, and visit these three faithful prisoners of Jesus Christ. After their disputation and condemnation, their servants were discharged, that so they might not have any conference, or intelligence of any thing abroad. But God provided for every one of them, instead of their servants, faithful fellows, that would be content to hear and see, and do for them whatsoever they could; as Ridley wrote in a letter to Bradford. To these fathers also came supplies of meat, money, and shirts, from London, not only from such as were of their acquaintance, but from strangers, with whom they had no acquaintance; doing it for God's sake, and his Gospel's. The bailiffs so watched them now, that they would not suffer them to have any conferences among themselves. The scholars of that University seemed universally against them. Which Ridley, in a letter to his friend Bradford, could not but take notice of, calling it "a won-"derful thing, that, among so many, never yet scholar offered "any of them, so far as he knew, any manner of favour, "either for, or in Christ's cause." They had all things common among them, as meat, money, and whatever one had, that might do another good.

Their employment in prison.

Neither of them now in prison were idle. Old Latimer read the New Testament through seven times deliberately, while he was a prisoner. Cranmer busied himself earnestly in vindication of his writings of the Sacrament against Winchester, under the name of *Marcus Constantius*. And so did Ridley: who in two treatises, which he now made, shewed

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how Winchester varied from other Papists in eighteen articles, and from himself in eighteen more. And a third paper he wrote, shewing several things Winchester yielded unto, concerning the spiritual use of the sacrament. Fox hath set down these in his history, and preserved them to us; these collections of Ridley falling into his hands. Ridley also wrote, while he was a prisoner in Oxford, *De Abominationibus Sedis Romanæ, et Pontificum Romanorum:* and annotations more large upon Tonstal's first book, (of *Transubstantiation*, I suppose;) and more sparingly upon the second, He was now also diligent to set others on work for the exposing false religion: desiring one Grimbold to translate Laurentius Valla his book, which he made and wrote against the fable of Constantine's donation and glorious exaltation of the see of Rome. And, having done that, he would have had him to translate a work of Æneas Sylvius, *De Gestis Basiliensis Concilii:* "in which although (said he) there be many "things that favour of the pan, yet I dare say the Papists "would glory but a little to see such books go forth in "English." He directed Austin Bernher, Latimer' sservant, to recommend those works unto Grimbold, who had been his chaplain, and a man (as Ridley gave him the character) of much eloquence both in English and Latin; (but he complied and subscribed.) And he also bad Austin tell Grimbold, "that if he would know where to have these books, "he might find them in a work set forth by Ortwinus "Gratius, entitled, *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum.*" And "added, that if such things had been set forth in our "English tongue heretofore, he supposed great good "might have come to Christ's church thereby."

Letters of the Martyrs.

Other works of Ridley in prison.

But we have not yet mentioned all the pieces that Ridley wrote in prison. For, besides those above mentioned, were these following. I. A little treatise, which was jointly composed by him and Latimer in the Tower, (which is preserved in Fox,) with the letters N. R. before Ridley's sayings, and H. L. before Latimer's. II. A draught, which he drew out of the Evangelists and St. Paul, shewing thence that the words of the Lord's supper are figuratively to be understood, alleging out of the doctors, three of the Greek church, Origen, Chrysostom, and Theodoret; and three of the Latin, Tertullian, Augustin, and Gelasius. III. Three positions to the third question propounded in Oxford, concerning the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass. IV. His disputation in the schools, as he wrote it, after it was over. V. A letter, *Ad Fratres in diversis Carceribus*. All these fell into the hands of the Papists by this mishap, or treachery. Grimbold, expressing a great desire to have every thing that Ridley had writ during his imprisonment, Mr. Shipside, Ridley's brother-in-law, procured and sent him all those writings before mentioned: but they were all seized, whether in Grimbold's possession, or in the sending them to him, it was uncertain. Some suspected Grimbold himself, but others rather the messenger; for it would not enter into Shipside's head that Grimbold should play such a Judas's part.

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A Parliament. Pole reconciles the Realm.

The Queen's letters directing the elections of parliament-men.

GREAT care was now to be taken of getting parliament-men that might do what was to be laid before them, now the Pope's legate was to be received, and the last parliament failing expectation. Therefore letters were dispatched from the Queen, and interests made all the nation over, to procure such persons to be elected as should be named to them. In a manuscript, containing divers orders that were sent into Norfolk in Queen Mary's time, there is a letter from that Queen, anno 2°, dated October 6, to the Earl of Sussex, directing him to assist in choosing such men to sit in parliament, " as were of wise, grave, and catholick sort; such as " indeed meant the true honour of God, with the prosperity " of the nation. The advancement whereof we, (as the " letter runneth,) and our dear husband the King, do chiefly " profess and intend, without alteration of any man's " particular possession, as, amongst other false rumours, the " hinderers of our good purposes, and favourers of here" sies, do most utterly report." For, to make the intent of restoring the abbey-lands to be the less credited, it was

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thought convenient to be laid upon the hereticks. With these general letters there seemed to go private instructions what particular men were to be set up: for, upon the aforesaid letter, the Earl of Sussex sent a letter, October 14, to Sir Tho. Woodhouse, high sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, and to Sir William Woodhouse, about the elections of knights of those shires; *viz.* "That they should reserve their "interests and voices for such as he should name, and that "he would soon consult with them about the matter." He then, in pursuit of the Queen's letter, recommended to the bailiff of Yarmouth, John Millicent, to be elected burgess for that town. This parliament sate November 11.

Pole comes over.

Cardinal Pole was this summer brought to Flanders by the Emperor, who had stayed him before on the way. The Queen sent over the Lord Paget and the Lord Hastings to the Cardinal to conduct him over, in quality of the Pope's legate. And the same day he landed at Dover, (which was November 21,) the bill passed for the taking off his attainder. Three days after he came to London, and so to Lambeth-house: which was ready prepared for his coming. Cardinal Pole, before he came into England, and in the last reign, had the reputation here ordinarily of a virtuous, sober, and learned man; and was much beloved by the English nation, as well for his qualities, as his honourable extraction. Latimer, in one of his sermons before King Edward, hath these words of him: "I never remember that man, (speaking of "Pole,) but I remember him with a heavy heart; a witty "man, a learned man, a man of a noble house: so in favour, "that, if he had tarried in the realm, and would have conformed himself to the King's proceedings, I heard say, "and I believe it verily, he had been Bishop of York at this "day. And he would have done much good in that part "of the realm: for those quarters have always had need of
345 "learned men, and a preaching prelate." One great author the Cardinal much conversed in was, St. Hierom. Latimer wished "that he would have followed St. Hierom in his exposition of that place, *Come out of her, my people:* where "that father understood it of Rome, and called that city, "*The purple whore of Babylon.* Almighty God saith, *Get* "*you from it;* get you from Rome, saith Hierom. It were

" (subjoined Latimer) more commendable to go from it, than " to go to it, as Pole hath done."

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The Cardinal absolves parliament and convocation.

Soon after his return into England, he was mighty busy in reconciling the realm to the Pope. He performed it in his own person to the parliament, on the thirtieth of November, with much solemnity; and to the convocation on the sixth of December. On which day, the parliament being dissolved, he, the Lord Legate, sent for the whole convocation of upper and lower House to Lambeth: and there he absolved them all from their perjuries, schisms, and heresies. Which absolution they received upon their knees. Then he gave them an exhortation, and congratulated their conversion: and so they departed.

The clergy again wait upon the Legate.

January 23, upon the dismission of the convocation, the bishops and inferior clergy waited again upon the Legate at Lambeth. Where he willed them all to repair to their cures and charges, and exhorted them to entreat their flocks with all mildness, and to endeavour to win them by gentleness, rather than by extremity and rigour: and so let them depart.

A commission granted by hin. against heretics.

January 28, he granted a commission to the Bishop of Winchester, and divers other bishops, to sit upon, and judge according to the laws lately revived against hereticks, all such ministers and others that were in prison for heresy: which was done undoubtedly to take off all the eminentest of the Protestant clergy, then in hold. And the very same day (such haste they made) they sat in commission, in St. Mary Overies church, upon Rogers, Hoper, and Cardmaker. And, the next to that, upon Hoper and Rogers again, upon Taylor also, and Bradford; when the two former were formally excommunicated. The day following they sat upon Taylor and Bradford again: to which were added Ferrar, Crome, and Saunders. Then they excommunicated Bradford and Saunders.

His commissionst all the bishops, to reconcile their dioceses.

But, that this reconciliation to the Pope and church of Rome might sound the louder in all parts and corners of the nation, and all persons every where might make their formal submissions to the Pope, and thankfully take the mighty benefit of his yoke upon them again, the Legate was not contented to reconcile the nation himself under their re-

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presentatives in the parliament and convocation: but, upon pretence that he could not, in his own person, pardon and reconcile all the people, therefore he granted out a commission to each bishop, in his own diocese, to do it to their respective clergy and laity, deputed in his name, and by his authority derived from the Pope.

The commission to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury.

Such a commission he granted, February 8, to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, that see being then held vacant: "Therein authorizing them to absolve all manner of persons, "as well lay as ecclesiasticks, religious as secular, from "their schism, heresies, and errors, and from all censures due 346 "thereupon. And to dispense with the clergy upon divers "irregularities: as with such who had received orders "from schismatical bishops, or had been collated into their "livings by them. To dispense also with the religious and "regulars for departing from their cloisters without the "Pope's licence, permitting them to wear the habit of "priests, and to serve cures, considering the scarcity of "priests, and to live out of their cloisters. Also, to dispense with priests that had married wives, though they "were widows, or women defiled, and with such who had "been twice married, doing penance and forsaking their "wives. Allowing them to minister at the altar, and to "serve cures, provided it were out of the dioceses where "they were married. The said bishops, by this commission, "were also empowered to grant, to fit rectors and curates, "a power to reconcile and absolve their respective parishes." No. LXXX. This commission I have placed in the Appendix, as it was transcribed out of the register of the church of Canterbury.

The Legate's instructions to the bishops.

The Lord Legate also, for the better discharging of this his mighty office, gave out his instructions how the bishops and officials of the vacant sees should perform this work of the reconciliation, deputed to them by the said Legate: together with the form of absolution to be pronounced. Which instructions and form, as they were extracted from the said register, may be found in the Appendix. Numb. LXXXI. Each bishop was to call before him the clergy of his respective city, and to instruct them in divers things: as, concerning the Pope's fatherly love and charity towards the English nation, in sending Cardinal Pole his legate hither, as soon as he knew

CHAP. XII.

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the Lady Mary was declared Queen, to bring this kingdom, so long separated from the catholick church, into union with it, and to comfort and restore them to the grace of God: concerning the joyful coming of the said Legate; concerning what was done the last parliament, when the Lords and Commons were reconciled; and concerning the repealing of all the laws made against the authority of the Roman see by the two last Kings, and restoring obedience to the Pope and church of Rome: concerning the authority restored likewise to the bishops; especially, that they might proceed against hereticks and schismaticks. Then the bishops were to acquaint their clergy with the faculties yielded to them by the Legate: which were to be read openly. Then all that were lapsed into error and schism were to be invited humbly to crave absolution and reconciliation, and dispensations as well for their orders, as for their benefices. Next, a day was fixed when the clergy were to appear, and petition for the said absolutions and dispensations. On which day, after they had confessed their errors, and sacramentally promised that they would make confession of the same to the bishop himself, or some other catholick priests, and to perform the penance that should be enjoined them; then the bishop was to reconcile them, and to dispense with their irregularities: always observing a distinction between those that only fell into schism and error, and those who were the teachers of them, and leaders of others into sin. The same time was to be appointed another day for a solemn festival; wherein the bishops and curates, in their churches, should signify to the people all that the bishops before had spoken to their clergy; and then should invite them all to confess their errors, and to return into the bosom of the church: promising them, that all their past crimes should be forgiven, if so be they repented of them, and renounced them. And a certain term was to be fixed, namely, the whole octaves of Easter, within which term all should come and be reconciled. But, the time to be reconciled in being lapsed, all that remained unreconciled, as also all that returned to their vomit after they had been reconciled, were to be most severely proceeded against. 347

The said bishops and officials (where any sees were vacant)

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were to name and depute the rectors of the parish-churches, and other fit persons, who should absolve the laity of their parishes from heresy, and schism, and censures, according to a form to be given them by the bishops.

The bishops, and officials, and curates were to have each a book; in which were to be writ the names and parishes of all that were reconciled: that it might afterwards be known who were reconciled, and who were not.

After the octave of Easter was past, the bishops were to visit, first their cities, and then their dioceses; and to summon before them all such as had not been reconciled; and to know of them the cause why they would not depart from their errors: and, remaining obstinate in them, they were to proceed against them.

In this visitation all the clergy were to be required to shew the titles of their orders and benefices; and notice was to be taken if any defect were therein. And now the bishops were to take care to root out any errors in their dioceses, and to depute fit persons to make sermons, and hear confessions. They were also to take care to have the sacred canons observed; and to have inserted into the books of service the name of St. Thomas the martyr, and of the Pope, formerly blotted out: and to pray for the Pope, according as it was used before the schism.

They were advised to insist much upon the great miseries we were in before, and the great grace that God now had shewed to this people: exhorting them to acknowledge these mercies, and devoutly to pray for the King and Queen, that had deserved so exceedingly well of this kingdom; and especially to pray for a happy offspring from the Queen.

Pole a severe persecutor.

In these instructions there are several strictures, that make it appear Pole was not so gentle towards the hereticks (as the professors of the Gospel were then styled) as is reported, but rather the contrary; and that he went hand in hand with the bloody bishops of these days. For it is plain here, that he put the bishops upon proceeding with them according to the sanguinary laws, lately revived, and put in full force and virtue. What an invention was that of his, a kind of inquisition by him set up, whereby not a man might escape, that stood not well affected to popery! I mean, his ordering books to be made and kept, wherein the names of all such were to be written, that, in every place and parish in England, were reconciled: and so, whosoever were not found in those books might be known to be no friends to the Pope; and so to be proceeded against. And indeed, after Pole's crafty and zealous management of this re- 348 conciliation, all that good opinion, that men had before conceived of him, vanished: and they found themselves much mistaken in him; especially, seeing so many learned and pious Gospel-bishops and ministers imprisoned and martyred under him, and by his commission. Insomuch that now people spake of him as bad as of the Pope himself, or the worst of his cardinals. The Gospellers before this did use to talk much among themselves, that he did but dissemble at Rome in his present outward compliances with them and their superstitions; and that he would, upon a good opportunity, shew himself an open professor of the truth. And indeed he often had conferences before him of Christ, and of the Gospel, of a living faith, and justification by faith alone; and he often would wish the true doctrine might prevail. But now the mask was taken off, and he shewed himself what he was. A notable letter to this purpose was written, concerning the Cardinal, about this time, by a pious Italian to his friend, who had conceived these good opinions of him. This I have put in the Appendix; and the rather, because it will give some light into our present history.

Numb. LXXXII.

CHAP. XIII.

A Convocation. Articles framed therein.

A convocation. Articles presented to the upper House.

AT a convocation the latter end of this year, an address was made by the lower House to the upper, wherein they petitioned for divers things, in twenty-eight articles, meet to be considered for the reformation of the clergy. One whereof was, "That all books, both Latin and English, concerning

Anno 1554. Cranmer's book to be burnt.

"any heretical, erroneous, or slanderous doctrines, might "be destroyed and burnt throughout the realm." And among these books, they set Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury, his book, made against the Sacrament of the Altar, in the forefront; and then, next, the *Schismatical Book*, as they called it, *viz.* the Communion Book. To which they subjoined the book of ordering ecclesiastical ministers, and all suspect translations of the Old and New Testament; and all other books of that nature. (So that, if Cranmer's book was burnt, it was burnt with very good company; the Holy Bible, and the Communion Book.) And that such as had these books should bring the same to the ordinary by a certain day, or otherwise to be taken and reputed as favourers of those doctrines. And that it might be lawful for all bishops to make inquiry, from time to time, for such books, and to take them from the owners. And, for the repressing of such pestilent books, order should be taken with all speed, that none such should be printed or sold within the realm, nor brought from beyond sea, upon grievous penalties. And from another article we may learn, from what spring all the bloody doings that followed the ensuing years sprang; namely, from the popish clergy. For they petitioned, "That the statutes made in the fifth of "Richard II. and in the second of Henry IV. and the 349 "second of Henry V. against heresy, Lollards, and false "preachers, might be revived, and put in force. And that "bishops, and other ecclesiastical ordinaries, [whose hands "had been tied by some later acts,] might be restored to "their pristine jurisdiction against hereticks, schismaticks, "and their fautors, in as large and ample manner as they "were in the first year of Henry VIII." I shall not recite here the whole address, as I find it in a volume of the Benet College library, because the Bishop of Sarum hath faithfully printed it thence in his History. Only I observe, that the 17th article is in the manuscript scratched out and crossed; *viz.* "That all exempt places whatsoever might be from "henceforth under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop or "Bishop, or Archdeacon, in whose dioceses or archdeacon"aries they were." That they judged might grate a little too much upon the Pope's authority, which they were now

Intit. Synodalia. Hist. Ref. vol. ii. Collect. p. 266.

receiving, since these exemptions were made by popes. And the last, or 28th article, was added by another hand; *viz.* "That all ecclesiastical persons, that had lately spoiled "cathedral, collegiate, or other churches, of their own "heads, might be compelled to restore them, and all and "singular things by them taken away, or to the true value, "and to reedify such things as by them were destroyed or "defaced." This I suppose was added by Boner's interest, that he might hereby have a pretence against Ridley, his predecessor; it affording a fair opportunity to crush the good bishops and preachers that had, in zeal to God's glory, taken away out of their churches all instruments of superstition and idolatry. And it might serve their turn who had lately, in a most barbarous manner, plundered the rich Archbishop of York.

Men burnt to death without law.

And as they of this convocation were for burning hereticks' books, so they were as well disposed to the burning of the hereticks themselves. For Protestants were already not only imprisoned, but put to death, without any warrant of law, but only by virtue of commissions from the Queen and the Lord Chancellor. Whereupon, when one in the convocation started this objection, "That there was no law "to condemn them," Weston, the prolocutor, answered, "It forceth not for a law; we have a commission to "proceed with them: and, when they be dispatched, let "their friends sue the law."

CHAP. XIV.

The Condition of the Protestants in Prison. Freewillers.

Popery fully established.

BY this time, by the diligence of the Papists, the popish religion was fully established in England. This apostasy Cranmer saw with a sad heart before his death, and all his labour overturned. And Ridley sends the bad news of it from Oxon to Grindal, beyond sea, in these words; "To "tell you much naughty matter in a few words, *Papismus* "*apud nos ubique in pleno suo antiquo robore regnat.*"

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As for the Protestants, some were put in prisons, some escaped beyond sea; some went to mass, and some recanted; and many were burned, and ended their lives in the flames for religion's sake.

The pastors in prison.

They that were in prison, whereof Cranmer was the chief, being the pastors and teachers of the flock, did what in them lay to keep up the religion, under this persecution, among the professors: which made them write many comfortable and instructive letters to them; and send them their advices, according as opportunity served.

Free-willers.

One thing there now fell out, which caused some disturbance among the prisoners. Many of them that were under restraint for the profession of the Gospel, were such as held freewill, tending to the derogation of God's grace, and refused the doctrine of absolute predestination, and original sin. They were men of strict and holy lives, but very hot in their opinions and disputations, and unquiet. Divers of them were in the King's Bench, where Bradford, and many other Gospellers, were. Many whereof by their conferences they gained to their own persuasions. Bradford had much discourse with them. The name of their chief man was Harry Hart; who had writ something in defence of his doctrine. Trew and Abingdon were teachers also among them: Kemp, Gybson, and Chamberlain, were others. They ran their notions as high as Pelagius did, and valued no learning: and the writings and authorities of the learned they utterly rejected and despised. Bradford was apprehensive that they might now do great harm in the church, and therefore out of prison wrote a letter to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, the three chief heads of the reformed (though oppressed) church in England, to take some cognizance of this matter, and to consult with them in remedying it. And with him joined Bishop Ferrar, Rowland Taylor, and John Philpot. This letter, worthy to be read, may be found among the letters of the martyrs, and transcribed in the Appendix. Upon this occasion Ridley wrote a treatise of *God's Election and Predestination*. And Bradford wrote

Bradford's concern with them.

Numb. LXXXIII.

another upon the same subject; and sent it to those three fathers in Oxford for their approbation: and, theirs being obtained, the rest of the eminent divines, in and about London, were ready to sign it also.

His kindness to them.

I have seen another letter of Bradford to certain of these men, who were said to hold the error of the Pelagians and Papists concerning man's free will, and were then prisoners with him in the King's Bench. By which letter it appeared, that Bradford had often resorted to them, and conferred with them; and, at his own charge and hinderance, had done them good. But, seeing their obstinacy and clamours against him, he forbore to come at them any more: but yet wrote letters to them, and sent them relief. They told him, "he "was a great slander to the word of God in respect of his "doctrine, in that he believed and affirmed the salvation of "God's children to be so certain, that they should assuredly "enjoy the same. For they said, it hanged partly upon our "perseverance to the end. Bradford said, it hung upon "God's grace in Christ; and not upon our perseverance in "any point: for then were grace no grace. They charged "him, that he was not so kind to them as he ought in the 351 "distribution of the charity-money, that was then sent by "well-disposed persons to the prisoners in Christ, [of which "Bradford was the purse-bearer:] but he assured them he "never defrauded them of the value of a penny: and at "that time sent them at once thirteen shillings and four "pence; and, if they needed as much more, he promised "that they should have it." But, abating these little casual heats and peevishnesses, there was a good christian correspondence maintained among them. The fore-mentioned holy man advised them, "that though in some things they "agreed not, yet let love bear the bell away; and let "us pray," said he, "one for another, and be careful one "for another." He said, "that he was persuaded of them, "that they feared the Lord; and therefore he loved them. "I have loved you in him, my dear hearts, though you "have taken it otherwise, without cause on me given." He added, "that he had not suffered any copy of his treatise of "*Predestination* to go abroad, because he would suppress "all occasion so far as might be. I am going," said he, "before you to my God and your God, to my Father and "your Father, to my Christ and your Christ, to my home "and your home."

Bradford gaineth some of them.

By Bradford's pains and diligence he gained some from their errors: and particularly one Skelthorp: for whom, in a letter to Careless, he thanked God, who gave this man to see the truth at the length, and to give place to it; hoping that he would be so heedy in all his conversation, that his old acquaintance might thereby think themselves gone astray.

Careless's pains with them.

Careless also, another eminent martyr, as well as Bradford, had much conference with these men, prisoners with him in the King's Bench. Of whose contentiousness he complained in a letter to Philpot. And there is extant an answer of Philpot to Careless about them: where he writes, "That he was sorry to hear of the great trouble which "these schismaticks did daily put him to, and wished that "he were with him in part, to release his grief. He bad "him take his advice, and to be patient, whatsoever his "adversaries could say or do against him: that he should "commit the success of his labours [in rightly informing "these men] unto God; and not to cease, with charity, to "do his endeavour in the defence of the truth, against these "arrogant and self-willed blinded scatterers. That these "sects were necessary for the trial of our faith, and for the "beautifying thereof: not to be perverted with them that "were perverse and intractable. That he should shew as "much modesty and humility as he might possible: and "that then others, seeing his modest conversation among "these contentious babblers, should glorify God in the truth "of him, and the more abhor them. That he should be "content that Shimei do rail at David, and cast stones "a while. That he should desire all the brethren, in the "bowels of Jesus Christ, to keep the bond of peace, which "is the unity of Christ's church: to let no root of bitterness spring up, which the Devil, with all his diligence, "seeketh to thrust in among the children of God. To kiss "one another with the kiss of unfeigned brotherly love, "and to take one another by the hand cheerfully, and say, "Let us take up our cross together, and go to the mount "of Calvary."

Martyrs' Letters. Philpot's counsel.

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Careless draws up a confession of faith.

This contention could not be laid asleep amongst them, notwithstanding the grievous tribulations they endured for the same cause of religion. They wrote also against one another: for, in 1556, Careless wrote a confession of his faith, some part whereof favoured absolute predestination against freewill. This confessionhe sent unto the Protestant prisoners in Newgate from the King's Bench, where he lay. Whereunto they generally subscribed; and particularly twelve that were a little before condemned to die. Hart, having gotten a copy of this confession, on the back-side thereof wrote his confession in opposition thereunto. When they in Newgate had subscribed Careless's confession, this Hart propounded his unto them; and he, with one Kemp and Gybson, would have persuaded them from the former to the latter, but prevailed not. One Chamberlain also wrote against it. I do not meet with this confession; only I find one article was, "That the second book of Common Prayer, " set forth in King Edward's days, was good and godly: " but that the church of Christ hath authority to enlarge " and diminish things in the same book, so far forth as it is " agreeable to Scripture." This paper of Careless's confession, with the answer wrote on the back-side by Hart, fell by some accident into the hands of Dr. Martin, a great Papist; who took occasion hence to scoff at the professors of the Gospel, because of these divisions and various opinions amongst them. But Careless, before the said Martin, disowned Hart, and said that he had seduced and beguiled many a simple soul with his foul Pelagian opinions, both in the days of King Edward, and since his departure.

Some few Arians.

Besides these anti-predestinarians, there were some few, who laid in prison for the Gospel, were Arians, and disbelieved the divinity of Jesus Christ. Two of these lay in the King's Bench. These different opinions occasioned such unseemly quarrelsome disputes and heats among them, that the Marshal was fain to separate them from one another. And, in 1556, the noise of this reached to the council; who, the better to know the matters controverted between them, sent Dr. Martin to the King's Bench to examine it.

The prisoners offer to

These were some of the transactions that passed among the prisoners. Another matter concerning them deserves justify King Edward's proceedings.

relating: which was this; they boldly and bravely made a declaration to the Queen and parliament that sat this year: taxing them for overthrowing (as they had lately done) the laws of King Henry and King Edward, and the reformation so maturely and deliberately made, and after the rejection of a religion, which, as they said, there was not a parish in England desired to have restored again. They offered likewise to maintain the homilies and service, set forth in King Edward's days, before them, either by writing, or by disputation in the English tongue. By whom this declaration was drawn up, unless by John Bradford, I know not: for I meet with it in a MS. which contains divers pieces of that good man. This remarkable declaration I have reposited in the Appendix. This now is the second time a public challenge was made to justify King Edward's reformation; the former the last year by Cranmer, the latter now by divers of the learned men in prison.

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And again offer it.

After they had lain fifteen or sixteen months thus in prison, their livings, houses, and possessions, goods and books taken from them, they made such another address unto the King and Queen, and the parliament: therein undertaking, either by word or writing, before them, or indifferent arbiters to be appointed by them, to prove themselves no hereticks, nor teachers of heresy, as they were pretended to be, nor cut off from the true catholick church; (though by the popish clergy excommunicated:) and, secondly, by the testimony of Christ, his Prophets and Apostles, and the godly fathers of the church, to prove the doctrine of the church, the homilies and service, taught and used in King Edward's time, to be the true doctrine of Christ's catholick church, and most agreeable to the articles of the Christian faith. And this was the third public challenge they made. This being preserved in Fox's Acts, I forbear to transcribe it.

Edit. 1610. p. 1348.

CHAP. XV.

The Exiles, and their Condition.

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The exiles.

BUT let us now turn our eyes from the prisoners, which were kept under close confinement here in England, unto the exiles, that, by the good providence of God, made their flight into foreign countries from these storms at home. These were both of the clergy and laity: who, though great watch was laid for them, and prohibitions given out against any that should privately attempt to transport themselves, yet, by taking their opportunities, and the favour of divers masters of small vessels at Lee in Essex, and upon the coasts in those parts, they safely got to the other side of the sea.

The Lutherans refuse to give harbour to the exiles.

They scattered themselves, and took up their harbours as they could. But they found little hospitality in Saxony and other places in Germany, where Lutheranism was professed. But, on the contrary, the exile English were much hated by those of that profession, because they looked upon them as Sacramentaries, and holding as Calvin and Peter Martyr did in the doctrine of the sacrament. Therefore, when any English came among them for shelter, they expelled them out of their cities. Mart. Ep. p. 770. And when a grave pastor of Saxony (a friend of Peter Martyr's, who, though he were a minister, yet was not of their mind) had entertained some of them, the rest clamoured against him, and hated him for it. About this time the Saxon divines wrote many books against the Sacramentaries; and namely, one Joachim Westphalus wrote a book against Calvin. Ep. Pet. Martyr. ad Calvin. Anno 1555. And he and the rest got these books printed at Frankford, on purpose, as Martyr conjectured, the more to spite the English and French churches that abode now there, and to provoke them.

The English at Wesel.
Bal. Præf. ad Act. Pontif.

At Wesel the English were under some trouble: and the senate were about to command them to depart thence, because of their different sentiments from the Augustan Confession in some points. But Philip Melancthon interposed, and interceded with the senate on their behalf. 354 And, when some clamoured against them, he took their part, saying,

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"That their case ought to be weighed by friendly disputations, and not exploded by noise and hissing: and declared his judgment to be, that these poor exiles were to "be retained and helped, not afflicted and vexed by any "rough sentence." He wrote also to the governors of Frankford to the same purpose; *viz.* "That the English "were not to be oppressed, but to be cherished, considering "their sentiments were sound in the main articles of the "Christian confession: and that whereas they differed in "some points, they were to be instructed and informed, and "not to be rudely thrown out from among them by force "and violence."

The Lutherans' heat against Sacramentaries.

And indeed it was admirable to observe at this time the exceeding heats that were in the Lutherans against all other Protestants, only for differing from them in this one point of the sacrament. There was a book published in the year 1555, in favour of their opinion of the corporeal presence, which was called, *Farrago Doctrinæ Lutheranæ.* This P. Martyr called *valde insulsa*, a very foolish book. It contained a collection of sentences out of the Fathers, and also out of the writings of Luther, Philip, Brentius, Pomeran, &c. They added some out of Bucer, Illyricus, and Joachim Westphalus, to shew that they agreed together. They inserted divers letters, sometime writ against the Sacramentaries. Indeed Calvin and Martyr they mentioned not by name, but A Lasco they did. In this book there was a discourse added under this title, *Quod Christi corpus sit ubique:* which was to serve as a proof of their doctrine. And in the conclusion there was a common-place, *De Magistratus officio:* which was thought to be put in upon no other reason, but to inflame and irritate princes against the Sacramentaries. These Saxon divines were exceeding hot against those that believed not as they did: in their ordinary discourses they styled them *Hereticks*, *False Prophets*, *Suermeros*, *Sacramentiperdas.* About this time they were gathering new votes against Calvin, and, as it was thought, they intended to attempt some excommunication against such as differed from them in this point. And this that I have said is enough to explain the reason of the inhospitality of the Lutherans to our exiles.

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But in other places they were received with much kindness, and had the liberty of their religious worship granted them; as in Strasburgh, Frankford, Embden, Doesburge, Basil, Zurick, Arrow, Geneva.

At Zurick and other places well received.

At Zurick they were received into one house with Bullinger, and had great favour and countenance shewn them by the townsmen and magistrates: who offered them, by Bullinger, to supply them with such a quantity of bread-corn and wine, as should serve to sustain thirteen or fourteen people. But they with thanks refused it: having, I suppose, wherewith to subsist otherwise of themselves, and being willing to be as little burdensome as might be.

Their employments.

In these places some followed their studies, some taught schools, some wrote books, some assisted at the printing-press, and grew very dear to the learned men in those places. At Embden, they having gotten among them, by Sir John Cheke's means, as was thought, an original copy of Arch- 355 bishop Cranmer's book of the Sacrament, translated it into Latin, and printed it there, with a preface before it. And there they preserved the said original, as a most invaluable treasure. Here they printed other good books in English, and conveyed them into England. At Geneva a club of them employed themselves in translating the holy Bible into English, intending to do it with more correctness than had hitherto been done; having the opportunity of consulting with Calvin and Beza in order thereunto. What they performed may be perceived by the Bible that goes under the name of the Geneva Bible at this day. It was in those days, when it first came forth, better esteemed of than of later times. At Frankford, where they had great countenance of the magistrates of the city, arose great contentions and quarrels among themselves about the discipline of the church, and in framing a new service, different from what was before set forth in King Edward's reign, to be used in the public congregation: which new service came nearer to the form of the church of Geneva. This occasioned great troubles, animosities, and separations, to the discredit of themselves and the reformation. These matters may be seen at large in the *Troubles at Frankford*. There is one thing, which, that book making, I think,

Contentions at Frankford.

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Some children of the exiles baptized by Lutherans.

no mention of, I will here relate. Some of the English upon this dissension carried their children to be baptized by Lutheran priests: for though the Lutherans were against the poor exiles, they thought so well of them, as to be willing their children should be initiated into the church by their ministry. The occasion whereof seemed to be, that, in the divisions of this church, one party would not let their children be baptized by the English minister. This causing a new disturbance, some wrote to the great divine P. Martyr, now at Argentine, for his resolution of this question; *An liceat hominibus evangelicis baptismum a Lutheranis accipere.* To this he answered in a letter to the church, disapproving of their doings: telling them, "That the way "to heal their differences was, to bring their children to be "baptized in such churches, with which they agreed in "faith and doctrine." So that this created a new quarrel among them; for some held it unlawful to receive baptism from those that were not orthodox in their doctrine: and others again thought it lawful. And this made them send to Martyr for his judgment, as aforesaid: who wrote, "That he would not say it was unlawful, for that it could "not be judged by the word of God; but he disliked the "practice, and propounded divers arguments against it." Those that were for it, said, "It was an indifferent thing." To which Martyr made this reply, "That indifferent things "were not to be used to the scandal of the weak." They said, "The difference was not so great between us in the "matter of the sacrament." But Martyr said, "It was of "great moment, because in it there was a contest concerning the chief head of religion." They added, "That "the Lutheran divines did think, in the matter of baptism, "as they did." But Martyr answered, "That they were "mistaken: for those divines affirmed more of the sacrament than is fit: and tied the grace of God to baptism: 356 "and that they thought there was no salvation without "baptism: and that they affirmed that infants had faith."

Pieces of Ridley's writings conveyed to Frankford.

To the exiles residing here at Frankford, some, in the year 1555, conveyed Gardiner's book against Cranmer, entitled *Marcus Antonius*, with Ridley's answer to the objections of that book, and a treatise in English of transubstantiation,

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wrote by the same Ridley. This last they intended to turn into Latin, and so to print both. But, on second thoughts, they demurred upon it: fearing it might enrage Gardiner the more against Ridley, who was yet alive. Whereupon Grindal wrote to him to know his mind therein before they proceeded to print.

Exiles at Basil.

Many of the fugitives took up their residence at Basil upon two reasons: one was, because the people of that city were especially very kind and courteous unto such English as came thither for shelter: the other, because those that were of slenderer fortunes might have employment in the printing-houses there, the printers in Basil in this age having the reputation of exceeding all others of that art throughout Germany, for the exactness and elegancy of their printing. And they rather chose Englishmen for the overseers and correctors of their presses, being noted for the most careful and diligent of all others. Whereby many poor scholars made a shift to subsist in these hard times.

Divers of the exiles writers.

Indeed many of these exiles assisted in promoting of learning and religion, by publishing to the world their own or other men's writings.

Scory.

John Scory, that had been Bishop of Chichester, wrote a very comfortable epistle unto all the faithful that were in prison, or in any other trouble for the defence of God's truth: printed in the year 1555. He was preacher to the English congregation at Embden, and styled their Superintendent. From hence this, and many other good books were sent into England, by certain persons, to be dispersed about in London, and other places. There was one Elizabeth Young that came thence with a book, called *Antichrist*, and several others: who was taken up for bringing in prohibited and heretical books, and endured much trouble. There was also another, named Thomas Bryce, that brought books from Wesel into Kent and London; he was watched and dogged, but escaped several times. Sir John Baker, a Kentish man, and a great Papist, and a courtier, laid his spies to attack him.

Old.

John Old printed a book at Waterford, 1555, entitled, *The Acquittal, or Purgation of the most Catholic Christen Prince, Edward VI. against all such as blasphemously and*

Anno 1554. *traitorously infamed him, or the Church in his Reign, of Heresy or Sedition.* The writing of this book was occasioned from the preachers of England in Queen Mary's time, in their sermons at St. Paul's Cross, and in other pulpits: "spewing out," as the book expresseth it, "with scolding, "roaring, and railing, the poison of Antichrist's traditions; "and infaming the order, form, and use of preaching, "prayers and administration of the holy sacraments, set "forth and exercised by common authority in the church "of England, reformed under the government of Edward 357 "VI. and vilely slandering of his father King Henry VIII. "for banishing the violent usurped power and supremacy "of the Romish ancient Antichrist for his brother's known "wife, and for taking justly upon him the title and estate of "supremacy, incident and appertaining, by the undoubted "ordinance of God, to his regal office and imperial crown."

Sampson. Thomas Sampson, formerly Dean of Chichester, wrote an epistle to the inhabitants of Alhallows, Bread-street, where, in King Edward's time, he had been incumbent.

Turner. William Turner, doctor of physic, and that had been physician in the Duke of Somerset's family, and after Dean of Wells, another exile, put forth a book, anno 1555, called *A new Book of Spiritual Physic for divers Diseases of the Nobility and Gentlemen of England:* dedicating it to divers of the chief nobility. It consisted of three parts. In the first, he shewed who were noble and gentlemen, and how many works and properties belong unto such, and wherein their office chiefly standeth. In the second part, he shewed great diseases were in the nobility and gentry, which letted them from doing their office. In the third part, he specified what the diseases were: as namely, the whole palsy, the dropsy, the Romish pox, and the leprosy: shewing afterward the remedies against these diseases. For, being a very facetious man, he delivered his reproofs and counsels under witty and pleasant discourse. He wrote also *The hunting of the Romish Fox.*

Juel. John Juel, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, assisted Peter Martyr at Strasburgh in setting out his Commentaries upon the Book of Judges: who, being public reader of divinity there, had first read those Commentaries, and had many learned Englishmen for his auditors; as Poynet, Grindal, Sands, Sir John Cheke, Sir Anthony Cook, and divers other knights and gentlemen, as well as divines. And, when he was removed to Zurick to succeed Pelican, he took Juel with him thither. In Frankford there happening, as was said before, unhappy contentions about ceremonies and matters of discipline, (and it was feared that these dissensions might spread themselves into the other fraternities in Zurick and other places,) Juel's great business was to allay these animosities, partly by letters, and partly by his own verbal exhortations: "that they should, as brethren, "lay aside strife and emulation, especially for such small "matters: that they would hereby offend the minds of all "good men: which things they ought to have a special "heed of." Some, who seemed more complaining and uneasy at these things, he exhorted to patience, admonishing, "that we ought not to leap from the smoke into the "fire: and that we ought to bear a part in Christ's cross, "and to consider how much better it was with them than "with their poor brethren, that endured tortures in England." And he would often repeat to them, "Bear "a while then; things will not endure an age."

Becon.

Thomas Becon, formerly a minister in Canterbury, and well known to the Archbishop, wrote an epistle in his exile, and sent it to certain godly brethren in England: declaring in it the causes of all the miseries and calamities that were fallen upon England: how they might be redressed; and what a merciful Lord our God is to all faithful penitent sinners, that unfeignedly turn to him. This epistle was 358 brought into England, and read of the brethren in their religious meetings, not without fruit. In this epistle he added a supplication to God, at good length, "for the "restoring of his holy Word to the church of England: "wherein the devout christian complaineth his grief and "sorrow to his Lord for taking away the light of Christ's "Gospel; and, humbly acknowledging his fault, and "worthy punishment, most heartily wisheth the subversion "of Antichrist's kingdom, and the restitution of Christ's "most glorious kingdom in this realm." He wrote also an epistle to the massing priests, wherein he shewed what a

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wicked idol the mass was, and what a difference there was between the Lord's supper and that: and what popes brought in every part of the mass, and put them together, as it was then used.

Humfrey.

Laurence Humfrey, while he was in exile, wrote a book in Latin, intituled, *Optimates*, being instructions for noblemen, in three books. It was printed at Basil by Oporinus, and dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, soon after her entrance upon her kingdom. The reason of this his discourse was out of an universal love to mankind, and desire to better the condition of the world, whose welfare depended so much upon the sobriety and virtue of those of noble rank and quality: " Since nobility, as he wrote, widely spread " itself through all the regions and coasts of Christendom, " and was preferred to places of trust and honour in all " princes' courts, and was the very nerve and strength of " commonwealths: and since from it issued the greatest " helps or hinderances to the public safety, pure religion, " the lives and manners of men: therefore he thought, " the gentry and nobility being imbued with right and " christian opinions, not formed to the corrupt rules of " antiquity, kings would govern better, the ministers of " ecclesiastical matters would more faithfully perform their " functions, and the common sort would more diligently " discharge all necessary offices, and the whole common- " weal might seem more healthfully to breathe, to live, and " to recover and persist in a good constitution." Beside this excellent book both for the matter and elegancy of the Latin style, he printed two or three other things at Basil; and he wrote, while he was abroad, a Commentary upon the Prophet Isaiah. But I know not whether it were published.

Traheron.

Bartholomew Traheron, library-keeper to King Edward, and Dean of Chichester, made divers readings to the English congregation upon the beginning of St. John's Gospel; and after printed them, against the wicked enterprises of the new start-up Arians in England.

Fox.

John Fox, famous to posterity for his immense labours in his Acts and Monuments, was received by the accurate and learned printer Oporinus of Basil, for the corrector of his press. He published (and which, I think, was the first thing he published, and his first-fruits) a Chronological History of the Church. The first part from the first times unto Martin Luther. This book he presented unto Oporinus, with an handsome epistle: wherein "he desired to be received by "him into his service, and that he would vouchsafe to be "his learned patron, under whom he might follow his stu-"dies, being one that would be content with a small salary: 359 "promising him, that, if he would employ him either there, "at Basil, or at Argentine, or some university, (which he "should rather choose,) *Aut me* (said he) *destituent omnia,* "*aut efficiam, Christo opitulante, ut omnes politioris litera-*"*turæ homines intelligant, quantum Operiano et nomini et* "*officinæ debeant.*"

His Acts and Monuments.

While he was here employed by Oporinus, at spare hours he began his History of the Acts of the Church, in Latin: which he drew out more briefly at first; and, before his return home into England, well near finished. Having here completed the copy, which was but the first part of what he intended, but making a just volume in folio, he sent this work to Basil to be printed: and so it was in the year 155—. It remained many years after in those parts in great request, and was read by foreign nations; although hardly known at all by our own. Being now in peace and safety at home, Fox reviewed this his work, and, in the year 1566, first published it in English very voluminous, because of those many relations of the persecutions in Queen Mary's days, that came to his hands. All this work he did himself, without the help of any amanuensis, nor had he any servant to do his necessary domestic business; being fain to be often diverted by his own private occasions from his work. He afterwards enlarged these his labours into three large volumes, which have since undergone many editions.

Books by him published in exile.

But to look back to what he published in his exile: there came to his hand all the trials and examinations of the learned martyr Joh. Philpot, Archdeacon of Winchester, drawn up by himself; and, finally, his death, being burnt in Smithfield, 1555. These things Fox put into Latin, (as he had an excellent Latin style,) and printed with this title; *Mira ac elegans cum primis Historia, vel Tragœdia potius, de tota ratione examinationis et condemnationis J. Philpotti Ar-*

chidiaconi Wincestriæ, nuper in Anglia exusti: Ab autore primum lingua sua congesta; nunc in Latinum versa, Interprete J.F.A. He had also a great hand in publishing of Zonaras and Balsamon upon the Apostles' Canons in Latin: to which he set this title; *Enarrationes, seu Commentarii in Canones Sanctorum Apostolorum et Synodorum, tum quæ Universales, tum quæ Provinciales: Quæque item et privatim quorundam priscorum Patrum propriæ extiterunt. Autoribus Jo. Zonara Monacho religiosa et Sanctæ Glyceriæ: Qui prius Drungarius, seu Præfectus erat Biglæ, et summus Secretarius. Atque etiam Theodoro Balsamensi; qui prius ecclesiæ Antiochenæ Diaconus, Librarius seu custós chartarum, et Præpositus Blachernensium, deinde et Archiepiscopus est factus ejusdem Ecclesiæ simul et totius Orientis.* Which probably was a book printed at Oporinus's press, over which he had care; and made this title, and perhaps translated it into Latin.

Translates Cranmer's book of the Sacrament into Latin.

Here at Basil Fox was set on work by Peter Martyr to translate into Latin Archbishop Cranmer's book of the Sacrament: that is, his large dispute with Winchester. Which Fox fell upon, while Cranmer was yet in prison. *In quo [libro] videbit spero,* (saith he, in a letter to Oporinus,) *propediem universa Germania, quicquid de causa Eucharistica vel dici vel objici, vel excogitari a quoquam poterit.* But this never saw the light, the manuscript thereof yet lying in my hands. In 1557, Fox set forth a little book, pleading the
360 cause of the afflicted with their persecutors, and comforting the afflicted. Of which Thomas Lever, who was preacher to the English congregation at Arrow, gave this character, in a letter which he sent to Fox, who had presented him with this book:

Letter to Fox.

"SALUTEM P. in Christo, Charissime Frater; Literas "tuas accepi, et libellum parvum, in quo magna cum erudi-"tione, et pientissimo zelo, causam afflictorum apud perse-"cutores tyrannos sic agis, ut omnes, qui curant aut impios "admonendos, aut pios consolatione recreandos, id plene a "te perfectum videant. Quod ipsi bene curatum velint. Et "quoniam meæ vocationis munus in hujusmodi admoni-"tionibus et consolationibus versatur plurimum, scias velim, "quod misso ad me parvo libello, magnum dedisti mihi be-

Foxii MSS.

" neficium. Dignum igitur, nihil habens, quod tibi pro meritis rependam, exiguum aureolum mitto, rogoque accipias, ut certum indicium mei animi erga te tuaque studia; quibus alendis augendisque tantum nunc polliceor, quantum unquam potuero, præstare. Vale in Christo, et mihi saluta Uxorem tuam atque omnem Familiam: Rogoque ut mei, meique ministerii memores sitis in precibus vestris apud Deum. Iterum vale, vivens in Domino. Aroviæ, 7. Novemb. 1557.

" Tuus fideliter in Christo, Th. Leverus."

Fox also wrote an expostulatory letter to the lords spiritual and temporal of England, to desist those barbarities that were then used towards innocent men in England: killing, burning, imprisoning, sequestering them without all mercy. The letter, so pathetically penned, deserves a place in the Appendix, for the preservation thereof. Num. LXXXV.

To all these English writers, during their exile, must John Bale the antiquarian be added; who now published and printed in Basil his admirable book of Centuries, giving an account of the lives and writings of all such as were born, English and Scotish. Bale.

John Knokys, or Knox, another fugitive, is the last I shall mention, fearing I have been too large in this digression already. He was a Scotchman, but had lived in England in King Edward's days, with great respect; and very zealously preached the Gospel in London, Buckinghamshire, Newcastle, Berwick, and other places of the north and south parts. He wrote now an epistle to the faithful in those places, and to all others in the realm of England. " Wherein he earnestly dissuaded them from communicating in the idolatry then established; and to flee, as well in body as spirit, having society with the idolaters: and that as they would avoid God's vengeance: as the burning of cities, laying the land waste, enemies dwelling in the strong holds, wives and daughters defiled; and children falling by the sword. Which he assured them would happen to the nation, because of its return to idolatry, and refusing of God's mercy, when he so long had called upon them. This his affirmation, he said, would displease many, and Knox.

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"content few. But, to confirm them in the belief of what "he had said, he bad them recollect what he had formerly "spoke in their presence, and in the presence of others: a "great part whereof was then come to pass. He mentioned "particularly what he said at Newcastle and Berwick, before the sweating sickness, and what at Newcastle, upon "All-Saints day, the year in which the Duke of Somerset "was last apprehended: and what he said before the Duke "of Northumberland in the same town, and other places "more. Also what he said before the King at Windsor, "Hampton Court, and Westminster; and what he said "in London, in more places than one, when both fires and "riotous banquetings were made for the proclaiming "of Queen Mary. He foretold these present calamities; "not that he delighted in them, as he said, or in the "plagues that should befall this unthankful nation. No, his "heart mourned: but if he should cease, he should then do "against his conscience and knowledge. Then he proceeded to give them the ground of this his certitude: "which he took from the Scriptures. And so, in conclusion, "he counselled them, as they would avoid the destruction "that was coming, that they should have nothing to do "with the abominable idol of the mass; that is, the seal "of that league which the Devil had made with all the "pestilent sons of Antichrist, as he phrased it."

Fox's MSS.

How the exiles subsisted.

It may be inquired, how these exiles were maintained, considering the great numbers of them, and the poverty of many. God stirred up the bowels of the abler sort, both in England, and in the parts where they sojourned, to pity and relieve them, by very liberal contributions conveyed unto them from time to time. From London especially came often very large allowances: till Bishop Gardiner, who had his spies every where, got knowledge of it; and, by casting the benefactors into prison, and finding means to impoverish them, that channel of charity was in a great measure stopped. After this, the senators of Zurick, at the motion of Bullinger their superintendent, opened their treasures unto them. Besides, the great ornaments then of religion and learning, Melancthon, Calvin, Bullinger, Gualter, Lavater, Gesner, and others, sent them daily most comfortable letters, and omitted no duty of love and humanity to them all the time of their banishment. Some of the princes, and persons of wealth and estate, sent also their benevolences: among these was Christopher Duke of Wirtemberg; who gave at one time to the exiled English at Strasburgh three or four hundred dollars, besides what he gave at Frankford: as Grindal, Bishop of London, signified to Secretary Cecyl, in the year 1563, when that Prince had sent a gentleman upon business to the Queen. The Bishop desired the Secretary to move the Queen to make some signification to this person, that she had heard of his master's former kindness to the poor English, that it might appear his liberality was not altogether buried in oblivion: or at least he wished some remembrance thereof might pass from the Secretary's own mouth.

CHAP. XVI.

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Many recant. Some go to Mass.

Many recant.

MANY of the clergy, that were very forward men under King Edward, now, by the terror of the times, recanted and subscribed. And these were of two sorts. Some out of weakness did it, but persisted not in it: but, as soon as they could, revoked their subscriptions and recantations, and, after their releases and escapes out of prison, made a sorrowful confession in public of their falls. Of this sort were Scory and Barlow, bishops; Jewel, and others. But some, after their recantations, persisted in the popish communion. Of this sort was Bush and Bird, bishops; Harding, Chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, to whom the Lady Jane sent an expostulatory letter; Sydal and Curtop of Oxon; Pendleton, West, &c. Of this last-named person let me cast in here one or two remarks. West was in orders, and had been steward to Bishop Ridley: of whom the said Bishop wrote thus to Grindal, then in Strasburg; "That his old compa-"nion, and sometime his officer, relented, but that the Lord

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" had shortened his days." For it was but a little after his compliance that he died. Fox writes the occasion of it, namely, "that when he had relented, and said mass against " his conscience, he shortly after pined away, and died for " sorrow." When his master the Bishop was laid in prison for religion, he shrank away: and, out of his compassion to him, being very loth as it appeared, that his said master should be put to death, he wrote a letter to him, whereby to move him, if he could, to alter his judgment. The contents of whose letter may be gathered out of Ridley's answer. Which answer being so excellent, I have put into the Appendix, as I transcribed it out of a manuscript. Which concluded thus, in answer to a sentence that West had concluded his with; namely, " that he must agree, or die: the " Bishop told him, in the word of the Lord, that if he and " all the rest of his friends did not confess and maintain to " their power and knowledge what was grounded upon " God's Word, but, either for fear or gain, shrank and " played the apostates, they themselves should die the " death." After the receipt of which answer, West, either out of compassion to his master, or rather out of anguish for his own prevarication, died within a few days himself: and his master outlived him, and writ the news thereof into Germany to Grindal, his fellow-chaplain, as was said before.

Num. LXXXVI.

The persecution hot.

The persecution was carried on against the Gospellers with much fierceness by those of the Roman persuasion, who were generally exceeding hot as well as ignorant: chiefly headed by two most cruel-natured men, Bishop Gardiner, and Bishop Boner; in whose dioceses were London and Southwark, and the next bordering counties, wherein were the greatest numbers of professors. And the servants were of the same temper with their masters. One of Boner's servants swore, " by his Maker's blood, " that wheresoever he met with any of these vile hereticks, " he would thrust an arrow into him."

Tims letter.

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Gospellers go to mass.

Many now therefore, partly out of fear and terror, and partly out of other worldly considerations, did resort to mass, though they approved not of it, and yet consorted likewise with the Gospellers: holding it not unlawful so to do: *viz.* "That their bodies might be there, so long as their "spirits did not consent." And those that used this practice bore out themselves by certain arguments, which they scattered abroad.

Bradford labours to hinder it.

This extraordinarily troubled the good divines, that were then in prison for the cause of Christ, and particularly Bradford: who complained in a letter to a friend, "That not "the tenth person abode in God's ways: and that the more "did part stakes with the Papist and Protestant. So that "they became mangy mongrels, to the infecting of all the "company with them, to their no small peril. For they "pretended Popery outwardly, going to mass with the Papists, and tarrying with them personally at their antichristian and idolatrous service: but with their hearts, "they said, and with their spirits they served the Lord. "And so by this means, (said he,) as they saved their pigs, "I mean, their worldly pleasures, which they would not "leese, so they would please the Protestants, and be counted "with them for Gospellers." This whole letter deserveth to be transcribed, as I meet with it in one of the Foxian manuscripts, but that I find it printed already at Oxon by Dr. Ironside, in the year 1668.

Counsels not to consort with them.

The same Bradford counselled the true Protestants not to consort with these compliers, but to deal with them, "as a "certain eminent man, named Simeon, Archbishop of Seleucia, did with Ustazades, an ancient courtier to Sapores, "King of Persia; who by his threatenings and persuasions "had prevailed with the said courtier, a christian, to bow "his knee to the Sun. For which base compliance Simeon, passing by where this Ustazades was, formerly his "great friend and acquaintance, would not now look at "him, but seemed to contemn and despise him. Which "when he perceived, it pierced him so to the heart, that he "began to pull asunder his clothes, and to rend his garments, and with weeping eyes cried out, Alas! that ever "he had so offended God in his body, to bow to the Sun: "for (saith he) I have herein denied God, although I did "it against my will. And how sore is God displeased with "me, with whom mine old father and friend Simeon, his "dear servant, will not speak nor look towards me! I may

Trispart. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 2.

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"by the servant's countenance perceive the Master's mind. "This lamentation came to the King's ear; and therefore "he was sent for, and demanded the cause of his mourning. "He out of hand told him the cause to be, his unwilling "bowing to the Sun. By it (said he) I have denied God: "and therefore, because he will deny them that deny him "I have no little cause to complain and mourn. Wo unto "me, for I have played the traitor to Christ, and also dis"sembled with my liege Lord. No death therefore is suf"ficient for the least of my faults; and I am worthy of two "deaths. When the King heard this, it went to his sto"mach; for he loved Ustazades, who had been to him, and "to his father, a faithful servant and officer. Howbeit the 364 "malice of Satan moved him to cause this man to be put to "death. Yet in this point he seemed to gratify him. For "Ustazades desired that the cause of his death might be "published. This I ask, (said he) for the guerdon of my "time-service to thee, and to thy father. Which the King "readily granted, thinking that, when the christians should "all know it, it would make them the more afraid, and "sooner to consent to him. But, so soon as it was published, "and Ustazades put to death, Lord, how it comforted not "only Simeon, then being in prison, but also all the chris"tians!" Bradford having told this history, improved it after this tenor. "This history I wish (said he) were "marked, as well of us as of all our popish Gospellers, "which have none other things to excuse them than Usta"zades had: for his heart was with God, howsoever he "framed his body. We should behave ourselves straitly "against such brethren, as Simeon did; and then they the "sooner would play Ustazades' part. Which thing, no "marvel, though they do not, so long as we rock them "asleep, by regarding them and their companions, as daily "we do; and so are partakers of their evil; and at the "length shall feel of their smart and punishment."

Ann Hartipol goes to mass.

Of these outward compliers with the mass was one Ann Hartipol, that formerly harboured the Lady Ann Ascue, burnt in King Henry's reign. She now went to mass, pretending her conscience to be sound before God, and that her conscience gave her leave to go. To whom Philpot wrote an excellent letter, which is extant among the Letters of the Martyrs.

Anno 1554. Pag. 247.

The Lady Vane puts certain cases concerning the mass.

The people of this practice had been tampering with the Lady Vane, a pious lady, and a great benefactor to the poor prisoners of Christ: insomuch that she propounded to Bradford three questions concerning the mass, being cases of conscience, what she were best to do, whether to go to it, or not? He told her in a letter, "that the questions would "never be well seen nor answered, until the thing whereof "they arose were well considered. That is, how great an "evil it was: that there was never thing upon the earth so "great, and so much an adversary to God's true service, to "Christ's death, passion, priesthood, sacrifice, and kingdom, "to the ministry of God's Word and sacraments, to the "church of God, to repentance, faith, and all true godliness "of life; as that was whereof the questions arose. And "that therefore a christian man could not but so much the "more abhor it, and all things that in any point might seem "to allow it, or any thing pertaining to the same." Bradford also writ a little book on this argument, intituled, *The Hurt of the Mass.* This book he sent to his acquaintance, to stop their going to the popish service; and particularly to Mr. Shalcros, a friend of his in Lancashire; and recommended the reading of it to one Riddleston, that had defiled himself in this false service.

CHAP. XVII.

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A bloody Time. The Queen's great Belly. A Convocation.

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Many burned.

THE year 1555 was a bloody year, and many honest people, both of the clergy and laity, were burnt alive in all parts, because they believed not transubstantiation: insomuch that a tender heart cannot but shrink at the very remembrance thereof.

Instructions to the justices.

And as if there were a kind of delight in this sort of cruel executions, instructions were sent abroad, in the beginning of the year, unto the justices of peace through all counties

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in England, to inquire diligently in every parish for persons disaffected to the popish religion. And in each parish were some appointed to be secret informers against the rest. And, for the better discovery of such poor professors of the Gospel, that fled from place to place for their safety, the constables, and four or more of the catholick sort in every parish, were authorized to take examination of all such as might be suspected, how they lived, and where they were. And such as absented from the mass, and conformed not themselves to the church, were to be brought before the justices: who were to persuade them to conform; and, if they would not, to bind them to good abearing, or commit them to prison. The justices were also commanded, by another order soon after, to deliver such as leaned to erroneous and heretical opinions, and would not be reclaimed by the justices, to the ordinaries, to be by them travailed with; and, continuing obstinate, to have the laws executed upon them.

Orders sent into Norfolk against the professors.

May 27. these orders came from the King and Queen to the justices of Norfolk: which, as I extract from a manuscript, relating the orders sent into that county, were in these special articles.

" I. To divide themselves into several districtions.

" II. To assist such preachers as should be sent;" [for it was thought convenient to send abroad itinerary preachers, as was done in the last King's reign, who should by their doctrine endeavour to reduce the people to the old religion;] " and to use them reverently, and to be present at their sermons; and to travail soberly with such as abstained from coming to church, or, by any other open doings, should appear not persuaded to conform themselves: and to use others, that be wilful and perverse, more roundly, either by rebuking them, or binding them to good behaviour, or by imprisoning them, as the quality of the persons, and the circumstance of their doings, may deserve.

" III. To lay special wait for teachers of heresies, and procurers of secret meetings to that purpose. That they and their families shew good examples, and begin first to reform their servants, if any of them be faulty.

" IV. To apprehend spreaders of false and seditious rumours.

"V. To procure one or more in every parish, secretly instructed, to give information of the behaviour of the "inhabitants.

"VI. To charge the constable, and four or more catho-"lick inhabitants of every parish, to give account of idle vagabonds and suspected persons," [meaning by these the 366
poor professors, or preachers of the Gospel, who crept about for their own safety, and had no settled habitation,] "and "the retainers of such persons. To observe hue and cry; "and to look after the watches in every parish.

"VII. To send an account of felons, &c. when any should "be apprehended.

"VIII. To meet every month, and confer about these "matters."

The effect thereof.

Whereupon the justices meeting together, it was resolved by them to obey every of the said orders: particularly concerning the fifth they resolved, that these secret informations should be given to the justices; and that the accused parties should be examined, without knowledge by whom they were accused.

The Earl of Sussex receiveth information against some.

The Earl of Sussex lived in that county, and was one of chief trust there: for this Earl had command in Norfolk of Queen Mary's army, when she first laid her claim to the crown; and managed it with that prudence and conduct, that others were induced by his means to come in. This Earl received several informations against ministers and others; for it seems, notwithstanding all these severe usages, the popish mass had not yet so prevailed every where, but that, in divers places, there were some remainders of King Edward's reformation and service. Among the rest, the Curate of Old Bokenham, and divers in that parish, were complained of, because the ceremonies of the holy time of Easter were not observed there. And, it seems, the Bishop's officers themselves were not all so diligent as they should be. The Earl signified this information to Hopton the Bishop; who, being in his visitation soon after, sent for several of the parish, and made his inquiries, but found things in other sort than were represented to the Earl. And, being returned to his house at Norwich, informed him hereof, and desired the Earl to inform him further, if any thing were amiss, even amongst his own officers, and he would endeavour to reform them.

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Popish spies set every where.

In these times, for the better taking up of all Gospellers, there were certain spies and secret informers set every where, to give notice of any that came not to church, or that spake any thing against the superstitions. For London were, John Avales, Beard, and others: for Stepney, one Banbury, a shifter, a dicer, and a whoremonger. By which means none almost could be safe. Yet the professors made some provision against this evil. There were some, that kept them company, who were honest men; by whom they often had secret intelligence what persons Avales and Beard intended to take up. And so several, by shifting places and houses, were preserved. The knight-marshal, Sir Thomas Holcroft, the under-marshal, the knight-marshal's secretary, were secret friends of the Protestants: and, when designs were laid to take any of them, some signification was often privately brought them, that search would within some few hours be made for them; and therefore that they should depart from their lodgings, and conceal themselves. And when any good men were under their hands in prison, they would take all occasions to shew them kindness, as far as safely they might.

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The Protestants frequently assemble.

But notwithstanding these persecutions, and that very few of the ministers remained, being either burnt or fled; yet the Protestants in London had very frequently their assemblies. And sometimes, for want of preachers of the clergy, laymen exercised. Among these I find one old Henry Daunce, a bricklayer of White-chappel, who used to preach the Gospel in his garden every holy-day: where would be present sometimes a thousand people.

Confidently reported that a male heir to the crown was born.

The very beginning of May there was exceeding joy among the Papists for the birth of an heir-male to the crown: whereof the report was so confident every where, that, in the county of Norfolk, the Mayor of Norwich sent word of it to the Earl of Sussex; and the Bishop had *Te Deum* sung in the cathedral, and other places of the city. And all expressions of joy both in city and country were shewn. And so it was, no question, in other parts of the nation. And, which is more strange, so long did this bruit hold, that, besides the first intelligence thereof brought to Norwich, within a day or two after came two persons more, avering the truth thereof. The Bishop desired the Earl, according as he heard, if he had any further knowledge, to impart it to him. The contents of all this may be read in the original letter, which is transcribed into the Appendix. Num. LXXXVII.

The Queen's great belly.

But the belief of the Queen's great belly went not over so. For then it was given out, that in June, about Whitsuntide, was the time that the Queen expected her delivery: and midwives, rockers, and nurses were provided. And, just when that time came, another rumour was blown about in London, that the Queen was delivered of a child. And the bells were rung, bonfires and processions made: and in most parts of the realm so it was. Nay, in Antwerp guns were shot off by the English ships, and the Lady Regent rewarded the mariners with an hundred pistoles.

Like a design. Fox, p. 1450.

But there happened now two things which make it seem as though all this were but design, to impose upon the belief of the world. The one was this: "There was a woman, "living near Aldersgate, delivered June the 11th, 1555, "being Whitsunday morning, of a man child. Unto whom "the Lord North and another Lord came, and desired to "have her child from her, with very fair offers. As, that "her child should be well provided for, and that she should "take no care for it, if she would swear that she never "knew nor had such child. And, after this, other women "came to her: of whom one, they said, should have been "the rocker. But she would in no case part with her child. "This very woman, before witness, made this declaration "unto Mr. Fox and others, about the year 1568, while he "was printing his book: but he leaves it to the liberty of "the reader to believe what he list." Add to this one other passage of a man within four miles of Berwick, who, speaking of the bonfires for joy of the birth of a Prince, said, "There was a joyful triumph, but at length all would "not prove worth a mess of pottage."

Queen's zeal.

As the Queen's great belly gave these great disappointments, so, while she went with it, it gave her occasion to be more severe against the poor Gospellers, who were now daily burnt. For she thought, and so she said, "she could not be 368

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"safely and happily delivered, nor that any thing could "succeed prosperously with her, unless all the hereticks in "prison were burnt *ad unum*, not sparing one." Which cruelty I do suppose her priests and confessors put into her head.

Pet. Martyr ad Pet. Alexand.

A convocation.

There was a convocation in November this year; wherein Cardinal Pole presided. The Queen gave him a licence under the great seal to hold a synod: wherein she ordered him to decree what canons he thought fit. So he composed a book, with a very specious title, *viz. Reformatio Angliæ, ex Decretis Reginaldi Poli Cardinalis, &c.* which was printed: a manuscript copy whereof was in the famous library of Mr. Smith, of late years sold by auction. The decrees of this book, in number twelve, were agreed to in February. They are briefly set down by the Bishop of Sarum in his History. There was an article made in favour of non-residences; which I meet with in the Benet library: there is no date, but I strongly conjecture it is to be laid to this convocation. The Cardinal seemed not to favour non-residences; but the rich clergy and dignitaries were of another mind: wherefore they made this proposition;

Part ii. p. 324.

Vol. intit. Synodalia.

Decretum perpetuæ residentiæ juxta canonum sanctiones optant pii; sed multa sunt, quæ hodie impediunt, quominus suum effectum juxta bonorum virorum vota consequatur. To which are subjoined reasons for this proposition, and remedies for this evil: which may be read in the Appendix.

Num. LXXXVIII.

CHAP. XVIII.

Ridley and Latimer burnt.

Some petition the Queen for Cranmer.

WE can declare little this year of the poor Archbishop, being now a prisoner at Oxford, and out of all place of action. The archbishoprick was sequestered into the hands of Cardinal Pole, and his palace at Lambeth appointed for the Cardinal's abode. In a petition, that some of those that were abroad had sent over to the Queen this year, to dissuade her from these persecutions that were now so

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rigorously set on foot in England, they interceded for Cranmer, putting her in mind how he had once preserved her, in her father's time, by his earnest intercessions with him for her. "So that," they said, "she had more reason "to believe he loved her, and would speak the truth to her, "than she had of all the rest of the clergy." But, alas, this did little good.

He seeth Ridley and Latimer going to their burning.

In October, Ridley and Latimer were brought forth to their burning; and, passing by Cranmer's prison, Ridley looked up to have seen him, and to have taken his farewell of him: but he was not then at the window, being engaged in dispute with a Spanish friar. But he looked after them, and, devoutly falling upon his knees, prayed to God to strengthen their faith and patience in that their last, but painful passage.

Latimer's character.

And here, for a farewell to these two reverend fathers, let us make a little halt, to take some view of them. Of Ridley sufficient has been said to acquaint us with the worthiness of 369 that man. Of Latimer a word or two. His character is best taken from them who best knew him, and lived in his time. One of these thus speaks of him, while he was yet alive, in the beginning of King Edward. "Latimer was "very famous, not only for the pureness of his life, which "had always been innocent and blameless, but for the "sincerity and goodness of his evangelical doctrine: which, "since the beginning of his preaching, had in all points "been so conformable to the teaching of Christ, and of his "Apostles, that the very adversaries of God's truth, with "all their menacing words, and cruel imprisonment, could "not withdraw him from it. But whatsoever he had once "preached, he valiantly defended the same before the "world, without fear of any mortal creature, although of "never so great power and high authority; wishing and "minding rather to suffer, not only loss of worldly posses- "sions, but also of life, than that the glory of God, and the "the truth of Christ's Gospel, should in any point be obscured "or defaced through him. His life was not dear unto him, "so that he might fulfil his course with joy, and the office "that he received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the Gospel "of God's favour. His fame began to grow apace, while

Becon, in his Jewel of Joy.

Anno 1555. "he was at Cambridge, [which was some years before "1530,] doing abundance of good there among the students "by his sermons, which were many, by him preached both "in Latin and English. The scholars flocked after him, "and took great notice of his doctrine, and commending it "sometimes to letters, as most faithful treasures of memory. "Before them he did, by authorities out of God's word, "and invincible arguments, besides the allegation of the "doctors, prove, that the holy Scriptures ought to be read "in the English tongue of all christen people, whether they "were priests or laymen: though many friars and others "could not abide this doctrine, and would resist him, and "preach against him, notwithstanding he, or rather God in "him, got the victory. And it came to pass according to "his teaching; [when the reading of the Scripture was "allowed by the royal authority.] Before the scholars also "he inveighed against temple-works, good intents, blind "zeal, superstitious devotion; as the painting of tabernacles, "gilding of images, setting up of candles, running on "pilgrimage, and such other idle inventions of men; whereby the grace of God was obscured, and his works of "mercy the less regarded. He was also wont to rebuke "the beneficed men, with the authority of God's word, for "neglecting and not teaching their flock, and for being "absent from their cures, they themselves being idle, and "masting themselves like hogs of Epicurus, taking no "thought, though their poor parishioners miserably pined "away, starved, perished and died for hunger. He would "condemn also, at these his University-sermons, foolish, "ungodly, and impossible vows; as the vow of chastity: "wishing rather that liberty of marriage might be granted "to them which had so vowed by the higher powers, than "so to continue, through single life, in all kind of abominable uncleanness. O how vehement was he in rebuking "all sins; namely, idolatry, false and idle swearing, covet-
370 "ousness, and whoredom! Again, how sweet and pleasant "were his words in exhorting unto virtue! He spake "nothing, but it left, as it were, certain pricks or stings in "the hearts of the hearers, which moved them to consent to "his doctrine. None, except they were stiff-necked, and

"uncircumcised in heart, went away from his sermons, "which were not led with a faithful repentance of their "former lives, affected with high detestation of sin, and "moved unto all godliness and virtue."

The writer of all this said, "He knew certain men, "which, through the persuasion of their friends, went unto "his sermons, swelling blown full, and puft up, like Esop's "frogs, with envy and malice against him; but, when they "returned, his sermon being done, and demanded how "they liked him and his doctrine, they answered, with the "Bishops and Pharisees servants, *There was never man spake* "*like unto this man*. He would also speak freely against buying and selling of benefices; against promoting such to the "livings of spiritual ministers, which were unlearned and "ignorant in the law of God; against popish pardons; "against the reposing our hope in our own works, or in "other men's merits. He was also a charitable man, when "he was at Cambridge, according to his ability, to poor "scholars, and other needy people: so conformable was his "life to his doctrine. Insomuch that there was a common "saying in that University, *When Mr. Stafford read, and* "*Latimer preached, then was Cambridge blessed.*"

Cranmer's employment in prison.

But to return to our Archbishop in his prison: where he divided his melancholy time, partly in disputings and discourses with learned men of the contrary persuasion, who laboured to bring him over, thinking thereby to obtain a great glory to their church; and partly in preparing an answer to Bishop Gardiner, under the name of *Marcus Antonius*, in vindication of his own book concerning the Sacrament. And he finished three parts in prison: two whereof were lost in Oxford, and one came into the hands of John Fox, as he tells us himself; which, he said, was ready to be seen and set forth, as the Lord should see good. Bishop Ridley also in his confinement wrote marginal annotations on the side of Gardiner's said book, with the lead of a window, for want of pen and ink. Great pity it is that these last studies of the Archbishop are lost: for even that part, which was once in Fox's custody, is gone with his fellows, for aught that I can find among his papers.

It was some time before this that there was a report

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Report of the Queen's death.

spread, that the Queen was dead. The rumour presently extended itself over the seas: which occasioned the death of one pious professor of the Gospel; namely, Bartlet Green, a lawyer. For Christopher Goodman having writ to him, his former acquaintance in Oxford, to certify him of the truth thereof, he in a letter in answer wrote thus; "The "Queen is not yet dead." This and divers other letters, that were given to a bearer to carry beyond sea to the exiles there, were intercepted; and, being read at the council, some would have it to amount to treason, as though there had been a plot carrying on against the Queen's life. But the law not making those words treason, he, after long
371 lying in the Tower, was sent by the council to Bishop Boner. Who upon examination found him too firm to be moved from the doctrine of the Gospel; and so condemned him to the fire.

CHAP. XIX.

The last Proceedings with Cranmer.

Proceedings against Cranmer.

AFTER Ridley and Latimer were dispatched, and had sealed their doctrine with their blood at Oxford, the said course was resolved to be taken with Cranmer, late Archbishop, but now the arch-heretick, as he was esteemed by them. They had been all three condemned, and adjudged hereticks, by Dr. Weston, in the university of Oxford, after their disputations. But that sentence was void in law; because the authority of the Pope was not yet received: therefore they were tried and judged upon new commissions. The commission for judging the two former was from Pole the Cardinal, Lord Legate: wherein the commissioners constituted were, White, Bishop of Lincoln; Brooks, Bishop of Glocester; and Holiman, Bishop of Bristow. But there was a new commission sent from Rome for the conviction of Cranmer. Brooks, of Glocester, was the Pope's sub-delegate under Cardinal Puteo, to whom the Pope had committed this process; and Martin and Story, doctors of the civil law, were the Queen's commissioners: the former of which was now, or soon after, for his good services, made one of the masters in chancery, and was much employed in these trials of poor men. Notwithstanding this man complied in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and took his oath against the Pope now a second time. In this commission from the Pope he decreed, in a formality of words, "that the Archbishop "should have charity and justice shewed to him, and that he "should have the laws in most ample manner to answer in "his behalf." He decreed also, "that the said Archbishop "should come before the Bishop of Glocester, as high commissioner from his Holiness, for the examination of such "articles as should be produced against him: and that "Martin and Story should require, in the King and Queen's "name, the examination of him." In pursuance of this command from the Pope, and in obedience to the King and Queen, they came down to Oxon upon this commission; and, September 12, (which was seven days before the condemnation of Latimer and Ridley,) sat in St. Mary's church, accompanied with many other doctors, and such-like; and, among the rest, the Pope's collector. The Archbishop was brought forth out of prison habited in a fair black gown, and his hood of doctor of divinity on both shoulders. Then some proctor said aloud, "Thomas Archbishop of Canter"bury, appear here, and make answer to that which shall "be laid to thy charge for blasphemy, incontinency, and "heresy." What due honour the Archbishop gave unto the Queen's commissioners, as representing the supreme authority of the nation, and how he gave none to Brooks, the Pope's representative, keeping on his cap; and the speeches, that the said Brooks and the other two made unto him, with the Archbishop's discreet and excellent 372 answers, still interposing his protestation against Brooks his authority; may be seen at large in Fox's Monuments.

Martin acts as the Queen's proctor.

Only it may not be amiss here briefly to mention, (for the better understanding of the form of the process,) that, after the Archbishop was cited, as before was said, into the court, the Bishop of Glocester first made an oration, directed unto the Archbishop at the opening of his commission. Next, Dr. Martin made a short speech; and, being with Dr. Story

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appointed the King's and Queen's attorneys, he offered unto the said Bishop their proxy, sealed with the broad-seal of England; and then presenting himself to be proctor on their behalf. After that, he proceeded to exhibit certain articles against the Archbishop, containing adultery and perjury; (the one for being married, the other for breaking his oath to the Pope.) Also he exhibited books of heresy, made partly by him, and partly by his authority published. And so produced him as a party principal to answer to his Lordship. After this, having leave given him, the Archbishop, beginning with the Lord's Prayer and Creed, made a long and learned apology for himself: which is preserved to posterity in the Acts and Monuments.

His greatest trouble at this time.

By his discourse before the commissioners it appeared, how little he was taken with the splendour of worldly things. For he professed, "that the loss of his promotions grieved "him not: he thanked God as heartily for that poor and "afflicted state in which he then was, as ever he did for "the times of his prosperity. But that which stuck closest "to him, as he said, and created him the greatest sorrow, "was, to think that all that pains and trouble, that had "been taken by King Henry and himself, for so many "years, to retrieve the ancient authority of the Kings of "England, and to vindicate the nation from a foreign "power, and from the baseness and infinite inconveniences "of crouching to the Bishops of Rome, should now thus "easily be quite undone again. And therefore, he said, "all his trouble at that time, and the greatest that ever he "had in his life, was, to see the King and Queen's Majesties, "by their proctors there, to become his accusers, and that "in their own realm and country, before a foreign power. "For that, if he had transgressed the laws of the land, their "Majesties had sufficient authority and power, both from "God, and the ordinance of the realm, to punish him. "Whereunto he would be at all times content to submit "himself."

Interrogatories put to him, with his answers.

At this time of his trial, several interrogatories were administered unto him, to make answer to: as, concerning his marriage; concerning his setting abroad heresies, and making and publishing certain books of heresy. To which he confessed, that the Catechism, and the book of Articles, and the book against Bishop Gardiner, were of his doing. Concerning subscribing those Articles, and his compelling persons to subscribe. Which he denied; but that he exhorted them that were willing to subscribe, he acknowledged. Concerning his open maintaining his errors in Oxon: [whereas they brought him to the disputation themselves.] Concerning his being noted with the infamy of schism; and that he moved the King, and subjects of his realm, to re- 373 cede from the catholick church and see of Rome. Which he acknowledged: but that their departure, or recess, had in it no matter of schism. Concerning his being twice sworn to the Pope. And Dr. Martin then shewed a copy of his protestation against the Pope at his consecration, under a public notary's hand. That he took upon him the see of Rome, in consecrating bishops and priests, without leave or licence from the said see. To which he answered, that it was permitted to him by the public laws of the realm. Concerning his standing out still to subscribe to the Pope's authority, when the whole nation had. This being done, a public notary entered his answers. Then the Bishop of Glocester made another speech, at breaking up of this meeting, and Dr. Story another, reflecting upon what Cranmer had said; with reviling and taunts.

Witnesses sworn against him.

The last thing they did at this meeting was, to swear several persons, who were the next day to declare what they knew, or could remember, against this reverend father. And these were, Dr. Marshal, Dean of Christ's Church, a most furious and zelotical man; and who, to shew his spite against the reformation, had caused Peter Martyr's wife, who deceased while he was the King's professor, to be taken out of her grave, and buried in his dunghill: Dr, Smith, public professor, who had recanted most solemnly in King Edward's days, and to whom the Archbishop was a good friend, yet not long afterwards he wrote against his book, and was now sworn a witness against him: Dr. Tresham, a Canon of Christ-Church, who was one of the disputers against Cranmer, and had said, in his popish zeal, "that there were "six hundred errors in his book of the Sacrament:" Dr. Crook; Mr. London, a relation, I suppose, of Dr. London,

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who came to shame for his false accusation of Cranmer and others in King Henry's reign; and now this man, it is like, was willing to be even with Cranmer, for his relation's sake: Mr. Curtop, another Canon of Christ's Church, formerly a great hearer of Peter Martyr; Mr. Ward; Mr. Serles, the same, I suppose, who belonged to the church of Canterbury, and had been among the number of the conspirators against him in King Henry's days. And these being sworn, the Archbishop was allowed to make his exceptions against any of them: who resolutely said, "He would admit none of them "all, being perjured men; having sworn against the Pope, "and now received and defended him: and that therefore "they were not in christian religion." And so the good father was remitted back, for that time, to prison again.

Cited to Rome.

I know not what the depositions of these witnesses were, given in against him the next day: for Fox relates nothing thereof, nor any other, as I know of. Doubtless they were some of the doctrines that he preached, or taught, or defended, in Canterbury formerly, or more lately in his disputations in the schools, or in his discourses in his prison, or at Christ's Church, where he sometimes was entertained. But to all that was objected against him he made his answers. And the last thing they of this commission did was, to cite him to appear at Rome, within eighty days, to make there his answer in person: which, he said, he would be 374 content to do, if the King and Queen would send him. And so he was again remanded back to durance, where he still remained. And an account of what these commissioners had done was dispatched to Rome forthwith: from whence the final sentence was sent in December next.

The Pope's letters against him.

Then Pope Paul sent his letters executory unto the King and Queen, and to the Bishops of London and Ely, to degrade and deprive him: and, in the end of those fourscore days, he was declared *contumax*, as wilfully absenting himself from Rome, when he was summoned to go, though he was detained in prison; which might have been a lawful and just excuse. But these matters must proceed in their form, whatsoever absurdity or falsehood there were in them.

The process against him at Rome.

By these letters executory, (which are in the first edition of Fox, but omitted in all the rest,) we may collect how the

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process went against Cranmer at Rome, which I shall here briefly set down. First, the King and Queen sent their information to the Pope against Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury; *viz.* "That he had brought this noble realm from " the unity of the catholick church. That he was a person " guilty of heresy, and many other grand crimes, and not " worthy to enjoy his bishoprick, and most worthy greater " punishments; and they requested that process might be " made against him." For the better inquiry into, and taking cognizance of the truth of these accusations, the Pope gave a special commission, signed with his hand, to James Puteo, Cardinal of St. Mary's, and afterwards of St. Simeon, to cite the said Thomas before him, and all such witnesses as should be needful, to come to a true knowledge of the Archbishop's crimes: and accordingly to give the Pope an account of all he should find. This he was to do in his own person, or to constitute any dignified person, abiding in these parts, to do the same. So the said Cardinal appointed Brookes Bishop of Glocester, and some colleagues with him, to manage this commission in his stead. This Brookes, having been Bishop Gardiner's chaplain, was probably nominated and recommended by the said Gardiner, as I do suppose he was the person that directed the whole managery of this process against the Archbishop. And so Brookes, being now by this deputation the Pope's sub-delegate, proceeded in this cause, as was said before. In regard of the Archbishop's citation to Rome, to answer there, and make his personal appearance before the Pope, the letters executory say, *comparere non curaret*, as an aggravation of his crime, that "he took no care to appear;" (which was false;) and that therefore, as the said letters ran, the King and Queen's proctors at Rome, named Peter Rouilius, and Anthony Massa de Gallesio, and Alexander Palentarius, the proctor of the Pope's treasury, had sued, that contumacy might be definitively pronounced against the said Thomas Cranmer, being cited and not appearing. Therefore, "He, Pope Paul " IV. sitting in the throne of justice, and having before his " eyes God alone, who is the righteous Lord, and judgeth " the world in righteousness, did make this definitive sen" tence, pronouncing and decreeing the said Thomas Cran-

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"mer to be found guilty of the crimes of heresy and other "excesses, to be wholly unmindful of the health of his "soul, to go against the rules and ecclesiastical doctrines of "the holy Fathers, and against the apostolical traditions of "the Roman church and sacred councils, and the rites of 375 "the christian religion hitherto used in the church; especially against the sacrament of the body and blood of "our Lord, and holy orders; by thinking and teaching "otherwise than the holy mother church preacheth and "observeth; and by denying the primacy and authority of "the apostolick see; and against the processions, which "every year, on Corpus Christi day, were wont to be celebrated by the Pope's predecessors." Mention also is made of his "bringing again in the heresy abjured by "Berengarius, of his believing the false and heretical doctrines of Wicklif and Luther, those arch-hereticks: printing of books of that nature, and publishing them, and "defending those doctrines in public disputations, and "that before his sub-delegate, and persisting herein with "obstinacy. Therefore the Pope excommunicated him, "and deprived him of his archbishoprick, and all other "places and privileges whatsoever, and adjudged him to be "delivered over to the secular court, and all his goods to "be confiscate. And the Pope absolved all persons from "any oath of fidelity given to Cranmer, and imposed "perpetual silence upon him. And moreover, upon the "instance of the above-said proctors, commanded the "Bishops of London and Ely to degrade him, and so "to deliver him over to the secular court. This bore "date December 14."

The Pope's letters read.

In obedience to these letters from Rome, the two Bishops, the Pope's delegates, came down to Oxford; and, sitting in the choir of Christ's Church, before the high altar, the said commissional letters were read: wherein it was specified, "That all things were indifferently "examined on both parties, and counsel heard as well "on the King's and Queen's behalf, who were Cranmer's "accusers, as on the behalf of Cranmer, so that he wanted "nothing to his necessary defence." Whereat the Archbishop could not but exclaim (while these things were reading) against such manifest lies, "That, (as he said,) "when he was continually in prison, and could never "be suffered to have counsel or advocate at home, he "should produce witness, and appoint his counsel at "Rome. God must needs punish (added he) this open "and shameless lying."

They degrade him.

But this command of degrading our Archbishop was presently proceeded upon: Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, his old friend, infinitely beforetime obliged by the Archbishop, shed many tears at the doing of it. So that Cranmer, moved at it, was fain to comfort him, and told him, he was well contented with it. So they appareled the Archbishop in all the garments and ornaments of an Archbishop; only in mockery every thing was of canvas, and old clouts. And the crosier was put into his hand. And then he was, piece by piece, stript of all again. When they began to take away his pall, he asked them, "Which of them had a pall, to take away "his pall? They then answered, acknowledging they were "his inferiors, as bishops; but, as they were the Pope's "delegates, they might take away his pall." While they were thus spoiling him of all his garments, he told them, "That it needed not; for that he had done with this "gear long ago." While this was doing, Boner made a triumphant speech against the poor Archbishop. But when they came to take away his crosier, he held it fast, 376 and would not deliver it: but pulled out an appeal out of his left sleeve under his wrist, and said, "I appeal unto "the next general council; and herein I have compre"hended my cause, and the form of it, which I desire may "be admitted. And prayed divers times to the standers "by to be witnesses, naming them by their names." This appeal is preserved in Fox, which is well worthy the reading.

He appeals.

He is ill dealt with in his process.

The Archbishop was all along ill dealt with in divers respects in this his process, which himself was well sensible of. One was, that he had desired the court, that, considering he was upon his life, he might have the use of proctors, advocates, and lawyers. But they would allow him none. After the court, wherein Brooks was sub-delegate, had done, they promised him that he should see his answers to sixteen articles, that they had laid against him; that he

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might correct, amend, and change them, where he thought good. And that promise they performed not. And so entered his answers upon record, though his answer was not made upon oath, nor reserved, nor made *in judicio*, but *extra judicium.* Which Cranmer made a protest of: but not to the Bishop of Glocester, as judge, whom he would not own; but to the King's and Queen's proctors, Martin and Story. To them, for these reasons, he wrote a letter, "that he trusted "they would deal sincerely with him, without fraud or craft, "and use him as they would wish to be used in the like case "themselves: bidding them remember, that with what "measure they mete, it should be measured to them "again."

The reasons of his appeal.

Therefore, to make himself some amends for all this foul "dealing, his last refuge was an appeal: whereof he seriously bethought himself when, and in what manner, to make it. The causes for his resolving upon it, besides those already mentioned, were, because he remembered Luther once did so in such a case; and that he might not seem rashly to cast away his own life; and because he was bound by his oath never to receive the Pope's authority in this realm; and because the commissioners had broken their promise with him, as above was said; and because he thought the Bishop of Rome was not an indifferent judge in this cause, which was his own cause: for all the Archbishop's troubles came upon him for departing from him. He therefore wrote privately to a trusty friend, and learned in the law, then in the University, to instruct him in the order and form of an appeal: and whether he should first appeal from the judge-delegate to the Pope, or else from that judge immediately to a general council. And so earnestly entreated him to lay aside all other studies, and to take this in hand presently, because he was summoned to make his answer at Rome, the sixteenth day of this month, that is, of February. There was one reason more moved him to appeal, which must not be omitted, namely, that he might gain time to finish his answer to Marcus Antonius. "He feared, after all, they "would not admit his appeal. But he did not much pass, "and desired God's will might be done: so that God "might be glorified by his life or death. He thought it "much better to die in Christ's quarrel, than to be shut in "the prison of the body, unless it were for the advancement "of God's glory, and the profit of his brethren." This letter of the Archbishop, being writ with so much strength and presence of mind, and shewing so much prudence and 377 wit, is happily preserved in Fox's Monuments, where it may be read.

He presseth his appeal.

This appeal, when the Archbishop had produced and preferred to the Bishop of Ely, he told him, "That they "could not admit of it, because their commission was to "proceed against him, *omni appellatione remota*." Cranmer replied, "That this cause was not every private man's "cause, but that it was between the Pope and him immediately, and none otherwise: and that no man ought "to be judge in his own cause. And therefore they did "him the more wrong." So at last Thirlby received it of him, and said, if it might be admitted, it should.

And so, after this interruption, they proceeded to degrade him, taking off the rest of his habits. And then put him on a poor yeoman-beadle's gown, threadbare, and a townsman's cap. And Boner told him, "He was no Lord any "more:" and so was sent to prison.

CHAP. XX.

Cranmer writes to the Queen.

Writes two letters to the Queen.

AND now, having undergone these brunts with all this gravity, discretion, learning, and courage, he next resolved to give the Queen a true and impartial account of these transactions, to prevent misreports, and to justify himself in what he had said and done. Two letters therefore he wrote to her, but thought not fit to entrust them with the commissioners, since Weston had served him such a trick in the like case before. In these letters he related the reason of his refusing the Bishop of Glocester for his judge, and of his appeal. For as he thought it his duty, at that juncture, to declare himself in that public manner against the Bishop of Rome, so he reckoned he ought to declare himself also to the supreme magistrate. And therefore, before the Bishop of Glocester, and the commissioners, he said, "That as he "had thus discharged his own conscience towards the world, "so he would also write his mind to her Grace touching "this matter."

The contents of the first.

He wrote to her, "That the twelfth day of that month "he was cited to appear at Rome the eightieth day after. "And that it could not but grieve the heart of a natural "subject to be accused by the King and Queen of his own "country, and before any outward judge: as if the King "and Queen were subjects within their own realm, and "were fain to complain and require justice at a stranger's "hand against their own subject, being already condemned "to death by their own laws. As though the King and "Queen could not have or do justice within their own "realm, against their own subjects; but they must seek it "at a stranger's hand, in a strange land."

Then he proceeded to shew her, why he refused the Pope's authority, when Brooks Bishop of Glocester came to try 378 him; namely, "because he was sworn never to consent that "the Bishop of Rome should have or exercise any authority "or jurisdiction in the realm of England. Another reason "why he denied his authority, was, because his authority "repugned to the crown imperial of this realm, and to the "laws of the same. For the Pope saith, all manner of "power, both temporal and spiritual, is given unto him of "God: and that temporal power is given to Kings and "Emperors to use it under him. Whereas, contrary to this "claim, (said the Archbishop,) the imperial crown of this "realm is taken immediately from God, to be used under "him only, and is subject to none but God alone.

"Moreover, to the imperial laws of this realm all the "Kings in their coronations, and all justices, when they "receive their offices, are sworn, and all the whole realm "bound to defend them. But, contrary hereunto, the Pope "(he said) made void, and commanded to blot out of our "books, all laws and customs repugnant to his laws.

"Then he proceeded to shew, how contrary the laws of "the realm and the Pope's laws were. And therefore, that "the Kings of this realm had provided for their laws by "the *præmunire*. So that, if any man let the execution of

" the law, by any authority from the see of Rome, he fell " into the *præmunire*. And, to meet with this, the popes " had provided for their law by cursing.

" He supposed that these things were not fully opened in " the parliament-house, when the Pope's authority was " received again: for, if they were, he could not believe " that the King and Queen, the nobles and commons, would " again receive a foreign authority, so hurtful and prejudicial to the crown, and to the laws and state of this " realm. He rebuked the clergy, who were the main " movers of this at the parliament, for their own ends. " For they desired to have the Pope their chief head, to the " intent that they might have, as it were, a kingdom and " laws within themselves, distinct from the laws of the " crown; and live in this realm like lords and kings, " without damage or fear of any man. And then he " glanced at some of the clergy, [probably meaning Thirlby, Hethe, Tonstal, &c.] that they held their peace for this " consideration, though they knew this well enough: who, " if they had done their duty to the crown and realm, " should have opened their mouths at this time, and shewn " the peril and danger that might ensue to the crown " hereby.

" Another cause he urged to the Queen, why he could " not allow the Pope's authority, was, because he subverted, " not only the laws of the nation, but the laws of God. " So that, whosoever be under his authority, he suffered " them not to be under Christ's religion purely. For proof " of which he gave these instances. God's will and commandment is, that, when the people be gathered together " to serve God, the ministers should use such a language as " the people might understand, and take profit thereby. " For God said by the mouth of St. Paul, As a harp or " lute, if it give no certain sound, that men may know what " is stricken, who can dance after it? it is but in vain. " So it is in vain, profiteth nothing, if the priest speak to 379
" the people in a language they know not. And whereas, " when he urged this to the commissioners, they told him, " That that place respected preaching only. He told the " Queen, That St. Paul's words meant it not only of

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"preaching, for that he spake expressly of praying, singing, "and giving thanks, and of all other things, which the "priests say in the churches. And so (he said) all interpreters, Greek and Latin, old and new, school authors, "and others, that he had read, understood it: till about "thirty years past, Eckius, and others of his sort, began to "invent this new exposition. And so (he said) all the best "learned divines, that met at Windsor 1549, for the "reformation of the church, both of the new learning and "the old, agreed without controversy, (not one opposing,) "that the service of the church ought to be in the "mother-tongue; and that that place of St. Paul was "so to be understood.

"Again, Christ ordained the sacrament to be received of "christian people, under both forms of bread and wine, and "said, *Drink ye all of this.* The Pope gives a clean contrary command, That no layman shall drink of the cup "of their salvation. So that, if he should obey the Pope in "these things, he must needs disobey his Saviour."

Again, "He instanced in the Pope's taking upon him to "give the temporal sword to Kings and Princes, and to "depose them from their imperial states, if they were "disobedient to him; and in commanding subjects to "disobey their Princes: assoiling them as well from their "obedience, as their lawful oaths made unto them; directly "contrary to God's commandment, that commandeth all "subjects to obey their Kings, and their rulers under them.

"Then he spake of the superiority the Pope claimed "above Kings and Emperors, and making himself universal "Bishop. And how his flatterers told him he might dispense against God's word, both against the Old and "New Testament: and that whatsoever he did, though he "drew innumerable people by heaps with himself to hell, "yet might no mortal man reprove him; because he is the "judge of all men, and might be judged by no man. And "thus he sat in the temple of God, as he were a God, "and named himself God, and dispensed against God. "If this were not (he said) to play Antichrist's part, he "knew not what Antichrist was; that is, Christ's enemy and "adversary. Now, (added he,) until the time that such a

" person may be found, men might easily conjecture where " to find Antichrist.

" He took God to record, that what he spake against the " power and authority of the Pope, he spake it not for any " malice he ought to the Pope's person, whom he knew " not; nor for fear of punishment, or to avoid the same; " thinking it rather an occasion to aggravate, than to " diminish the same: but for his most bounden duty to " the crown, liberty, laws, and customs of this realm of " England; and most especially to discharge his conscience " in uttering the truth to God's glory, casting away all " fear by the comfort which he had in Christ, who saith, " *Fear not them that kill the body.*"

As touching the sacrament, he said, "That forasmuch 380 " as the whole matter stood in the understanding those " words of Christ, *This is my body; This is my blood:* he " told the commissioners, that Christ in those words made " demonstration of the bread and wine, and spake figuratively, calling bread his body, and wine his blood; " because he ordained them to be sacraments of his body " and blood. And he told them, he would be judged by " the old church which doctrine could be proved elder; " and that he would stand to. And that, forasmuch as he " had urged in his book Greek and Latin authors, which " above a thousand years continually taught as he did; " if they could bring forth but one old author that said " in these two points as they said, he offered six or seven " years ago, and offered so still, that he would give place.

" Then he shewed her how fond and uncomfortable the " Papists' doctrine of the sacrament is: for of one body of " Christ is made two bodies: one natural, having distance " of members, with form and proportion of man's perfect " body; and this body is in heaven. But the body of " Christ in the sacrament, by their own doctrine, must " needs be a monstrous body, having neither distance of " members, nor form, fashion, or proportion of a man's " natural body. And such a body is in the sacrament, " teach they, as goes into the mouth with the form of " bread, and entereth no further than the form of bread " goes, nor tarrieth no longer than the form of bread is by

" natural heat digesting: so that, when the form of bread is " digested, the body of Christ is gone. And what comfort " (said he) can be herein to any christian man, to receive " Christ's unshapen body, and it to enter no further than " the stomach, and depart by and by as soon as the bread is " consumed? It seemed to him a more sound and comfortable doctrine, that Christ hath but one body, and " that hath form and fashion of a man's true body: which " body spiritually entereth into the whole man, body and " soul. And though the sacrament be consumed, yet " whole Christ remaineth, and feedeth the receiver unto " eternal life, if he continue in godliness, and never " departeth until the receiver forsaketh him.

" That if it could be shewed him, that the Pope's authority be not prejudicial to the things before mentioned; " or that his doctrine of the sacrament be erroneous, then " he would never stand perversely in his own opinion, but " with all humility submit himself to the Pope, not only to " kiss his feet, but another part also.

" For all these reasons he could not take the Bishop of " Gloucester for his judge, representing, as he did, this Pope. " But another reason was, in respect of his own person, " being more than once perjured, having been divers times " sworn never to consent that the Bishop of Rome should " have any jurisdiction within this realm, but to take the " King and his successors for supreme heads thereof. And " he was perjured again, in taking his bishoprick both " of the Queen and the Pope, making to each of them a " solemn oath: which oaths be so contrary, that the one " must needs be perjury. And further, in swearing to the " Pope to maintain his laws, decrees, constitutions, and " ordinances, he declared himself an enemy to the imperial crown, and to the laws of the realm: whereby 381 " he shewed himself not worthy to sit as a judge in this " realm." This was the sum of this excellent letter of the Archbishop to the Queen.

The contents of his second letter.

He wrote another to her soon after: wherein he plainly told her, " that, at her coronation, she took an oath to the " Pope, to be obedient to him, to defend his person, to " maintain his authority, honour, laws, and priveilges: and

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"at the same time another oath to the kingdom, to main-"tain the laws, liberties, and customs of the same. He "prayed her to weigh both oaths, and see how they did "agree; and then to do as her Grace's conscience should "give her: for he was sure (he said) she would not will-"ingly offend. He feared there were contradictions in "her oaths, and that those that should have informed her "Majesty thoroughly, did not their duties herein. He "complained that he was now kept from company of "learned men, from books, from counsel, and from pen "and ink, saving to write to her Majesty at that time: "and, as to his appearance at Rome, (he said,) if she "would give him leave, he would appear there; and he "trusted God would put in his mouth to defend his truth "there, as well as here."

The Bailiff of Oxford carrieth his letters.

These letters of his one of the Bailiffs of Oxon carried up to the Queen. Something else he wrote to her, enclosed and sealed; which he required Martyn and Story to be delivered without delay, and not to be opened until it were delivered unto her own hands. These and other of his smart and learned letters, no question, made impression upon the Queen, or at least upon those that read them; for they were delivered by the Queen to no less a person than the holy father Cardinal Pole himself; who was advised to frame an answer to them.

Pole answereth them.

So he wrote to the Archbishop, in answer to one of them, a long letter, dated from St. James's November 6, "wherein he pretended a great deal of compassion to his "soul; which, he told him, was ready to be lost, as well as "his body: and that the condemnation that was lately "passed on him was so horrible to him to hear, that he "testified to him before God, and upon the salvation of his "soul, that he would rather choose to be the means of "bringing him to repentance, than to receive the greatest "benefit that could be given him under heaven in this "world." Which the Cardinal might say, to take off the odium of the suspicion, as though he hastened Cranmer's death, that he might jump into his place. And so the Cardinal proceeded to attempt to convince him in the two great points of his letter; *viz.* concerning the authority of

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the Pope, and concerning the sacrament of the altar: especially, because Cranmer had said in his letter, "that "he would not be perverse, to stand wilfully in his own "opinion, if any could shew him by reason that his "doctrines were erroneous." But I refer the reader to the Appendix, if he be minded to read the Cardinal's letter; which I met with among Fox's manuscripts. By comparing of this letter of Pole's with that of Cranmer's, any one may see a mighty difference: strength, evidence, and conviction in the Archbishop's, who had truth on his side; but a flashiness and debility in the Cardinal's, made up of poor shifts and weak arguings, and impertinent allegations 382 of Scripture, and personal reflections, to help out a bad cause.

Num. LXXXIX.

Some account of the Cardinal's letter to Cranmer.

To mention some few of this sort. He charged the Archbishop with covetousness and ambition in affecting the archbishoprick: and then, by and by, not well remembering what he had said before, in his heat against the good Archbishop, he gives a contrary reason thereof, namely, "That he might be in a capacity to reform the church "according to his mind; and that it was for the sake "of that, that he took an oath to the Pope at his conse"cration, though he were fain to make a protestation "against the said oath." He said in this letter, "That the "Archbishop's fall into error was not as the fall of others "usually were, by frailty or curiosity, but by deliberate "malice: and that the Archbishop, by his protestation that "he made before he took his oath to the Pope, brake "his oath, and was forsworn before he did swear." Which, methinks, is pretty strange. And, concerning this protestation, he said, "It was a privy protestation, and that he "had privy witnesses of it:" whereas it was done in the most open and public manner that could be, two or three times over, before public notaries, and by them entered on record, on purpose that all might take notice of it. And whereas the Archbishop had said, "That it was much more "probable that the bread and wine should be a figure, "than the real body and blood." The Cardinal said, "The more probable it was, the more false; because the "great sophister and father of lies deceived by probability "of reason." The consequence whereof one would think should be, the more improbable any opinion in religion was, the more true. "But (he said) the true doctrine was taught "another way. He represented the Archbishop as chal"lenging them of the other side to bring any one single "doctor of the church, that ever spake in favour of transub"stantiation;" leaving out, "for a thousand years next after "Christ," which the Archbishop expressly had said. And, in fine, every where he triumphed over the Archbishop's "wilful "blindness and ignorance;" and told him, in much charity, "That he was under the vengeance of God, a member of "Satan, and damned." This, and a great deal more, may be seen in Pole's letter.

Another letter of the Cardinal to Cranmer.

To which I might have added another letter of the said Cardinal to the same Archbishop, concerning the sacrament, a little after the disputation at Oxford, but that it would be too prolix, being a just treatise against Cranmer's book of that argument. This treatise bears this title:

> *REGINALDI POLI Cardinalis Legati Apostolici Epistola ad Thomam Cranmerum, qui Archiepiscopalem sedem Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ tenens, novam de Sacramento Eucharistiæ Doctrinam contra perpetuum Catholicæ Ecclesiæ consensum professus est, ac tradidit. Qua Epistola eum nec Magistrum tanti Mysterii, neque Discipulum idoneum esse posse; simulque unde hic ejus Error manarit, ostendit; et ad pœnitentiam hortatur.*

CHAP. XXI.

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He recants, repents, and is burnt.

He recants.

HAVING brought the Archbishop unto his degradation and appeal, wherein he shewed so much christian courage, wisdom and fortitude, I must now represent him making a great trip and a sad fall; and mention one of the greatest blemishes of his life. For now the popish party, thinking

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what a piece of glory it would be to gain this great man to their church, used all means, all arts, as well as arguments, to bring him to recant. They set the doctors of the University upon him. He was entertained at the Dean of Christ's Church his lodging: there they treated him with good fare. They got him to bowls with them. They let him have his pleasure in taking the air. Sometimes they accosted him with arguments and disputations: sometimes by flatteries, promises, and threatenings. They told him, "the noblemen bare him good will: that his return would "be highly acceptable to the King and Queen. That he "should enjoy his former dignity in the church; or, if it "liked him better, he should lead a quiet life in more "privacy: and that it was but setting his name in two "words in a piece of paper. They told him, the Queen "was resolved to have Cranmer a catholic, or no Cranmer "at all. That he was still lusty and strong, and might live "many a year more, if he would not willingly cut off his "own life by the terrible death of burning." He rejected these temptations a long while, but at last was overcome and yielded. The recantation I shall not repeat, it being to be seen at large in Fox. It was signed by his hand. The witnesses thereunto were two or three, who had been exceedingly busy in tampering with him: one Sydal, (a great professor in the last reign,) and John and Richard, two Spanish friars.

Notwithstanding his burning is ordered.

The doctors and prelates caused this recantation speedily to be printed and dispersed. When the Queen saw his subscription, she was glad of it, but would not alter her determination to have him burned, by the instigation, as I suppose, of Pole the legate: the writ for which was sent down by Hethe, Lord Chancellor, in the latter end of February, under the broad-seal. It was charged upon his converters, that they were negligent in procuring his life from the Queen: but the true reason was, the Queen was resolved not to grant it. She privately gave instruction to Cole to prepare a sermon to preach at his burning: and several lords, and other justices of the peace in those parts, were ordered to attend there, with their servants and retinue, to keep peace, and to see him executed. Cole coming with his errand to Oxon, visited him in the prison, and asked him if he stood firm to

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what he had subscribed? This was the day before his execution; but saying nothing to him of his determined death. The next day, being the day he was to be burned, *viz.* March 21, he came again, and asked him if he had any money? And, having none, he gave him certain crowns to bestow to what poor he would; and so departed, exhorting him to constancy. But the disconsolate Archbishop perceived to what 384 this tended: and, being by and by to be brought to St. Mary's, (where Cole was to preach,) there openly to confess what he had more privately subscribed, he resolved with himself to disburden his conscience, and to revoke his recantation. And he prepared a prayer, and a declaration of his faith, which he drew up in writing, and carried it privately along with him, to make use of it when he saw his occasion. The manner how he behaved himself after Cole's sermon, and how he delivered his last mind, and with what bitterness and tears he did it; and how he was pulled down by the scholars, priests, and friars, with the greatest indignation, at this their disappointment; and how he was led out of the church forthwith to the place of burning, over-against Balliol College; and how he there first put his right hand into the flames to be consumed, for that base subscription that it made; and how his heart was found whole and unconsumed in the ashes, after he was burnt: these, and the rest of the particulars of his martyrdom, I might leave to Fox, and other historians from him, to relate.

A letter from Oxford concerning Cranmer's death.

Yet, because it is not convenient so briefly to pass over such a remarkable scene of his life, being his last appearance upon the stage of this world, I shall represent it in the words of a certain grave person unknown, but a Papist, who was an eye and ear witness, and related these matters, as it seems, very justly, in a letter from Oxon to his friend. Which is as followeth:

Inter Foxii MSS.

"But that I know for our great friendship, and long con-
"tinued love, you look even of duty that I should signify to
"you of the truth of such things as here chanceth among
"us; I would not at this time have written to you the un-
"fortunate end, and doubtful tragedy, of T. C. late Bishop
"of Canterbury: because I little pleasure take in beholding

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"of such heavy sights. And, when they are once overpassed, "I like not to rehearse them again; being but a renewing "of my wo, and doubling my grief. For although his "former life, and wretched end, deserves a greater misery, "(if any greater might have chanced than chanced unto "him,) yet, setting aside his offences to God and his country, and beholding the man without his faults, I think "there was none that pitied not his case, and bewailed his "fortune, and feared not his own chance, to see so noble a "prelate, so grave a counsellor, of so long continued "honour, after so many dignities, in his old years to be "deprived of his estate, adjudged to die, and in so painful "a death to end his life. I have no delight to increase it. "Alas, it is too much of itself, that ever so heavy a case "should betide to man, and man to deserve it.

Cranmer brought to St. Mary's.

"But to come to the matter: on Saturday last, being the "21st of March, was his day appointed to die. And, because "the morning was much rainy, the sermon appointed by "Mr. Dr. Cole to be made at the stake, was made in St. "Mary's church: whither Dr. Cranmer was brought by "the Mayor and Aldermen, and my Lord Williams. With "whom came divers gentlemen of the shire, Sir T. A. "Bridges, Sir John Browne, and others. Where was pre-
385 "pared, over-against the pulpit, an high place for him, that "all the people might see him. And, when he had ascended "it, he kneeled down and prayed, weeping tenderly: which "moved a great number to tears, that had conceived an "assured hope of his conversion and repentance.

Cole's sermon.

"Then Mr. Cole began his sermon. The sum whereof "was this. First, he declared causes why it was expedient "that he should suffer, notwithstanding his reconciliation. "The chief are these. One was, for that he had been a "great cause of all this alteration in this realm of England. "And, when the matter of the divorce between King "Henry VIII. and Queen Katharine was commenced in "the court of Rome, he, having nothing to do with it, set "upon it as judge, which was the entry to all the inconveniences that followed. Yet in that he excused him, that "he thought he did it not of malice, but by the persuasions "and advice of certain learned men. Another was, that he had "been the great setter forth of all this heresy received into "the church in this last time; had written in it, had dis- "puted, had continued it, even to the last hour: and that "it had never been seen in this realm (but in the time of "schism) that any man continuing so long hath been par- "doned: and that it was not to be remitted for ensamples- "sake. Other causes he alleged, but these were the chief, "why it was not thought good to pardon him. Other "causes beside, he said, moved the Queen and the council "thereto, which were not meet and convenient for every "one to understand them.

"The second part touched the audience, how they should "consider this thing: that they should hereby take example "to fear God; and that there was no power against the "Lord: having before their eyes a man of so high degree, "sometime one of the chiefest Prelates of the church, an "Archbishop, the chief of the council, the second peer in "the realm of long time: a man, as might be thought, in "greatest assurance, a King of his side; notwithstanding all "his authority and defence to be debased from an high "estate to a low degree; of a counsellor to be a caitiff; "and to be set in so wretched estate, that the poorest "wretch would not change conditions with him.

Turns his speech to Cranmer.

"The last and end appertained unto him: whom he "comforted and encouraged to take his death well, by "many places of Scripture. And with these, and such, "bidding him nothing mistrust but he should incontinently "receive that the thief did: to whom Christ said, *Hodie mecum eris in paradiso.* And out of St. Paul armed him "against the terrors of the fire, by this; *Dominus fidelis est: "Non sinet nos tentari ultra quam ferre potestis:* by the example of the three children; to whom God made the "flame seem like a pleasant dew. He added hereunto the "rejoicing of St. Andrew in his cross; the patience of St. "Laurence on the fire: ascertaining him, that God, if he "called on him, and to such as die in his faith, either will "abate the fury of the flame, or give him strength to abide "it. He glorified God much in his conversion; because it "appeared to be only his work: declaring what travel and "conference had been used with him to convert him, and 386

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" all prevailed not, till it pleased God of his mercy to re-" claim him, and call him home. In discoursing of which " place, he much commended Cranmer, and qualified his " former doing.

" And I had almost forgotten to tell you, that Mr. Cole " promised him, that he should be prayed for in every " church in Oxford, and should have mass and *Dirige* sung " for him; and spake to all the priests present to say mass " for his soul.

After sermon all pray for him.

" When he had ended his sermon, he desired all the peo-" ple to pray for him: Mr. Cranmer kneeling down with " them, and praying for himself. I think there was never " such a number so earnestly praying together. For they, " that hated him before, now loved him for his conversion, " and hope of continuance. They that loved him before " could not sodenly hate him, having hope of his confession " again of his fall. So love and hope increased devotion " on every side.

His penitent behaviour.

" I shall not need, for the time of sermon, to describe his " behaviour, his sorrowful countenance, his heavy cheer, his " face bedewed with tears; sometime lifting his eyes to " heaven in hope, sometime casting them down to the earth " for shame; to be brief, an image of sorrow: the dolor of " his heart bursting out at his eyes in plenty of tears: " retaining ever a quiet and grave behaviour. Which " increased the pity in men's hearts, that they unfeignedly " loved him, hoping it had been his repentance for his " transgression and error. I shall not need, I say, to point " it out unto you; you can much better imagine it yourself.

Speaks to the auditory.

" When praying was done, he stood up, and, having leave " to speak, said, Good people, I had intended indeed to de-" sire you to pray for me; which because Mr. Doctor hath " desired, and you have done already, I thank you most " heartily for it. And now will I pray for myself, as I " could best devise for mine own comfort, and say the " prayer, word for word, as I have here written it. And he " read it standing: and after kneeled down, and said the " Lord's Prayer; and all the people on their knees devoutly " praying with him. His prayer was thus:

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He prayeth.

"O FATHER of heaven; O Son of God, Redeemer of "the world; O Holy Ghost, proceeding from them both, "three Persons and one God, have mercy upon me most "wretched caitiff, and miserable sinner. I who have offended both heaven and earth, and more grievously than "any tongue can express, whither then may I go, or whither should I fly for succour? To heaven I may be "ashamed to lift up mine eyes; and in earth I find no refuge. What shall I then do? shall I despair? God forbid. "O good God, thou art merciful, and refusest none that "come unto thee for succour. To thee therefore do I run. "To thee do I humble myself: saying, O Lord God, my "sins be great, but yet have mercy upon me for thy great "mercy. O God the Son, thou wast not made man, this "great mystery was not wrought, for few or small offences. "Nor thou didst not give thy Son unto death, O God the "Father, for our little and small sins only, but for all the "greatest sins of the world: so that the sinner return unto "thee with a penitent heart: as I do here at this present. 387 "Wherefore have mercy upon me, O Lord, whose property "is always to have mercy. For although my sins be "great, yet thy mercy is greater. I crave nothing, O Lord, "for mine own merits, but for thy name's sake, that it may "be glorified thereby: and for thy dear son Jesus Christ's "sake. And now therefore, Our Father, which art in "heaven, &c.

His words before his death.

"Then rising, he said, Every man desireth, good people, "at the time of their deaths, to give some good exhortation, that other may remember after their deaths, and be "the better thereby. So I beseech God grant me grace, "that I may speak something, at this my departing, whereby God may be glorified, and you edified.

"First, It is an heavy case to see, that many folks be so "much doted upon the love of this false world, and so careful for it, that or the love of God, or the love of the "world to come, they seem to care very little or nothing "therefore. This shall be my first exhortation. That you "set not over-much by this false glosing world, but upon "God and the world to come: and learn to know what "this lesson meaneth, which St. John teacheth, *That the love* "*of this world is hatred against God.*

"The second exhortation is, That, next unto God, you "obey your King and Queen willingly and gladly, without "murmur or grudging; and not for fear of them only, but "much more for the fear of God: knowing that they be God's "ministers, appointed by God to rule and govern you. And "therefore whoso resisteth them, resisteth God's ordinance.

"The third exhortation is, That you love all together like "brethren and sistern. For, alas! pity it is to see what con-"tention and hatred one christian man hath to another: "not taking each other as sisters and brothers; but rather "as strangers and mortal enemies. But I pray you learn "and bear well away this one lesson, To do good to all men "as much as in you lieth, and to hurt no man, no more "than you would hurt your own natural and loving brother "or sister. For this you may be sure of, that whosoever "hateth any person, and goeth about maliciously to hinder "or hurt him, surely, and without all doubt, God is not "with that man, although he think himself never so much "in God's favour.

"The fourth exhortation shall be to them that have great "substance and riches of this world, That they will well "consider and weigh those sayings of the Scripture. One "is of our Saviour Christ himself, who saith, *It is hard for a* "*rich man to enter into heaven:* a sore saying, and yet spoke "by him that knew the truth. The second is of St John, "whose saying is this, *He that hath the substance of this* "*world, and seeth his brother in necessity, and shutteth up his* "*mercy from him, how can he say, he loveth God?* Much "more might I speak of every part; but time sufficeth not. "I do but put you in remembrance of things. Let all them "that be rich, ponder well those sentences: for if ever they "had any occasion to shew their charity, they have now at "this present, the poor people being so many, and victuals "so dear. For though I have been long in prison, yet I
388 "have heard of the great penury of the poor. Consider, "that that which is given to the poor, is given to God: "whom we have not otherwise present corporally with us, "but in the poor.

He quoted also a third place out of James against covetous rich men; *Weep and howl for the miseries that shall come upon you; your riches doth rot your clothes be moth-eaten, your gold and silver is cankered, &c.*

"And now, for so much as I am come to the last end of "my life, whereupon hangeth all my life passed, and my life "to come, either to live with my Saviour Christ in heaven, "in joy, or else to be in pain ever with wicked devils in "hell; and I see before mine eyes presently either heaven "ready to receive me, or hell ready to swallow me up; "I shall therefore declare unto you my very faith, how I "believe, without colour or dissimulation: for now is no "time to dissemble, whatsoever I have written in times past.

"First, I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of "heaven and earth, &c. and every article of the catholick faith, every word and sentence taught by our Saviour Christ, his Apostles, and Prophets, in the Old and "New Testament.

Confesseth his dissembling.

"And now I come to the great thing that troubleth my "conscience more than any other thing that ever I said or "did in my life: and that is, the setting abroad of writings "contrary to the truth. Which here now I renounce and "refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the "truth which I thought in my heart, and writ for fear of "death, and to save my life, if it might be: and that is, all "such bills, which I have written or signed with mine own "hand since my degradation: wherein I have written many "things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended in "writing contrary to my heart, therefore my hand shall first "be punished: for if I may come to the fire, it shall be "first burned. And as for the Pope, I refuse him, as "Christ's enemy and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine.

"And here, being admonished of his recantation and dissembling, he said, Alas, my Lord, I have been a man "that all my life loved plainness, and never dissembled till "now against the truth; which I am most sorry for. He "added hereunto, that, for the sacrament, he believed as he "had taught in his book against the Bishop of Winchester. "And here he was suffered to speak no more.

His reply to my Lord Williams.

"So that his speech contained chiefly three points, love "to God, love to the King, and love to the neighbour. In "the which talk he held men very suspense, which all depended upon the conclusion: where he so far deceived "all men's expectations, that, at the hearing thereat, they

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"were much amazed; and let him go on awhile, till my "Lord Williams bad him play the christen man, and "remember himself. To whom he answered, That he so "did: for now he spake truth.

Goes to the place of his burning.

"Then he was carried away; and a great number, that "did run to see him go so wickedly to his death, ran after "him, exhorting him, while time was, to remember him-"self. And one Friar John, a godly and well-learned man, "all the way travelled with him to reduce him. But it 389 "would not be. What they said in particular I cannot tell, "but the effect appeared in the end: for at the stake he "professed, that he died in all such opinions as he had "taught, and oft repented him of his recantation.

His talk and behaviour at the stake.

"Coming to the stake with a cheerful countenance and "willing mind, he put off his garments with haste, and "stood upright in his shirt: and a bachelor of divinity, "named Elye, of Brazen-nose College, laboured to convert "him to his former recantation, with the two Spanish friars. "But when the friars saw his constancy, they said in Latin "one to another, *Let us go from him; we ought not to be* "*nigh him: for the Devil is with him.* But the bachelor "in divinity was more earnest with him: unto whom he "answered, that, as concerning his recantation, he repented "it right sore, because he knew it was against the truth; "with other words more. Whereupon the Lord Williams "cried, Make short, make short. Then the Bishop took "certain of his friends by the hand. But the bachelor of "divinity refused to take him by the hand, and blamed all "others that so did, and said, he was sorry that ever he "came in his company. And yet again he required him "to agree to his former recantation. And the Bishop "answered, (shewing his hand,) This is the hand that "wrote it, and therefore shall it suffer first punishment.

He burneth his right hand.

"Fire being now put to him, he stretched out his right "hand, and thrust it into the flame, and held it there a good "space, before the fire came to any other part of his body; "where his hand was seen of every man sensibly burning, "crying with a loud voice, *This hand hath offended.* As "soon as the fire got up, he was very soon dead, never "stirring or crying all the while.

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" His patience in the torment, his courage in dying, if it " had been taken either for the glory of God, the wealth of " his country, or the testimony of truth, as it was for a " pernicious error, and subversion of true religion, I could " worthily have commended the example, and matched it " with the fame of any father of ancient time: but, seeing " that not the death, but the cause and quarrel thereof, " commendeth the sufferer, I cannot but much dispraise his " obstinate stubbornness and sturdiness in dying, and specially in so evil a cause. Surely his death much grieved " every man; but not after one sort. Some pitied to see his " body so tormented with the fire raging upon the silly " carcass, that counted not of the folly. Other, that passed " not much of the body, lamented to see him spill his soul, " wretchedly, without redemption, to be plagued for ever. " His friends sorrowed for love; his enemies for pity: " strangers for a common kind of humanity, whereby we " are bound one to another. Thus I have enforced myself, " for your sake, to discourse this heavy narration, contrary " to my mind: and, being more than half weary, I make a " short end, wishing you a quieter life, with less honour; " and easier death, with more praise. The 23d of March.

" Yours, J. A."

All this is the testimony of an adversary, and therefore 390 we must allow for some of his words; but may be the more certain of the Archbishop's brave courage, constancy, patience, christian and holy behaviour, being related by one so affected.

Two remarks upon his martyrdom.

In regard of this holy Prelate's life, taken away by martyrdom, I cannot but take notice here of two things, as though God had given him some intimation thereof long before it happened. The one is, that whereas his paternal coat of arms was three cranes, (alluding to his name,) King Henry appointed him to bear in the room thereof three pelicans, feeding their young with their own blood. The like coat of arms, or much resembling it, I find several of Queen Elizabeth's first bishops took; whether to imitate Cranmer, or to signify their zeal to the Gospel, and their readiness to suffer for it, I do not determine. The

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other remark I make is, what his friend Andreas Osiander, in an epistle to him in the year 1537, told him: which was, that he had *animum vel martyrio parem;* "a mind fit, or ready, for martyrdom." And so took occasion to exhort him at large to bear the afflictions that were to attend him: as though God had inspired that great German divine with a prophetick spirit, to acquaint this his faithful servant by what death he should glorify God, and what sufferings he must undergo for his sake. He urged him, "to contemn all dangers in asserting and preserving the "sincere doctrine of Christ, since, as St. Paul testified, "that *all that would live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer* "*persecution.* How much (said he) ought we to reckon that "you are to receive the various assaults of Satan, seeing "you are thus good for the good of many. But,

Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito.

"Yield not to these evils, but go on the more boldly. And, "seeing you must bear adversity, remember that we are "baptized into the death of Christ, and buried together "with him, that we may be once made partakers of his "resurrection and eternal happiness."

Who instigated the Queen to put him to death.

I do not find who were the Queen's great instigators, (now Winchester was dead,) stirring her up not to spare this Prelate, but by any means to put him to death, and that even after his subscription; nor for what reason of state this resolution was taken at court, notwithstanding his former good merits towards the Queen, who therefore certainly must have felt great strugglings before she could yield to have him die: but I am apt to suspect the Cardinal (who now governed the Queen) had no small hand in it, to shew his zeal for the papacy, and to revenge the injuries done it in King Henry's reign, as well as to succeed in his place. For his Latin letter to the Archbishop, mentioned above, savoured of a great deal of malice and mortal hatred towards him. In this letter, it appears, the Cardinal looked upon our Archbishop as a mere infidel and apostate from christianity, and so to be treated. For in the very beginning he makes it a matter of conscience to write to him, "It being in effect "as much as receiving him into his house: against which

"St. John gave a charge, speaking of christians turned "heathens, that *they should not be received into our houses,* "*nor bid God speed.* And therefore, he wrote, he was once "in his mind not to speak at all to him, but to God rather "concerning him, to send fire from heaven and consume "him. And asketh the question, [as though it could not be "reasonably gainsaid,] whether he should not do justly in "this imprecation upon him, who had before cast out the "King out of the house of God, that is, the church. He "meant, as he explained himself, casting him out, as Satan "cast out man from paradise; not by force, but by deceivable counsels. That him the Archbishop had followed, "and, by his impious advice, forced the King to disjoin "himself from the communion of the church, and his "country, together with himself; and wickedly betrayed "the church, the mother of us all; to the opposing whereof he gave Satan all advantages, to the destruction as well "of souls as bodies. That he was the worst of all others. "For they, being beset on all sides with divers temptations, "a great while resisted, and at last indeed gave way; but "he, the Archbishop, of his own free accord, walked in the "counsel of the ungodly; and not only so, but stood in it, "and in the way of sinners, and confirmed the King therein: "and moreover sat in the seat of the scornful. That, when "he came first to the episcopal chair, he was called to it to "cheat both God and man: and that he began his actions "with putting a cheat upon the King; and, together with "him, upon the church, and his country." This, and a great deal more to the same purpose, he tells the Archbishop plainly and expressly, though under a shew of great sanctity: which shews with what an implacable mind he stood affected towards him.

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No monument for him but his martyrdom.

And thus we have brought this excellent Prelate unto his end, after two years and an half's hard imprisonment. His body was not carried to the grave in state, nor buried, as many of his predecessors were, in his own cathedral church, nor enclosed in a monument of marble or touchstone. Nor had he any inscription to set forth his praises to posterity: no shrine to be visited by devout pilgrims, as his predecessors

St. Dunstane and St. Thomas had. Shall we therefore say, as the poet doth,

Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet, at Cato parvo,
Pompeius nullo. Quis putet esse deos?

No; we are better christians, I trust, than so, who are taught, that the rewards of God's elect are not temporal, but eternal. And Cranmer's martyrdom is his monument, and his name will outlast an epitaph or a shrine. But

His heart unconsumed.

methinks it is pity, that his heart, that remained sound in the fire, and was found unconsumed in his ashes, was not preserved in some urn: which, when the better times of Queen Elizabeth came, might, in memory of this truly great and good Thomas of Canterbury, have been placed among his predecessors in his church there, as one of the truest glories of that see.

The Bailiffs' expences about these three martyrs.

MSS. C. C. C. C.

Though these three martyrs, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were parted asunder, and placed in separate lodgings, that they might not confer together; yet they were suffered sometimes to eat together in the prison of Bocardo. I have 392 seen a book of their diet every dinner and supper, and the charge thereof: which was at the expense of Winkle and Wells, bailiffs of the city at that time; under whose custody they were. As for example in this method:

The first of October dinner.

Bread and ale	ii d.
Item, oisters	i d.
Item, butter	ii d.
Item, eggs	ii d.
Item, lyng	viii d.
Item, a piece of fresh salmon	x d.
Wine	iii d.
Cheese and pears	ii d.
	ii s. vi d.

From this book of their expenses give me leave to make these few observations. They ate constantly suppers as well as dinners. Their meals amounted to about three or four shillings; seldom exceeding four. Their bread and ale commonly came to two pence or three pence. They had constantly cheese and pears for their last dish, both at dinner and supper; and always wine; the price whereof was ever three pence, and no more. The prices of their provisions (it being now an extraordinary dear time) were as follow. A goose, 14d. A pig, 12 or 13d. A cony, 6d. A woodcock, 3d. and sometimes 5d. A couple of chickens, 6d. Three plovers, 10d. Half a dozen larks, 3d. A dozen of larks and two plovers, 10d. A breast of veal, 11d. A shoulder of mutton, 10d. Roast beef, 12d.

The last disbursements (which have melancholy in the reading) were these:

	s.	*d.*
For three loads of wood-fagots to burn Ridley and Latimer	12	0
Item, one load of furs-fagots	3	4
For the carriage of these four loads	2	0
Item, a post	1	4
Item, two chains	3	4
Item, two staples	0	6
Item, four labourers	2	8

Then follow the charges for burning Cranmer:

	s.	*d.*
For an 100 of wood-fagots	6	0
For an 100 and half of furs-fagots	3	4
For the carriage of them	0	8
To two labourers	1	4

The Bailiffs not repaid.

It seems the superiors in those days were more zealous to send these three good men to Oxon, and there to serve their ends upon them, and afterwards to burn them, than they were careful honestly to pay the charges thereof. For Winkle and Wells, notwithstanding all their endeavours to get themselves reimbursed of what they had laid out, which came to sixty-three pounds, ten shillings and two pence, could never get but twenty pounds: which they received 393
by the means of Sir William Petre, secretary of state. Insomuch that, in the year 1566, they put up a petition to

Archbishop Parker and the other bishops; that they would among themselves raise and repay that sum, which the said Bailiffs were out of purse in feeding of these three reverend fathers. In which petition they set forth, "That, in the "second and third years of King Philip and Queen Mary, "Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Latimer, and Bishop Ridley, "were by order of council committed to the custody of "them, and so continued a certain time; and for them they "disbursed the sum of 63l. 10s. 2d: whereof but 20l. "was paid to them. Therefore they pray his Grace, and "the rest of the bishops, to be a means among themselves "that the remaining sum may be paid to them, being 43l. "10s. 2d; or some part thereof: otherwise they, and "their poor wives and children, should be utterly undone." And, to give the better countenance to these men, that were going to carry up their petition, Laurence Humfrey, President of Magdalen College, and the Queen's professor, wrote this letter on their behalf to Archbishop Parker.

J E H.

Humfrey to Archbishop Parker in their behalf.

Exbiblioth. C. C. C. C.

"My humble commendations presupposed in the Lord. "To be a suitor in another man's case, it seemeth boldness; "and, in a matter of money, to write to your Grace, is more "than sauciness: yet charity, *operiens multitudinem peccatorum*, doth move me, and will persuade you to hear him. "A debt is due unto him for the table of Mr. Dr. Cranmer, "by the Queen's Majesties appointment. And Mr. Secretary "in Oxford wished him, at that time of business in progress, "to make some motion to the bishops for some relief. The "case is miserable. The debt is just. His charges in the "suit have been great. His honesty, I assure your Grace, "deserves pitiful consideration. And for that my Lord of "Sarum writeth to me, as here, in Oxford, he promised that "his part shall not be behind, what order soever it please my "lords to take for the dispatch of the same. I request "your Grace, as successor to that right reverend father, and "chief patron of such poor suitors, to make, by your good "means, some collection for him among the rest of my "lords the bishops; that his good will, shewed to that "worthy martyr, may of you be considered: and so he "bound to your goodness, of his part altogether undeserved. Thus recommending the common cause of reformation to you; and myself, and this poor man to your good remembrance, I leave to trouble you. Requesting you once again to hear him, and tender his cause even of charity for God his sake: to whose protection I commend your Grace. From Oxon, November 22, anno 1566.

"Your Grace's humble orator, Laur. Humfrey."

Though I cannot trace this any further, yet I make no doubt this petition was favourably received with the Archbishop and Bishops. It seems, in Cranmer's life-time, money 394 was sent to Oxford for the sustentation of these prisoners of Christ, but embezzled. For one W. Pantry of Oxford received forty pounds at Mr. Stonelye's hand for my Lord Cranmer, and the other two in like case. This was declared by the Bailiffs to Thomas Doyley, Esquire, steward to Archbishop Parker.

CHAP. XXII.

Cranmer's Books and Writings.

HAVING brought our history of this singular and extraordinary light of the church to this period, we will, before we take our leave of him, gather up some few fragments more: thinking it pity that any thing should be lost that may either serve to communicate any knowledge of him to posterity, or to clear and vindicate him from aspersions or misrepresentations, vulgarly conceived of him. And here will fall under our consideration, first, his books and writings; after them, his acquaintance with learned men, and his favour to them and learning: then, some matters relating to his family and officers: and, lastly, we shall conclude with some observations upon him.

His books and writings.

For the pen of this great divine was not idle, being employed, as earnestly as his authority and influence, for the furtherance of religion, and rescue of this church from popish superstition and foreign jurisdiction. He laid a solid foundation in learning by his long and serious studies in the university: to which he was much addicted. Insomuch that this was one of the causes which made him so labour, by the interest of his friends with King Henry, to be excused from taking the archbishoprick of Canterbury; because this promotion would so much interrupt his beloved studies: desiring rather some smaller living, that he might more quietly follow his book. And as he had been an hard student, so he was a very great writer; both in respect of the number of books and treatises he compiled, as of the learning, judgment, and moment of them.

His first book.

The first treatise he wrote was, that which was done at the command of Henry VIII. *viz.* concerning the unlawfulness of his marriage with his brother Arthur's widow: which he made appear to be both against the word of God, and against the judgment of the ancient Fathers of the church; and therefore a case indispensable by the Pope. And so well had he studied the point, and so well was assured of what he had wrote, that he undertook, before the King, to maintain the truth of it at Rome, in the presence of the Pope himself. The King accordingly dismissed him to the Pope, in joint embassy with the Earl of Wiltshire, and some others, for that purpose. He presented his book to the Pope, offering to stand by it against any whomsoever that should attempt to gainsay it. But the Pope thought not fit to suffer so tender a point to be disputed, wherein his perogative was so much touched. When he
395 had finished this discourse, it was sent to Cambridge, and had the approbation and subscription of the eminentest doctors there; *viz.* Salcot, Repps, Crome, and divers others. Among which, I suppose, were, Heines, Latimer, Shaxton, Skip, Goodrick, Hethe; who were then gremials.

Other of his writ-

After this book, he was much employed in writing more, at various times, and upon various occasions. Fox mentioneth Cranmer's book of the Reformation, (which I suppose was that of the public service,) the Catechism, the book of Homilies, which was part by him composed, and part by his procurement, and by him approved and published. Likewise the Confutation of eighty-eight Articles, devised and propounded by a convocation in King Henry's reign, and laboured to be received and enjoined, though they were not.

His book of the doctrine of the Sacrament.

But his discourse, wherein he stated the doctrine of the Sacrament in five books, must especially be remembered: which he wrote on purpose for the public instruction of the church of England. And it is the more to be valued, as being writ by him in his mature age, after all his great readings and studies, and most diligent and serious perusals of all the ecclesiastical writers; whereby he became thoroughly acquainted with their judgments and opinions in that doctrine. And in it are contained his last and ripest thoughts on that argument. This book displayeth the great weakness of that distinguishing doctrine of the church of Rome, that asserts transubstantiation.

Other writings mentioned by Bishop Burnet.

Besides these, many other writings and discourses were made by him: which we are beholden to the Bishop of Sarum for retrieving the memory of, and preserving the substance of divers of them in his excellent History; *viz.*

Hist. Ref. p. i. p. 174.

A learned Speech, made to the lords concerning the Pope and a general council: which that right reverend Author thinks was made about the year 1534, which was soon after his being made Archbishop.

Ubi supr. p. 364.

Some Queries in order to the correcting of several abuses in religion; whereby the people had been deceived.

Ibid.

Some Queries concerning Confirmation: with the answers which were given to them by Archbishop Cranmer.

Ibid.

Some Considerations to induce the King to proceed to a further reformation. These three last were presented by the Archbishop to the King, about the year 1536, as the Bishop of Sarum supposeth: and, having seen the originals thereof in the Cotton library, hath transcribed them to us in the Addenda to the Collections.

Ubi Supr. p. 289.

His Resolution of Seventeen Questions concerning the Sacraments, anno 1540.

Ubi Supr. p. 330.

A Collection of Passages out of the Canon Law, to shew the necessity of reforming it, anno 1542.

Pag. 171.

His letters to Osiander, and Letters of Osiander to him, concerning the proceedings of the German divines; whose violence the Archbishop disliked.

Hist. Ref. p. ii. p. 40.

A Speech made in the Convocation: wherein he exhorted the clergy to give themselves to the study of the 396 Scriptures, and to consider seriously what things in the church needed reformation, anno 1547.

Pag. 116.

His Answer to the demands of the rebels in the west; drawn up by him by order of the council, anno 1549.

Pag. 248.

His Declaration, to vindicate himself from an aspersion, That he had caused mass to be sung in Canterbury: and offering therein a public dispute to maintain the reformation, anno 1553.

Hist. Ref. part ii. p. 171.

Besides two volumes in folio, writ by Cranmer's own hand, upon all the heads of religion: consisting of allegations of texts of Scripture, and of ancient Fathers, and later doctors and schoolmen, upon each subject. There were also six or seven volumes of his writings, which were in the Lord Burleigh's possession; as appeared by a letter of the said Lord, which the Bishop of Sarum saw: but he thought these may now be lost. Most of the forementioned writings are preserved in the Cotton library, or in that of Corpus Christi, Cambridge; or among the manuscripts of the right reverend Bishop Stillingfleet.

Athen. Oxon. p. 578.

To which we must add the mention of a bundle of books lying in the pallace-treasury in Westminster, in defence of the King's title of Supreme Head, and concerning the divorce, and several other matters, against Cardinal Pole: which are supposed to be written partly by Dr. Clark, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and partly by our Archbishop.

More of his writings still.

Several other letters, speeches, and arguments of our Archbishop, may be found in these Memorials; which I omit here rehearsing. But I will add to these divers pieces besides of this Prelate's writing, as they are set down by Melchior Adam, at the end of Cranmer's life: who indeed did but transcribe them from Gesner; and he from John Bale's Centuries.

I. A Preface to the English translation of the Bible. This is transcribed in the Appendix.

II. A Catechism of Christian Doctrine; printed by Gualter

Lynn, anno 1548. This Catechism was first framed in Germany; and by the Archbishop himself, or his special order, turned into English. And, to fix an authority to the same, he caused it to be published in his own name, and owned it for his own book. This Dr. Rowland Taylor, who lived in the Archbishop's family, declared before Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, and Lord Chancellor, at his examination before him. And in this sense we must understand the Author of the History of the Reformation, when, speaking of this Catechism, he styles it, "a work that was "wholly his own." It was said before that Justus Jonas (he, I suppose, that dwelt with the Archbishop) was the translator of it into Latin. It treated of the sacrament after the Lutheran way: which way the Archbishop embraced next after his rejection of the gross papal transubstantiation. This Catechism was printed first, by the Archbishop's order, about the time of King Henry's death, or soon after. In a second edition the word *not* was inserted in a certain place of the book, to alter the doctrine of the real presence; which was asserted in the first edition. This Dr. Martin, one of Queen Mary's commissioners, threw in his dish at his examination in Oxford. But the Archbishop professed his ignorance concerning the foisting of that word. The 397 addition of which word, indeed, he thought was needless; still holding the body and blood *truly* present in the holy supper, though after a spiritual manner.

See Dr. Taylor's letter in Fox.

Hist. Ref. part ii. p. 71.

III. The Ordinances or Appointments of the reformed Church. This was the book of Common Prayer, with the preface before it, beginning, "There was never any thing," &c. as I learn out of Bale.

IV. One book of ordaining Ministers. Which I suppose was the form of ordination published in the year 1550.

V. One book concerning the Eucharist with Luther: with whom Cranmer once consented in the doctrine of the presence.

VI. A Defence of the Catholick Doctrine, in five books. Which was his excellent work, in vindication of himself against Bishop Gardiner, and Dr. Richard Smith: whereof much hath been said before.

VII. Ecclesiastical Laws in the time of King Edward.

This was the book of the reformation of the ecclesiastical laws; the management of which was, by the King's letters, committed to eight, whereof Cranmer was the chief.

VIII. The Doctrine of the Lord's Supper; against Gardiner's sermon. This sermon is the same, I suppose, with that book of his, intituled, *A Detection of the Devil's Sophistry, wherewith he robbeth the unlearned People of the true Belief of the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar.* Which gave occasion to the Archbishop's first writing upon this argument.

IX. One book against the error of Transubstantiation.

X. One book, how Christ is present in the Supper.

XI. One book, concerning eating the Lord's Supper.

XII. One book, concerning the offering up of Christ. These five books last mentioned are nothing else but the five parts of his book of the holy Sacrament, mentioned before.

XIII. One book of Christian Homilies. Which must be the first part of our book of Homilies, published under King Edward.

XIV. One book in answer to the calumnies of Richard Smith. For this man had writ against Cranmer's book of the Sacrament, as well as Gardiner; but done so scurrilously, that Cranmer calls it, his *Calumnies.*

XV. Confutations of Unwritten Verities. Written against a book of the same Smith, intituled, *De Veritatibus non scriptis.* Which he afterwards recanted.

XVI. Twelve books of Common-places, taken out of the doctors. Those volumes mentioned by Bishop Burnet, I suppose, were some of these common-place books.

XVII. Concerning not marrying the Brother's Wife: two books. Which must be those drawn up for the use, and by the command, of King Henry.

XVIII. Against the Pope's supremacy: two books. This was the declaration against the papal supremacy, said to be put forth by the bishops, in the year 1536, upon occasion of Pole's book of *Ecclesiastical Union.*

XIX. Against the Pope's Purgatory: two books.

389 XX. Concerning Justification: two books. I cannot trace these two last-mentioned books, unless by them be

meant those two treatises of justification and purgatory, that are set at the end of the Institution.

XXI. Pious Prayers: one book. This book, I suppose, was the *Orarium, seu libellus precationum,* put forth by the King and clergy, 1545. From whence a book of prayers was translated into English, anno 1552.

XXII. Letters to learned Men: one book. This I cannot hear any tidings of.

XXIII. Against the Sacrifice of the Mass, and against the Adoration of the Bread: one book. Said to be writ while he was a prisoner. Which makes me conclude it to be part of his reply to Gardiner's second assault of him, under the name of *Constantius.*

XXIV. To Queen Mary: one book, or rather one letter; which was that he writ after his examinations before her commissioners, and the Pope's sub-delegate.

If somebody of leisure, and that had the opportunity of libraries, would take the pains to collect together all these books, and other writings of this Archbishop, and publish them, it would be a worthy work, as both retrieving the memory of this extraordinary man, who deserved so well of this church; and serving also much to illustrate the history of its reformation. But I know nothing of this nature done since the industrious John Day, in the year 1580, printed a book in folio, containing our Archbishop's *Answer unto Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, against the true Doctrine of the Sacrament: Also, to Richard Smith. Also, A true Copy of the Book writ by Stephen Gardiner. Also, The Life and Martyrdom of Cranmer, extracted out of the Book of Martyrs.*

Archbishop Parker was in pursuit of certain MSS. of Cranmer, concealed.

And now we are mentioning this great Prelate's writings, it may not be unworthy to take notice of what I meet with in a letter of Archbishop Parker to Secretary Cecyl, in the year 1563, his Grace being then at Canterbury. Where he spake of the *great notable written books* (as he styles them) of his predecessor Dr. Cranmer, which he had left behind him at some of his houses at or near Canterbury, whether Ford or Bekesborn, or both, or with some friends in those parts. These manuscripts, it seems, were embezzled and surreptitiously taken away by private hands, probably

during his restraint in Queen Mary's days, and now studiously concealed by some that were minded, it may be, to stifle them, being chiefly levelled against the Roman church and Bishop. Parker, who was a great and painful searcher after ancient and learned manuscripts, and a diligent retriever of eminent men's writings, had, by credible information, learned in what hands many of those books were; and had sent either for the persons concerned, or to them, to demand the said books. But they denied them: whereupon, knowing no other way to recover them, he desired the Secretary, by some power from the Queen's council, to authorize him to inquire and search for those books, and such-like monuments, by all ways, as by the said Parker's discretion should be thought good; whether giving the parties an oath, or viewing their studies. Wishing he
399 might recover them to be afterwards at the Queen's commandment: adding, that he should be as glad to win them, as he would be to restore an old chancel to reparation. This letter of Archbishop Parker I have inserted in the
Num. XC. Appendix. But whether, after all his diligence, he succeeded in the recovery of those manuscripts, I know not: I am apt to think he did; and that these writings of Cranmer, that were in his possession, and afterwards bequeathed unto the library of Benet College; and those other divers volumes, which were, as was before said, in the keeping of the Lord Burghley, might be some at least of them.

What the subject of his numerous writings were.

An inquisitive man would be glad to know what the matter and contents of these numerous writings of our Archbishop were: and that, seeing so many of them are perished, the knowledge of the various subjects of them at least might be preserved. This, besides what hath been shewn already, may be gathered by what I find in a supplication made to Queen Elizabeth by Ralph Morice, that had been his secretary for the space of twenty years: during which time he was employed by that most reverend father, in writing for him, "about the serious affairs of the "Prince and realm, committed unto him by those most "noble and worthy Princes, King Henry VIII. and King "Edward VI. concerning as well the writings of those "great and weighty matrimonial causes of the said King

"Henry VIII. as also about the extirpation of the Bishop "of Rome, his usurped power and authority, the reformation of corrupt religion and ecclesiastical laws, and alteration of divine service; and of divers and sundry conferences of learned men for the establishing and advancement of sincere religion, with such like. Wherein, he said, "he was most painfully occupied in writing of no small "volumes from time to time."

CHAP. XXIII.

The Archbishop's Regard to learned Men.

FROM these truly noble and useful exercises of his great knowledge and learning, let us descend unto the respect he bare to good letters: which appeared from his favour to places of learning, and men of learning. We shewed before what were the applications of the University of Cambridge to him, and what a gracious patron he was to it and its members.

Paulus Fagius and Martin Bucer placed at Cambridge by his means.

Among whose good offices to that University, besides those already mentioned, it must not be omitted, that he was the great instrument of placing there those two very learned foreign divines, Paulus Fagius, and Martin Bucer. By his frequent letters to them, then at Strasburg, urging them with the distracted and dangerous state of Germany, he first brought them over into England in the year 1548: and, having entertained them in his family, the next year he preferred them both in Cambridge; Fagius to be public professor of the Hebrew tongue, and Bucer of divinity.

Procures them honorary stipends from the King.

And, beside the University-salary, he procured for each of them from the King, in the third year of his reign, patents for an honorary stipend of an hundred pounds per annum each, *de gratia speciali Domini Regis*, to be paid by the hands of the Clerk of the Hanaper, or out of the treasury of 400 the Court of Augmentations, *durante beneplacito Domini Regis:* as I find by King Edward the Sixth's book of sales, formerly mentioned. Which patents bare date September 26, anno 1549, and their salaries payable from the feast of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin. By the way, I do not see any where in the said book of sales that Peter Martyr, placed professor of divinity in the other University of Oxon, enjoyed any such royal salary, though he also had been invited over by Canterbury with the King's knowledge and allowance, and placed there by that Archbishop's means.

Allowances to P. Martyr and Ochin.

Yet he, and his companion Ochinus, had their annual allowances from the King; and so, I suppose, had all other learned foreigners here. Melancthon also, who was now expected over, was intended some more extraordinary gratuity. Unto this noble christian hospitality and liberality, Latimer, the great court preacher, excited the King in one of his sermons before him. The passage may deserve to be repeated: "I hear say Master Melancthon, that great "clerk, should come hither. I would wish him, and such "as he is, two hundred pounds a year: the King should "never want it in his coffers at the year's end. There "is yet among us two great learned men, Petrus Mar-"tyr, and Bernard Ochin, which have an hundred mark "a piece. I would the King would bestow a thou-"sand pounds on that sort." These matters, I doubt not, were concerted between Latimer and our Archbishop before; at whose palace he now was for the most part: as I find by one of his sermons, wherein he speaks of his taking boat at Lambeth; and, in another place, he mentioneth a book he met with in my Lord of Canterbury's library, and elsewhere of many suitors that applied to him at my Lord of Canterbury's, that interrupted his studies there. The use I make of this is, that it is a fair conjecture hence, that this, and the many other excellent things so plainly propounded by this preacher to King Edward, happened by the counsel and suggestion of the Archbishop. But to return.

The third sermon.

Dr. Mowse, Master of Trinity Hall, favoured by Cranmer.

There was one Dr. William Mowse, a civilian, and probably one of his officers, whom, for his merits and learning, our Archbishop for many a year had been a special benefactor to. Sir John Cheke also bare him a very good will.

Upon the removal of Dr. Haddon to some other preferment, this Dr. Mowse succeeded Master of Trinity Hall in Cambridge. And, in the year 1552, the Archbishop, valuing his worth and integrity, was a suitor at court for some further preferment for him, whatever it were, which the study of the civil law had qualified him for: writing his letters on Mowse's behalf to Secretary Cecyl, who was then with the King in his progress, not to forget him. And accordingly he was remembered, and obtained the place: for which the Archbishop afterwards gave him his most hearty thanks. And Dr. Mowse also sent the same Secretary a letter of thanks from Cambridge for the preferment he had obtained by his means: the main drift thereof was, to excuse himself for his neglect, in that he had not sooner paid his acknowledgments. Which, as it seems, the Secretary had taken some notice of, having expected to be thanked for the kind- **401** ness he had done him. This letter, because there is therein mention made of our Archbishop's singular munificence, and Cheke's affection towards him, and Mowse himself once making a figure in that University, I have thought it not amiss to insert in the Appendix: though this man seemed **No. XCI.** to be none of the steadiest in his religion. For I find him put out of his Mastership of Trinity Hall, in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, for having been a Protestant, and to make way for the restoration of Dr. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who had been outed before. Upon whose death that Mastership falling void, and Mowse having complied with the Romish religion, he became Master there again. And soon after, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, he was deprived by her commissioners for being a Papist, and one Harvey came in his room.

His inconstancy. Dr. Mowse's fickleness appeared, that, upon the first tidings that fled to Cambridge of Queen Mary's success against the Lady Jane's party, he, with several other temporizing university-men, changed his religion, and, in four and twenty hours, was both Protestant and Papist. The truth is, his judgment varied according to his worldly interest: and, being one of those that came about so roundly, he was appointed, by the complying party of the University, to be one of the two (Dr. Hatcher being the other) that should repair unto Dr. Sands, then the Vicechancellor, to demand of him, without any colour of reason or authority, the university-books, the keys, and such other things as were in his keeping. And so they did. And my author makes an observation of his ingratitude, as well as of his inconstancy; *viz.* "That he that was an earnest Protestant "but the day before, and one whom Dr. Sands had done "much good for, was now become a Papist, and his great "enemy."

And ingratitude.

Fox.

Thus was our Archbishop a friend to this man, and divers others, who went along with him as far as he and the times favoured them: but, when these failed them, they failed the Archbishop through timorousness in some, and worldly respects in others.

Becomes Reader of the civil law at Oxon.

Ath. Oxon.

But once more of this Dr. Mowse, and I have done with him. As a reward of his forwardness at Cambridge, before mentioned, I find he was soon after incorporated at Oxon, (together with Andrew Pern, D. D. a man of the same inconstancy,) and preferred to be Reader of the civil law there, in the room of Dr. Aubrey, who probably was removed for incompliance. And, when the next change happened under Queen Elizabeth, Mowse came about again; and, in the year 1560, obtained a prebend in the church of York. He lived till the year 1588, leaving some benefactions to his old college.

The Archbishop a patron to learned foreigners.

The Archbishop was indeed a great patron to all learned and pious men, especially those of the reformation: cherishing those not only of his own country, but foreigners and strangers also. And as he brought over divers with him, when he returned into England from his embassy in Germany, so he sent for more: and such as came to him he gave honourable harbour and maintenance to; keeping them at his own cost, till he had made provisions for them either in the church, or university.

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To Erasmus, allowing him an honorary pension.

For Erasmus our Archbishop had a great value; whose worth and service to the church he well knew. He allowed him an honorary pension: promising him, that he would be no less kind unto him than his predecessor Warham had been before him: which Archbishop was one of Erasmus his best and most extraordinary friends and benefactors.

Of whom he used these words to a friend of his, *Qui mihi unus multorum instar erat.* Soon after the succession of Cranmer into this Archbishop's room, Sir Thomas More wrote to Erasmus, that he, that then filled the see of Canterbury, bore no less love to him than Warham had done before; and, *Quo non alius vixit tui amantior*, "that there "was no man living loved him better." And Erasmus himself, mentioning his great loss in Archbishop Warham, and divers other patrons of his, that were taken off by death, comforted himself that God had made up those losses to him by raising him up other friends. "So (saith he) in the room "of Warham succeeded the reverend Thomas Cranmer, "(*professione theologus, vir integerrimus, candidissimisque* "*moribus. Qui ultro pollicitus est sese in studio ac bene*"*ficentia erga me, priori nequaquam cessurum: et quod* "*sponte pollicitus est, sponte præstare cœpit: ut mihi Vuara*"*mus non ereptus, sed in Cranmero renatus videri queat.*) "By profession a divine, a person of the greatest integrity, "and most unblameable behaviour. Who of his own accord "promised, that, in favour and kindness toward me, he would "be no ways behind his predecessor. And that which he "voluntarily promised, he hath voluntarily begun to make "good. So that, methinks, Warham is not taken away from "me, but rather born again to me in Cranmer." One specimen of his munificence towards this learned man I meet with in one of his letters, wherein he acknowledged to have received of Cranmer eighteen angels: when the Bishop of Lincoln sent him also fifteen, and the Lord Crumwel twenty.

Eras. Ep. 10. lib. 27.

Ep. 7. lib. 27.

Alexander Aless was another learned stranger whom our Archbishop gave harbour and shewed favour to: a Scotchman by birth, but that had long lived and conversed with Melancthon in Germany. Who, knowing the generous and hospitable disposition of the Archbishop, recommended this Aless to him: giving a high character of him for his learning, probity, and diligence in every good office. In the year 1535, he brought over from Melancthon a book, to be presented to the Archbishop: wherein "that learned German "laboured (as he told the Archbishop in his letter, sent at "the same time) to state diligently and profitably most of "the controversies, and, as much as he could, to mitigate

To Alexander Aless, a Scotchman.

By him Melancthon sends a book to the Archbishop.

"them: leaving the judgment of the whole unto his "Grace, and such learned and pious men as he, from whose "judgment (he said) he would never differ in the church "of Christ: desiring him also to acquaint Aless what his "Grace's own judgment was of the book, that Aless might "signify the same unto him." Such was the deference Melancthon gave unto the learning and censure of Cranmer. This book I should suppose to have been his Commonplaces, but that they came out a year after. By the same messenger he sent another of these books to be presented in his name to the King; and, in case the Archbishop approved of what he had wrote, he entreated him to introduce the bringer, and to assist him in the presenting of it. 403 Upon these recommendations of Aless, and the Archbishop's own satisfaction in the worth of the man, he retained him with him at Lambeth, and much esteemed him. This was that Aless that Crumwel, probably by Cranmer's means, brought with him to the convocation in the year 1536, whom he desired to deliver there his opinion about the sacrament. Who did so, and enlarged in a discourse, asserting two sacraments only instituted by Christ; namely, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper: as the author of the British Antiquities relates, *ad ann.* 1537, calling him there *virum in theologia perductum*, "a thoroughpaced divine."

And to the King.

Aless brought by Crumwel into the convocation:

where he asserts two sacraments only.

This man compiled a useful treatise against the schism laid to the charge of Protestants by those of the church of Rome: the substance and arguments of which book were Melancthon's own invention, but Aless composed and brought it into method and words. This book Melancthon sent unto George Prince of Anhalt. The consolations of which, as he wrote to that noble and religious man, he was wont to inculcate upon himself, against those who objected commonly to them "the horrible crime of schism," as he styles it: "for (saith he) their monstrous cruelty is "sufficient to excuse us." Which, it seems, was one of the arguments whereby they defended themselves against that charge: esteeming it lawful and necessary to leave the communion of a church which countenanced and practised cruelty, a thing so contrary to one of the great and fundamental laws of christian religion, namely, that of

Writes a book to clear Protestants of the charge of schism.

Atrox schismatis crimen. Ep. 36. lib. 1. *Satis excusat nos istorum horribilis crudelitas, quam profecto neque adjuvare neque approbare debemus.* Ubi supra.

love; and that their abiding in a church where such bloody and barbarous practices were, would argue their approbation and concurrence.

And as Melancthon made use of him in composing his thoughts into a handsome style, so did another great light of the same nation; I mean Bucer. In King Edward's days he had wrote a book in the German, that is, in his own country language, about ordination to the ministry in this kingdom of England, intituled, *Ordinatio Ecclesiæ, seu Ministerii Ecclesiastici in florentissimo Angliæ regno.* This our Aless turned into Latin, and published, "for the consolation "of the churches every where in those sad times," as it ran in the title.

Translated a book of Bucer's about the English ministry.

If any desire to look backward unto the more early times of this man, the first tidings we have of him was about the year 1534, when, upon a sharp persecution raised in Scotland, he, with other learned men, fled thence into England, and was received into Crumwel's family. And it is said that he became known to, and grew into such favour with, King Henry, that he called him *his scholar*. But, after Crumwel's death, in the year 1540, he, taking one Fife with him, went into Saxony: where both of them were, for their great learning, made professors in the university of Leipzig.

Received into Crumwel's family.

Hist. Ref. p. i. p. 308.

In the year 1557. I find this man at Leipzig, where he was professor of divinity, as was said before. Hither this year Melancthon sent to him from Wormes, giving him some account of the preparations that were making by the Roman catholic party, in order to a conference with the Protestants: at which the said Aless was to be present, and make one of the disputants on the Protestant side. And, ten years before this, *viz.* 1547, he was the public moderator of divinity, both in the schools and pulpits of Leipzig, or some other university. 404

Aless professor of divinity at Leipzig.

Mel. Ep. p. 359. edit. 1647.

Cum et in templis, et in scholis doctrinam gubernes. Mel. Ep. 111. lib. 3.

Besides this Aless, there were four other pious and learned persons, foreigners, who, bringing along with them letters of recommendation from the said Melancthon, were courteously received, and freely entertained by our hospitable Archbishop, all of them, in the year 1548, at which time the persecution grew hot upon the Interim. One of these was Gualter, another Scot by nation. A second was

Four others recommended by Melancthon to the

Archbishop: viz. Gualter, Dryander.

one named Francis Dryander, an acquaintance of Melancthon's of long continuance. "Whom, as he told the "Archbishop, he had tried and known inwardly, and found "him endowed with excellent parts, well furnished with "learning; that he judged rightly of the controversies, "altogether free from all wild and seditious opinions; and "that he would soon perceive the singular gravity of his "manners, after some few days knowledge of him: motioning withal to the Archbishop his fitness to be preferred "in either of our universities. As he did also to King "Edward, in letters brought at this time to him by the "said Dryander:" wherein he recommended him to that King, as one that would prove a very useful person, either in his universities, or elsewhere in his kingdom. Ep. 7. lib. 3.

Dryander placed at Oxon.

This recommendation had so much force, that this man seemed soon after to be sent and placed at Oxon, and there remained, till, in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, when all strangers were commanded to depart the realm, he went hence to Paris, and from thence to Antwerp. Whence he wrote a letter to one Crispin, a doctor of physic in Oxon; therein relating to him a passage concerning the coarse entertainment which the divines of Lovain gave Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, upon the scandal they took against him for his book *De vera Obedientia*. Which letter is extant in Fox. Ad. ann. 1555.

Eusebius Menius.

The third was Eusebius Menius, the son of Justus Menius. Which Justus was a person of great fame and esteem, both for his learning in philosophy and divinity, and for the government of the churches within the territories of John Frederick, Duke of Saxony. Of this Eusebius his son Melancthon writ to our Archbishop, "that he had good "preferments in Germany, but he could not bear to "behold the calamities of his poor country, which made "him seek for a being in foreign parts. He recommended "him to his Grace, desiring him to cherish him." Adding, "that, in the Gothic times, what remained of the church, "and of right doctrines, were preserved in our island; and "that Europe being now in a combustion, it were to be "wished that some peaceable harbour might be for learning. "He doubted not but that many flocked hither; but that Mel. Ep. 66. lib. 1.

" it was the part of piety and goodness especially to help " the youth of excellent men, and the sons of such as had " well deserved of the church; especially when they themselves also were eminent for their parts and learning. " And since this Eusebius was a good mathematician, and " had read mathematicks in one of their schools, he propounded him to the Archbishop to be a fit person for the " profession of that science in our university."

Justus Jonas. 405

The fourth was Justus Jonas, the son also of a great German divine of the same name, and who was one of the four that, in the year 1530, came to Augsburgh, upon a diet appointed by the Emperor for religion, with the Elector of Saxony; Melancthon, Agricola, and Georgius Spalatinus, being the other three. The son came over with letters commendatory from Melancthon, as the others did. He commended his excellent parts, and his progress in all kind of philosophy and good manners, and especially his eloquence; which, he said, he had a nature divinely framed to. To which it may not be amiss to subjoin what Melancthon somewhere else did observe of his family: namely, " that his grandfather was a person of fame for " oratory and civil prudence; his father endowed with such " parts as naturally made him an orator, in respect of his " fluency of words, and gracefulness of delivery." And this felicity of nature he improved by a great accession of learning: which made him tell our Justus, that he was born in *oratoria familia*. And such care did he take of him when he was young, that he took the pains to write him a long letter, containing instructions for his improvement in the grounds of learning. This man the Archbishop was very kind to, gave him harbour, and admitted him freely into his society and converse: insomuch that Justus Jonas the father entreated Melancthon, that he would take particular notice to the Archbishop of his great favour shewed to his son. Among the discourses the communicative Prelate held with Jonas while he was with him, one happened concerning a noted question in divinity: where, launching out into free communication with him upon that point, he desired him to impart to Melancthon the substance of what he had discoursed; and that he should signify to him, that

Sleid. lib. 7.

Ep. 129. lib. 1.

BOOK III. the Archbishop requested his judgment thereof. Which accordingly Jonas did. And Melancthon, in a letter to the Archbishop, styles it *non obscura quæstio*, "and that it had "already much shaken the church, and, (says he,) *concutiet* "*durius*, shall shake it yet more:" giving his reason for this conjecture, "because those governors [meaning, I "suppose, the Papal clergy] did not seek for a true "remedy to so great a matter." It doth not appear to me what this question was that the Archbishop was so earnest to confer with this great divine about; whether it were concerning the necessity of episcopal government and ordination, or concerning the use of ceremonies in the church, or about the doctrine of the sacrament; this last I am apt to believe: but either of them hath, according to Melancthon's prediction, sufficiently shaken the churches of Christ. But to return to Jonas. He had written some pieces, and presented them to the King; for which he intended to reward him. And, being now ready to go to France for the improvement of his knowledge, and so, after a time, to return into England again, for which he had a great affection, he besought Secretary Cecyl, in a well-penned letter, "that whatsoever "the King intended to bestow on him, he would do it out "of hand, for the supply of his travelling necessity." This letter, for the antiquity of it, and the fame of the man, No. XCII. I have inserted in the Appendix. In which is also contained an extract of part of Jonas the father's letter to his son concerning the miseries of Germany.

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CHAP. XXIV.

Melancthon and the Archbishop great Friends.

Divers memorable passages between Melancthon and our Archbishop.

THESE occasions of the frequent mention of Melancthon do draw us into a relation of some further passages between him and our Archbishop. In the year 1549. happened several disputations, chiefly concerning the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, before the King's commissioners in both universities. In Oxford they were managed chiefly by Peter Martyr: and in Cambridge, Ridley, then Bishop of Rochester, and a commissioner, was the chief moderator. Soon after, Martin Bucer, in this university, defended three points: one, of the *Sufficiency of the Scripture;* another, concerning the *Erring of Churches;* and the last, concerning *Works done before Justification;* against Pern, Sedgwick, and Yong. They on the popish side pretended much, in their disputations, to have antiquity and the Fathers for them.

Sends Melancthon certain public disputations in Oxford and Cambridge.

These disputations did our most reverend Prelate, together with his own letter, convey to Melancthon by the hand of one Germanicus, a German: who probably might be one of those learned strangers that the Archbishop hospitably entertained.

Melancthon's reflections thereupon. Ep. 41. lib. 3.

The reflection that that divine, in an answer to his Grace in the year 1550, made upon perusal of these papers, was, "That he was grieved to see that those who sought so "much for the ancient authorities would not acknowledge "the clearness of them. Nor was there any doubt what "the sounder men in the ancient church thought. But "that there were new and spurious opinions foisted into "many of their books: into that of Theophylact most "certainly for one. And that there was some such passage "in the copy that Œcolampadius made use of, when he "translated Theophylact, which he liked not of, but yet "translated it as he found it: but this was wholly wanting "in the copy that Melancthon had. That the same hap-"pened in Bede's books, which he supposed might be found "more incorrupt among us," [Bede being our countryman.]

Sends the Archbishop his Enarration upon the Nicene Creed.

The same Melancthon, with this his letter, sent our Archbishop a part of his Enarration upon the Nicene Creed; for this end, that he might pass his judgment thereon: as he also did, for the same purpose, to A Lasco, Bucer, and Peter Martyr; all then in England.

The beginning of their acquaintance.

The beginning of this learned German's acquaintance with our Prelate was very early. For the Archbishop's fame soon spread abroad in the world, beyond the English territories: which was the cause of that address of Melancthon, mentioned before in the year 1535, and in the month of August, when he sent a letter and a book to him by Alexander Aless. In the letter he signified what a high character both for learning and piety he had heard given of him by many honest and worthy men; and "that, if the "church had but some more such bishops, it would be no "difficult matter to have it healed, and the world restored "to peace: congratulating Britain such a Bishop." And this seems to have been the first entrance into their acquaintance and correspondence.

407 In the year 1548, Cranmer propounded a great and weighty business to Melancthon; and a matter that was likely to prove highly useful to all the churches of the evangelic profession. It was this. The Archbishop was now driving on a design for the better uniting of all the Protestant churches; *viz.* by having one common confession and harmony of faith and doctrine, drawn up out of the pure Word of God, which they might all own and agree in. He had observed what differences there arose among Protestants in the doctrine of the sacrament, in the divine decrees, in the government of the church, and some other things. These disagreements had rendered the professors of the Gospel contemptible to those of the Roman communion: which caused no small grief to the heart of this good man, nearly touched for the honour of Christ his master, and his true church, which suffered hereby. And, like a person of a truly public and large spirit, as his function was, seriously debated and deliberated with himself for the remedying this evil. This made him judge it very advisable to procure such a confession. And in order to this he thought it necessary for the chief and most learned divines of the several churches to meet together, and with all freedom and friendliness to debate the points of controversy according to the rule of Scripture. And, after mature deliberation, by agreement of all parties, to draw up a book of articles, and heads of christian faith and practice: which should serve for the standing doctrine of Protestants.

The Archbishop propounds a weighty matter to Melancthon for the union of all Protestant churches.

As for the place of this assembly, he thought England the fittest in respect of safety, as the affairs of Christendom then stood: and, communicating this his purpose to the King, that religious Prince was very ready to grant his allowance and protection. And as Helvetia, France, and Germany, were the chief countries abroad where the Gospel was professed, so he sent his letters to the most eminent ministers of

The diligence of the Archbishop in forwarding this design.

each, namely, to Bullinger, Calvin, and Melancthon, disclosing this his pious design to them, and requiring their counsel and furtherance. Melancthon first of all came acquainted with it by Justus Jonas, junior, to whom the Archbishop had related the matter at large, and desired him to signify as much in a letter to the said Melancthon; and that it was his request to him, to communicate his judgment thereupon. This Jonas did, and Melancthon accordingly writ to our Archbishop on the calends of May this year to this purpose: "That if his judgment and opinion were required, he should be willing both to hear the sense of " other learned men, and to speak his own, and to give his " reasons, τὰ μὲν πείθων, τάδε πειθόμενος, *persuading and being* " *persuaded*, as ought to be in a conference of good men: " letting truth, and the glory of God, and the safety of the " church, not any private affection, ever carry away the " victory." Telling him withal, "that the more he considered of this his deliberation, than which he thought there " could be nothing set on foot more weighty and necessary, " the more he wished and pressed him to publish such a true " and clear confession of the whole body of christian doctrine, according to the judgment of learned men; whose " names should be subscribed thereto: that among all nations there might be extant an illustrious testimony of 408 " doctrine, delivered by grave authority; and that posterity " might have a rule to follow." And he was of opinion, that this confession should be much of the nature of their confession of Augsburgh: only that some few points in controversy might be in plainer words delivered than was in that. "That ambiguities might not hereafter occasion new " differences. And that in the church it was best to call a " spade a spade: and not to cast ambiguous words before " posterity, as an apple of contention. And that if in Germany there had been an entire consent of all the churches, " they had not fallen into those miseries." And so concludes, earnestly exhorting our Prelate to apply himself vigorously in these his pious cares and thoughts for the good estate of the churches.

Ep. 66. lib. i.
Melancthon's judgment and approbation thereof.

His caveat of avoiding ambiguous expressions.

In Ecclesiâ rectius est scapham, scapham dicere.

Not long after he pursued his first letter with a second. Wherein he again reminded our reverend father of that

Renews the same caution in another letter.

caution; *viz.* "That nothing might be left under general "terms, but expressed with all the perspicuity and distinctness imaginable." Which, I suppose, he said, to meet with the opinion of some, who thought it might be more convenient, in order to peace, to suffer some difficult and controverted points to pass under dubious expressions, or in the very words of Scripture, without any particular decisive sense and explanation imposed on them. And concerning this it is probable our Archbishop had desired his opinion. This Melancthon was against; saying, "that, for his part, he "loved not labyrinths; and that therefore all his study was, "that whatsoever matters he undertook to treat of, they "might appear plain and unfolded. That it was indeed the "practice of the council of Trent; which therefore made "such crafty decrees, that so they might defend their errors "by things ambiguously spoken. But that this sophistry "ought to be far from the church. That there is no "absurdity in truth rightly propounded: and that this "goodness and perspicuity of things is greatly inviting, "wheresoever there be good minds."

Peter Martyr of this judgment. *Quod vir bonus sibi persuasisset posse hac ratione tolli gravem, quæ est de hac causa, controversiam, et ita Ecclesiæ pacem diu desideratam restitui.* In Vit. P. Mart. per Josiam Simlerum.

And of this very judgment was Peter Martyr, another great divine. For when Bucer, in a discourse with him at Strasburgh, had advised him, when he spake of the Eucharist, to use more dark and ambiguous forms of speech, that might be taken in a larger acceptation, urging to him, that this was the course he himself took, and "that a certain good "man" [whom I suspect strongly to be our Archbishop] "had "persuaded him, that by this means the great controversy "concerning the real presence in the sacrament might be "at an end, and so peace, so long wanted, might be restored to the church:" Martyr was over-persuaded by his friend so to do, and used for some time the same form of speech with him, when he had occasion to discourse of that doctrine. But afterward he returned to his former more dilucid style, as well in the matter of the real presence, as in all other subjects he treated of. And that both because he saw this would not suffice them, who held a gross and carnal presence of Christ's body, unless their gross manner of expression were received, and their as gross interpretation too; and because he found that many weaker brethren were

409 greatly offended with these ambiguities of speech, and so entangled and confounded, that they scarce knew what to think in this point. And so, leaving Bucer to pursue his obscurer phrases, he chose to speak more clearly and distinctly. And neither did Bucer disallow of Martyr in this course, or was Martyr ignorant of Bucer's true sense, however doubtful his expressions were: as the author of his life tells us. This I mention to shew, how exactly Martyr accorded with Melancthon in this opinion, of expressing things in clear and perspicuous terms; which the said Melancthon thought it highly necessary now to be inculcated, when deliberation was had of drawing up a general confession of faith. After he had thus declared his mind in this matter, he particularly descended to the doctrine of fate; telling the Archbishop, how "the Stoical disputes of that subject among "them in the beginning were too rough, and horrid, and "such as were prejudicial to discipline." Which, I suppose, might be occasioned from some passage in the Archbishop's letter, advising with this learned man how to propound the doctrines of predestination and free-will.

Josias Simler.

What Melancthon thought of the doctrine of fate.

CHAP. XXV.

The Archbishop corresponds with Calvin.

THESE his counsels he brake also to John Calvin, the chief guide of the French churches: who also highly approved of his pious proposition. The Archbishop, in a letter to that great reformer, had been lamenting the differences that were in the reformed churches; having his eye, I suppose, herein upon those of Geneva and Germany; and, like a true father of the church, consulting for the making up of the breaches, he thought no fitter remedy could be used, than for pious and wise men, and such as were well exercised in God's school, to meet together and profess their consents in the doctrine of godliness. This Calvin acknowledged was rightly and prudently advised by him: applauding him that he did not only lead the way in purging the

Calv. Ep. 126.

The Archbishop breaks his purpose also to Calvin.

Calvin's approbation thereof, and commendation of the Archbishop.

doctrine of God's church from corruption, but did so voluntarily exhort and encourage others therein. And that he did not only take care of religion at home in his own country, but all the world over. And as to the meeting and converse of divines for this purpose, which Cranmer had told him he had made the King so sensible of the need and usefulness of, that he was forward in it, and had offered a place in his kingdom for them securely to assemble together in; that French divine wished, "that learned and wise men " from the chief churches would accordingly meet, and, " diligently discussing the chief heads of faith, would by " common consent deliver to posterity the certain doctrine " of the Scripture. But that, among the great evils of that " age, this also was to be reputed, that churches were so " divided from one another, that human society was scarcely " kept up among them: much less that sacred communion " of the members of Christ, which all professed with their " mouths, but few did sincerely take care to preserve. That " as to himself, if he might be thought to be of any use, he " would not grudge to pass over ten seas, if there were need. " That if it were only to contribute some assistance to the " kingdom of England, he should esteem it a reason lawful " enough; but much more, he thought, he ought to spare " no labour, no trouble, to procure a means, whereby the " churches, that were so widely divided, might unite among " themselves. But he hoped, his weakness and insufficiency " being such, he might be spared: and that he would do " his part in prosecuting that with his prayers and wishes, " which should be undertaken by others." And whereas our Archbishop had hinted to him his jealousy, that the business would hardly find a good issue by reason of certain difficulties attending it, Calvin not only exhorted, but earnestly beseeched him to go forward, till it should have some effect at least, though it succeeded not in all respects according to his wish. And so prayed God to guide him with his holy Spirit, and to bless his pious endeavours.

Offers his service.

410

Excites the Archbishop to proceed.

This excellent purpose frustrated.

But the troubles at home and abroad frustrated this excellent purpose, which for two years he had been labouring to bring to some good issue. His next resolution was to go as far as he could in this matter, since he could not go as far as he would. And he bethought himself of assembling together the divines of his own church, (and that by the King's authority,) to confer with them about drawing up a body of articles of religion: which purpose he had likewise communicated to Calvin. For which he greatly commended him; telling him, "that since the times were such, that that could "not in the least be hoped for, which was so much to be "wished, *viz.* that the chief teachers of the divers churches, "which embraced the pure doctrine of the Gospel, might "meet together, and publish to posterity a certain and clear "confession, out of the pure Word of God, concerning the "heads of religion then in controversy; he did extremely "commend that counsel which he had taken to establish "religion in England; lest things remaining any longer in "an uncertain state, or not so rightly and duly composed "and framed as it were convenient, the minds of the people "should remain in suspense and wavering." And then, quickening him, told him, "that this was his part chiefly to "do: that he himself saw well what that place required of "him, or rather what God exacted, in respect of that office "he had laid upon him. That he was of very powerful au- "thority; which he had not only by the amplitude of his "honour, but the long conceived opinion that went of his "prudence and integrity. That the eyes of the good were "cast upon him, either to follow his motions, or to remain "idle upon the pretence of his unactiveness."

Thinks of drawing up articles of religion for the English church.

Which he communicates to Calvin. Ep. 125.

And Calvin's reply and exhortation.

He took the freedom also with Cranmer to blame him for not having made more progress in the reformation: which he thought he might have done in the three years space, wherein King Edward had already reigned. And told him, "that he feared, when so many autumns had been "passed in deliberating only, at last the frost of a perpetual "winter might follow:" meaning that the people would grow stark cold in minding a reformation. Then "he re- "minded him of his age, that that called upon him to "hasten, lest, if he should be called out of the world before "matters in religion were settled, the conscience of his 411 "slowness might create great anxiety to him. He particu- "larly put him in mind of the great want of pastors to "preach the Gospel, and that the church's revenues were

Blames him for having not made more progress in the reformation.

"made such a prey. Which he called *an intolerable evil:* "and said, that this was a plain reason why there was so "little preaching among us. That a parcel of slow-bellies "were nourished from the revenues of the church, to sing "vespers in an unknown tongue. But, in the close, he ex-"cused him in regard of the many and great difficulties that "he wrestled with." Which was certainly most true: insomuch that, if he had not been a man of great conduct and indefatigable industry, the reformation had not made so fair a progress as it did in his time. And one may admire rather that he went so far, the iniquity of the times considered, than that he went no farther.

But not justly.

The clergy preach against sacrilege.

For the great ones, in the minority of the King, took their opportunity most insatiably to fly upon the spoils of the church, and charitable donations; little regarding any thing else than to enrich themselves. Very vicious and dissolute they were in their lives, as the soberer sort in those days complained; and therefore the less to be wondered they were so negligent to provide for the promoting the reformed religion and piety in the land. In the mean time, the chief preachers did what they could to redress these evils: for they plainly and boldly rebuked this evil governance; and especially the covetousness of the courtiers, and their small regard to live after the Gospel: and sometimes incurred no small danger by this freedom. Mr. Rogers, Vicar of St. Sepulchre's, and afterwards a martyr under Queen Mary, was one of these: who so freely discoursed once at St. Paul's Cross concerning the abuse of abbeys, and the church's goods, that he was summoned before the privy-council to answer for it. And so were divers others upon the same reason. And I am apt to think that these preachers did what they did by the counsel and direction of the Archbishop. So that the present state of things, and the endeavours of him and the rest of the clergy considered, he was a little too hastily censured by Calvin in that behalf. But Cranmer was of so mild and gracious a spirit, that he did not seem to conceive any displeasure against Calvin for this his unjust charge of negligence; but kept up a great esteem and value for him.

But, that I may take occasion here to insist a little longer

The University-men declaim against it in the schools.

upon this argument, and vindicate the honesty and boldness of the English clergy, in speaking their minds against the sacrilegious spirit that reigned in these times; it may not be amiss to give some account of a communication that happened about December or January, 1552, at court, between Sir William Cecyl, the King's secretary, and one Miles Wilson, a grave divine, and acquaintance of the said Cecyl, and a man of eminency in the university of Cambridge. Discourse happening between them of divers and sundry things, relating partly to the propagating Christ's religion, and partly to the preservation and increase of the commonwealth; the said Wilson delivered to Cecyl an oration to read, which he had composed, *De rebus Ecclesiæ non diripiendis;* "concerning not spoiling the church of her "means:" and which he once pronounced in the public 412 schools of the University, about that time when those matters were in agitation above. Cecyl, being a good and conscientious man, had in this conference signified to him his earnest desire to hear and see what could be proposed out of the holy Scripture in so unusual an argument. To shew this, and to give also a short view of his said oration, because the Secretary's infinite business would not allow him to read long discourses, Wilson soon after digested the contents thereof, reducing it into some syllogisms and ratiocinations, more apt to urge, and easier to remember, and more accommodate to persuade. These, with his letter, he sent to the Secretary. His ends herein were to satisfy him in this point, being a man of great stroke in the public transactions of those times: who might accordingly use his interest and endeavour to retrieve what had been so unjustly taken from the church; that the famous schools lately dissolved, to the great ruin of the University, might be reedified again; and that those livings, which were miserably spoiled by covetous patrons, might be restored, and enjoy their whole revenues, to the real honour of the state. And, lastly, that the hospitals, impoverished or wholly beggared, might, by his means, be remedied and helped by the King's council; that they might revert to their former condition; that is, to succour and help the poor. He urged moreover to Cecyl, that the destruction of schools would be the destruction of the universities: and that all learning would soon cease, and Popery and more than Gothic barbarism would invade all, if learned men were not better taken care of than they were; and if the rewards of learning, *viz.* rectories, prebends, and all, were taken away from them.

And the redress urged upon some at court.

This man had also freely discoursed these matters to two other great and public-spirited men, *viz.* Goodrich, the Lord Chancellor, who was Bishop of Ely; and Holgate, Archbishop of York: to both whom he had also given the names of a great many schools, parsonages, and hospitals, that had undergone this sacrilegious usage. And he particularly mentioned to Cecyl a town not far from Cambridge, called Childerlay, where a gentleman had pulled down all the houses in the parish, except his own. And so, there being none to frequent the church, the inhabitants being gone, he used the said church, partly for a stable for his horses, and partly for a barn for his corn and straw. This letter of Wilson to the Secretary, together with his arguments against pilling the church subjoined, I have thought worthy preserving in the repository for such monuments in the Appendix. No. XCIII. But to return from this digression, which Calvin's censure of our Archbishop occasioned.

Calvin sends letters, and certain of his books, to the King. Ep. 123.

And when, in the year 1551, he dispatched into England one Nicolas, (that Nicolas Gallasius, I suppose, who was afterward by Calvin recommended to be minister to the French congregation in London, at the desire of Grindal, Bishop of London, that he would send over some honest able person for that place,) with letters to the Duke of Somerset and likewise to the King; to whom he presented also, at the same time, his book of Commentaries upon Esay, and 413 the Canonical Epistles, which he had dedicated to him; both the King's council, and the King himself, were much pleased and satisfied with this message: and the Archbishop told Nicolas, "that Calvin could do nothing more profit-"able to the church, than to write often to the King." The substance of what he wrote to the King, that was so well taken, was to excite and sharpen the generous parts of the royal youth, as Calvin hinted in a letter to Bullinger.

Well taken by the King and council.

What the Archbishop told the messenger hereupon. Ep. 120.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Archbishop highly valued Peter Martyr.

Peter Martyr and the Archbishop cordial friends. The use the Archbishop made of him.

AS for the learned Italian, Peter Martyr, who is worthy to be mentioned with Melancthon and Calvin, there was not only an acquaintance between him and our Archbishop, but a great and cordial intimacy and friendship: for of him he made particular use in the steps he took in our reformation. And, whensoever he might be spared from his public readings in Oxford, the Archbishop used to send for him, to confer with him about the weightiest matters. This Calvin took notice of, and signified to him by letter how much he rejoiced that he made use of the counsels of that excellent man. And when the reformation of the ecclesiastical laws was in effect wholly devolved upon Cranmer, he appointed him, and Gualter Haddon, and Dr. Rowland Taylor, his chaplain, and no more, to manage that business: which shews what an opinion he had of Martyr's abilities, and how he served himself of him in matters of the greatest moment. And in that bold and brave challenge he made in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, to justify, against any man whatsoever, every part of King Edward's reformation; he nominated and made choice of Martyr therein to be one of his assistants in that disputation, if any would undertake it with him. This divine, when he was forced to leave Oxford upon the change of religion, retreated first to the Archbishop at Lambeth; and from thence, when he had tarried as long as he durst, he departed the realm to Strasburgh.

Ep. 127.

Martyr saw the voluminous writings and marginal notes of the Archbishop.

This man was he that saw and reported those voluminous writings of this Archbishop, which he had collected out of all the ancient church-writers, upon all the heads of divinity; and those notes of his own pen, that he had inserted in the margin of his books: which the Archbishop communicated to him, when he conversed with him at his house. And from these, and such-like of the Archbishop's labours, he acknowledged he had learned much, especially in the doctrine of the sacrament; as he writ in his epistle before his tract of the Eucharist.

Two letters of Martyr from Oxford.

No. XCIV. XCV.

The fame of Peter Martyr, and the desire of preserving all remains of so learned a professor, and great an instrument of the reformed religion, hath inclined me to put two of his letters into the Appendix, though otherwise not to our present purpose; being originals, writ by his own hand from Oxon. The one to James Haddon, a learned court-divine, and Dean of Exon, to procure a license from the King or 414 the council for a friend and auditor of his to preach publicly. The other to Sir William Cecyl, to forward the payment of a salary due to him, that read the divinity-lecture in the room of Dr. Weston, a Papist, who had claimed it himself, and laboured to detain it from him.

An instance of his love to the Archbishop.

I cannot forbear mentioning here an instance of his love and great concern for our Archbishop, his old friend and patron, after the iniquity of the times had parted them; the one then in prison, and the other at Strasburgh. It was in June 1555, when Queen Mary, supposing herself with child, was reported to have said in her zeal, "That she could never " be happily brought to bed, nor succeed well in any other " of her affairs, unless she caused all the hereticks she had " in prison to be burnt, without sparing so much as one." Which opinion, very likely, the Bishop of Winchester, or some other of her zelotical chaplains, put into her head. This report coming to Martyr's ears, afflicted him greatly; not only for the destruction that was like suddenly to befall many holy professors, but more especially for the imminent hazard he apprehended that great and public person, the Archbishop, to be in. Which made him express himself in this manner, in a letter to Peter Alexander, to whom that most reverend father had also formerly been a kind host and patron; " That, from those words of the Queen, he might " discover that my Lord of Canterbury was then in great " danger."

Pet. Martyr. Ep. Theolog.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Archbishop's Favour to John Sleidan.

The Archbishop's favour to John Sleidan.

TO all these learned and religious outlandish men, to whom the Archbishop was either a patron or a friend, or both, we must not forget to join John Sleidan, the renowned author of those exact Commentaries of the state of religion,[1] and the commonwealth in Germany, in the time of Charles V. About the end of March, anno 1551, he procured for him from King Edward an honorary pension of two hundred crowns a year, as some aid for the carrying on his Commentaries, which he then was busy about; and, as it seems, encouraged by Cranmer to take in hand and prosecute. And when Dr. Bruno, a learned man, and father-in-law to Sleidan, departed out of England, which was about the time before mentioned, being the agent of the Duke of Saxony, the Archbishop informed him of this stipend, by the King granted unto his son-in-law; confirming the same to him in the King's name, and encouraging the Commentator hereby to proceed cheerfully in his useful undertaking.

Procures him a pension from the King.

The payment neglected.

But upon the stirs at court, the payment of this pension was neglected a great while: which caused Sleidan to call upon the Archbishop more than once, as also upon his friends Cheke and Cecyl; entreating them to remind the Archbishop of him, and to communicate to his lordship the letters he had writ to them. But alas! he needed not to have been excited to things of this nature, bearing so good a will to them, and being of his own nature so forward to 41 5 favour learned and honest men, and useful designs; nor was his good will to Sleidan any whit abated, but his interest at court was, now towards the declension of King Edward's reign.

Sleidan labours with the Archbishop to get the pension confirmed by letters patents.

But, because his pension depended only upon a verbal promise of the King, and the getting it under his seal might contribute to the payment of it in better sort hereafter, he laboured with our Prelate, and the two other persons mentioned, that it might be confirmed by letters patents. He urged to them, "that he could have employed himself in "other business, that would have redounded more to his "profit, as many others did. But he reckoned himself "called to this work from heaven, and that he could take "no rest in his mind till he had brought the history down "to that present time; (it being then the year 1553.) That "he had hope, that they, according to their humanity and "prudence, who well understood things, would take some "pains that the arrears of his promised stipend might be "paid, and that some further care might be taken for the "due payment of it hereafter, that so he might the more "conveniently and freely follow that matter. Leaving it "to them to consider how much that labour cost him:" [as to the charges, he means, of correspondence for the getting particular and faithful accounts of things, that passed in all parts.] And lastly, "That it belonged properly to kings to "cherish such labours as would be ornaments to religion "and learning, and of use to the common good." And, in another address to Secretary Cecyl, he desired, "that he "would plead in his behalf with the most reverend the "Archbishop;" adding, "that he did wholly give up him-"self to this work, and was in a diligent pursuit of all mat-"ters in order to the compiling a complete history."

Sends his Commentaries to the King.

Though I have said so much already of Sleidan, yet I will take this occasion to add somewhat more; that I may retrieve as much as I can of this honest man, and excellent writer. In the month of September, anno 1552, he sent to the King, together with a letter, his Commentaries of the German Wars, brought down to that very time: being a short draught of that he intended afterwards more largely and fully to write. And Cheke and Cecyl were the men that presented them to his Majesty. With this kind of writing the King declared himself much pleased, as Cecyl wrote him back; and so he and Cheke also were.

Designs to write the history of the Council of Trent.

For the King's use.

This encouragement put our Author upon another design, resolving to write the whole actions of the council of Trent: wherein he himself had been a part, having been agent there for five months from the city of Strasburg. This he intended to do for the King's own sake: that he might thoroughly understand the form of councils, and might then make his judgment of the rest of the History of the Reformation of Religion, which he was then writing.

Anno 1553. sends the King a specimen thereof.

The spring after he presented the King with a specimen of his writing concerning the council of Trent. It was the beginning and entrance into that treatise he intended to write of that subject. This he desired might be kept in the King's study, and communicated to no other hand; and 416 that no copy of it might be taken, it being but a small part of a future work, and so imperfect.

In order to the proceeding with his Commentaries, desires Cecyl to send him the whole action between King Henry VIII. and Pope Clement VII.

He had now, in the ides of March, completed his Commentaries from the year 1517 to the year 1536; and was resolved, by God's grace, to go on with it in the same method. In order to which, in the month of December before, he had desired of Cecyl, that he would procure him the whole action between King Henry VIII. and Pope Clement VII. when that King vindicated his own liberty, and that of his kingdom, from papal pretences of supremacy over each. This matter between the King and the Pope he called, "*locus illustris et memorabilis*, and judged it very worthy for "posterity to know. Adding, that though he had in his "own hands some matters relating thereto, yet they were "not so exact and certain as he could wish; because he desired to describe every thing properly and most exactly according to truth. He entreated also, that if either he or "Cheke had any other matters of that nature to impart, "they would oblige him with them." Which passages make me conclude that, in relation to the English affairs, he made great use of intelligences from Cecyl and Cheke, and probably our Archbishop too. Which consideration may add a great reputation unto the credit of his book.

Bucer writes to Cecyl in behalf of Sleidan. No. XCVI. XCVII. XCVIII. XCIX. C. CI. CII.

Now, to preserve as much as we can of this excellent historian, John Sleidan, I have thought good to insert divers of his letters in the Appendix; and likewise because mention is often therein made of our Archbishop: to which I have subjoined a letter of Martin Bucer, a great name, wrote to Cecyl in behalf of the said Sleidan. For he did not only importune those courtiers before mentioned, but, when no answer came from them, he made Bucer also his solicitor from Cambridge: who, anno 1551, Feb. 18, wrote to Cecyl to further Sleidan's business, and to dispatch the payment of his stipend; and that Sleidan might be resolved one way or other; giving Cecyl this memento, that "this would well become the administration of a kingdom "so much adorned as with other things, so with the benefit "of religion." By the way, the date of this letter would deserve well to be noted, serving to judge of the true date of Bucer's death: which by historians is variously set down, if we may believe Fuller in his History of the University of Cambridge. It is certain Bucer was ill when he wrote that letter to Cecyl; for he mentions therein an epistle, which he sent to Dr. John Quercetanus the physician, upon the said Cecyl's desire, the which, he said, he was hardly able to dictate. This letter to Cecyl I take to be writ in his last sickness, nine days before the date which Sleidan his friend assigned for the day of his death. To which agrees, within a day, a passage at the end of a piece of Bucer's, intituled, *Explicatio de vi et usu S. Ministerii;* where it is said, "that "he died at Cambridge before he finished it. *Pridie Cal.* "*Martias*, anno 1551."

Feb. 27. 1551.

Scripta Anglic.

John Leland.

I have one learned man more behind to mention, and he our own countryman; to whom our Archbishop was a patron; and that is the celebrated antiquarian John Leland, library-keeper to Henry VIII. and who, by a commission under the broad-seal, granted to him for that purpose by 417 the King, had got together a vast heap of collections of the historical antiquities of this nation: which he was many years a making by his travels and diligent searches into the libraries of abbeys and religious houses, before, and at their dissolution, and elsewhere. From whence he intended to compile a complete history of the antiquities of Britain; to which he wholly devoted himself. But being at that time poor, and the charges of such an undertaking great, he wanted somebody to make this known to the King, and to recommend him effectually to his favour and countenance; and to procure him a royal gratuity: for which purpose he made his application to Cranmer, (who, he well knew, was the great encourager of learning and ingenuity,) in a very elegant address in verse, as he was an excellent poet. And, I am apt to think, the preferments that soon after befell him, as a good parsonage near Oxford, and a canonry of the

King's college in that University, and a prebendship elsewhere, accrued to him by the means of the Archbishop, laying open his state before the King. His copy of verses were as follow:

Ad Thomam Cranmerum Cantiorum Archiepiscopum.

EST congesta mihi domi supellex,
Ingens, aurea, nobilis, venusta,
Qua totus studeo Britanniarum
Vero reddere gloriam nitori.
Sed fortuna meis noverca cœptis,
Jam felicibus invidet maligna.
Quare ne pereant brevi vel hora
Multarum mihi noctium labores
Omnes, et patriæ simul decora
Ornamenta cadant, suusque splendor
Antiquis male desit usque rebus,
Cranmere, eximium decus piorum,
Implorare tuam benignitatem
Cogor. Fac igitur tuo sueto
Pro candore, meum decus, patronumque,
Ut tantum faveat, roges, labori
Incœpto: pretium sequetur amplum.
Sic nomen tibi litteræ elegantes
Recte perpetuum dabunt, suosque
Partim vel titulos tibi receptos
Concedet memori Britannus ore.
Sic te posteritas amabit omnis,
Et fama super æthera innotesces.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Archbishop Cranmer's Relations and Chaplains.

His wives and children.

TO look now a little into the Archbishop's more private and domestic concerns. He had two wives. While he was fellow of Jesus College in Cambridge, not being in orders, he married his first, named Joan, dwelling at the Dolphin, opposite to Jesus-lane, which I think is a public house to this day: which occasioned some of his enemies afterwards to say, "That he was once an ostler," because he lodged sometime with his wife at that house. Her he buried within a year, dying in child-bed. And then for divers years he continued studying hard, and reading learned lectures in the university, and bringing up youth, till he was called to the court. His second wife, named Ann, he married in Germany, while he was ambassador there. By her he had children. In King Henry's reign he kept her 418 secret; and, upon the act of the six Articles, he sent her away into Germany, that he might give no offence, nor draw any danger upon himself. In the time of King Edward, when the marriage of the clergy was allowed, he brought her forth, and lived openly with her. He had children that survived him; for whose sake an act of parliament passed in the year 1562, to restore them in blood, their father having been condemned for treason in consenting to the Lady Jane's succession to the crown: for which yet he was pardoned by Queen Mary. Probably the pardon was only verbal, or not authentickly enough drawn up, or might admit of some doubt: to take off which such an act was procured. How many children he had, or what issue remains of them to this day, I am not able, after all my inquiries, to shew.

His wife survived him.

Sincere and modest Defence of English Catholicks.

His wife survived him: for we may give so much credit to a very angry book, writ against the *Execution of Justice in England*, by Cardinal Allen; which, charging the Archbishop with breach of vows, saith, "that, at the very day "and hour of his death, he was sacrilegiously joined in "pretended marriage to a woman, notwithstanding his vow "and order." And living she was toward the latter end of Archbishop Parker's time; and for her subsistence enjoyed an abbey in Nottinghamshire: which King Henry, upon Dr. Butts his motion, without the Archbishop's knowledge, granted to him and his heirs.

MS. Life of Cranmer in Benet College.

Divers Cranmers.

For his wife and children he could not escape many a taunt from his enemies behind his back; and one to his face from Dr. Martin, one of those that were commissionated to sit as judges upon him at Oxford. He told him in reproach, "that his children were bondmen to the see of Canterbury." Whether there be any such old canon law, I know not: but the Archbishop smiled, and asked him, "If "a priest at his benefice kept a concubine, and had children "by her, whether those children were bondmen to the "benefice, or no? And that he trusted they would make "his children's case no worse." I find two of his name in King Edward's reign; but whether they were his, or his brother Edmund's, sons, or some other relations, I cannot tell. There was one Richard Cranmer, one of the witnesses at the abjuration of Ashton, priest, an Arian, 1548. Daniel Cranmer of Bilsington, of the diocese of Canterbury, who, about administering to a will, was, for contumacy to the court of Canterbury, excommunicate: and a *significavit* was issued out against him thereupon, in the year 1552. There was also a Thomas Cranmer about these times, who bought something in Ware-lane of the city of Canterbury: he was public notary, and register to the Archdeacon in the year 1569. I find likewise one Robert Cranmer, Esq., who was nephew to the Archbishop, and alive at the latter end of Queen Elizabeth. This Robert left one only daughter and heiress, named Ann; whom Sir Arthur Harris, of Crixey in Essex, married, and enjoyed with her three manors: Postling, which came to the said Robert in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth; Kingsnorth in Ulcomb, and Saltwood; both which he purchased in the latter end of that Queen: upon whose grandchild, Sir Cranmer Harris, of Lincoln's Inn, Kt. those estates descended. There was another Cranmer of Canterbury, who enjoyed a manor called Sapinton, 419 in Petham in Kent: one of whose offspring by descent successively was entitled to the propriety of it, and was alive when Philpot published his book of that county, *viz.* 1659. There be living at this time, among divers others, two knights of this name, Sir Cesar Cranmer, once belonging to the court; and Sir William Cranmer, a worthy merchant of London, and now Deputy-governor of the Hamburgh company.

Cranm. Regist.

Sumner's Ant.

Philpot's Villar. Cantian.

The Archbishop's stock.

But, if we look backward, the Archbishop's stock and pedigree was very ancient, and of good credit. His father was Thomas Cranmer of Alacton in Nottinghamshire, Esquire; and his mother was Agnes, the daughter of Laurence Hatfield of Willoughby, of like degree, a gentleman, if I mistake not, of the same county. Which two had issue three sons; John, and Thomas our Archbishop, and Edmund, who was the Archdeacon: and four daughters; Dorothy, Ann, Jane, and Isabel. Which sisters of our Archbishop were thus matched: Dorothy to Harold Rosel of Radcliff in this county, Esquire; Ann to Edmund Cartwright of Ossington in Staffordshire, Esquire; Jane to John Moning, Lieutenant of Dover Castle; and Isabel to Sir... Shepey, Knight. Matches, I suppose, especially the two latter, of the Archbishop's own making, for the preferment of his sisters. His elder brother John married Jone, daughter of Fretchvile, of a good family in the same county: whose grandchild Thomas, and grand-nephew to our Archbishop, had none but daughters; one of whom, being a coheir, married John Rosel, grandchild to Harold aforesaid, and the other to good families in those parts.

Aslacton.

The Archbishop's great grandfather, Edmund, married Isabel, daughter and heir of William de Aslacton, a very ancient family. This Edmund was alive in the reign of Henry VI.

Whatton.

In the church of Whatton, in this county, is an ancient monument of an ancestor of our Archbishop, with this inscription; *Hic jacet Thomas Cranmerus. Qui obiit* 27 *Maii*, 1501. *Cujus animæ propitietur Deus. Amen.* And on the monument the coat of arms of the Cranmers; being a chevron between three cranes, quartered with those of the Aslactons, Newmarches, Whattons, and two families more. This might probably enough be the Archbishop's father.

The rectories whereof the Archbishop purchased.

The Archbishop, in the first year of King Edward VI. purchased of that King the rectories of Whatton and Aslacton, (the manors whereof belonged to his family before,) with the advowsons of the churches: both which had pertained to the dissolved monastery of Welbeck. Which rectories the Archbishop, as it seems, made over to his nephew Thomas, son to his brother John: for he died seised of them both; and they descended to his son and heir Thomas. The manors of the said Whatton and Aslacton are now come into the noble family of Dorchester: the tithes and glebe to the Armstrongs of Scarrington. For these collections I am beholden to Thoroton's History of Nottinghamshire.

His chaplains.

And now, in the last place, let us look into the Archbishop's domestic affairs. He took great heed to the well-government of his family, that all things there might beseem the house of a truly Christian Bishop, and the chief 420 spiritual governor of the English church. And, in order to this, one of his cares was to have learned men about him: a few whereof, as I could retrieve them, I shall here mention, and give some account of. And first let us begin with his chaplains.

Rowland Taylor.

I can find but a few of them: but men they were of great parts and achievements in learning, as well as piety. One of them was Rowland Taylor, doctor of both laws, and preferred by the Archbishop to be Parson of Hadley in Suffolk: who sealed his doctrine with his blood. An extraordinary man, both for his learning, as well as his bold and brave profession of Christ's religion, even to the fiery trial. He had read over (which was rare in those days) all St. Augustine's works, St. Cyprian, Gregory Nazianzen, Eusebius, Origen, and divers other fathers. He professed the civil law, and had read over the canon law also: as he told the Lord Chancellor Gardiner, when in his scorn and rage together he called him an *ignorant beetle-brow*. The Archbishop made use of him in his affairs: and he was one of those that were joined with him, in King Edward's days, for making a reformation in the ecclesiastical laws. Soon after he was invested in his benefice, leaving the Archbishop's family, he went and resided, like a careful pastor, and performed among his parishioners all the parts of an excellent minister, in respect of his doctrine, example, and charity. He was sent down to his own parish of Hadley, where he was extremely beloved, to be burnt. But I refer the reader to the large and full account that Fox gives of him in his book of Acts and Monuments; and shall only recite his epitaph, as it now remaineth, or lately did, in a brass plate hanging in the church of Hadley, where he deserved so well.

Gloria in altissimis Deo.

His epitaph.

OF Rowland Taylor's fame I shew, an excellent divine,
A doctor of the civil law, a preacher rare and fine.
King Henry and King Edward's days, preacher and parson here,
That gave to God continual praise, and kept his flock in fear.
And for the truth condemn'd to die he was in fire and flame,
Where he received patiently the torment of the same:
And strongly suffer'd to the end. Which made the standers by
Rejoice in God, to see their friend and pastor so to die.
O Taylor! were thy mighty fame uprightly here enroll'd,
Thy deeds deserve that thy good name were cipher'd here in gold. *Obiit* 1555.

And in Aldham-common, not far from Hadley town, is a great stone, that assigns the place where he suffered, and on it are written these words, or to this effect;

Dr. Taylor, for maintaining what was good,
In this place shed his blood.

421 A sermon preached the day after his burning.

His living was immediately supplied by one Newal: and, to deserve his preferment, or by commandment, perhaps, from above, to render their taking away Dr. Taylor the more justifiable, he made a sermon February 10, 1555, being the day next after he suffered, upon this text; *Sic currite, ut comprehendatis.* His work was to persuade the people to return to the old superstitions, and to bespatter the martyr with false reports. And, meeting with a writing that containeth the sum of this sermon, I will crave leave here to insert it; to give a specimen of popish preaching in these days.

Inter Foxii MSS.

Wherein the martyr is grossly slandered.

"He exhorted to run in the strait way, and leave the wide "gate; *viz.* to leave the new-found learning, and but *new-"found* indeed, and follow all one religion. For ye were "(said he) erroneously taught by such men as died yester-

“ day: of whom I will speak, but for no malice, as God I “ take to record.

“ His opinions were, wherefore he died, one, that priests “ might have wives: the other, that in the sacrament was “ not the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ substantially and really.

“ The first, that priests should have wives, he could prove “ by no Scripture, but by three other authors. And he “ was demaunded, if he were willing to stand to the last? “ He answered, Yea, before God. Then the book laid afore “ him, and read to him in Latin and English: and he, reading the English of it himself, said he would read the Latin; “ and so did, and confuted himself. And stood then as “ amazed; as can witness five hundred.

“ And I dare say there were a thousand texts rehersed “ to him to the contrary: but he could answer not to one. “ And so had divers admonitions, but was so stubborn in “ his own conceit, according to Paul's saying, *Si sit homo* “ *sectuum*, *Let him be admonished once or twice;* and so hath “ he been. *If he will not turn, let him be cast out:* and so “ he is now. For better were it so to do, then to put many “ souls in danger with evil doctrine.

“ And one text I will declare to you for priests having “ wives. St. Paul, when he was tempted, rid to our Saviour “ Christ, and asked what remedy were for temptation, for “ his temptation? but whether it were of lust of the flesh, “ or vain-glory, I cannot tell; but let that go to the opinion “ of men. And Christ answered, *Why, Paul, is not my* “ *grace sufficient for thee?* But he did not say, Take a wife, “ and let that be thy remedy. But they strait take a drab “ by the tail, saying, That no man can live chast without “ the gift of God.

“ And as concerning the sacrament, to prove it, he “ brought Paul in the end of the first to the Corinthians, “ Luke, John, sixth of Mark. And it is not to be called “ the *Supper of the Lord*, as these Banbury glosers have “ called it. For *cœnâ factâ*, he said, *This is my body,* which “ is, or shall be, betrayed. And in one text Cyprian, one “ of the primitive church, said in a sermon of the supper,

" *The bread which Christ gave to his disciples, by the omnipotency of the word, is made flesh.* And Dionysius and Hilary " *similiter.*

" To err is a small fault, but to persevere is a devilish 422 " thing: for it moveth many minds to see an heretick " constant, and to die. But it is not to be mervelled at: for " the Devil hath power over soul and body. For he causeth " men to drown and hang themselves at their own wills: " much more he may cause a man to burn; seeing he is " tied, and cannot fly. Barnabe saith so. Cyprian, *unus* " *clericorum*, saith, That grievous is the fault of discord in " Christ's church, and cannot be cleansed with burning, or " any other sacrifice. *Ergo*, damned.

" For sure he died in damnable case, if he did not otherwise repent in the hour of pain. For though he did burn " in this case, he sheweth himself a Christian man no otherwise than the Devil sheweth himself like Christ: and so " maketh no end of a martyr. Austin saith, *He that will* " *deny the church to be his mother, God will deny him to be* " *his son.* And so Pope Julius the third prayed for, &c." He made an end for lack of his books, because, he said, he was but new come, and brought not his books with him.

" Item, last, the person being laboured by the way, to " have left his opinion, answered, Alas! what would you " have me to do? Once I have recanted, and my living is " gone. I am but a wretch: make an end of me. And, I " warrant you, said not one word at his death, more than " desired the people to pray for him. Which was no token " of a Christian, but of stubbornness. But I am glad that " ye were so quiet."

A right popish sermon, patched up of ignorance, malice, uncharitableness, lies, and improbabilities. That he had no Scripture to produce for himself. That his adversaries had a thousand against him. That he should be willing to stand to a quotation out of a father, and know no better what it was, as, when he saw it, to be so confounded and amazed. That if he were so convinced and speechless, that he should be so stupid and senseless to suffer death, for matters which he saw were not true. But such a character was here given of him, as was no ways agreeable to the great learning, wisdom, and piety, that this excellent man was endued with.

John Ponet. John Ponet, or Poinet, a Kentish man, and of Queen's College, Cambridge, was another of his chaplains; a very ingenious as well as learned man: afterward Bishop of Rochester, and then of Winchester. A great friend to that accomplished scholar, Roger Ascham; who, in confidence of his friendship, writ to him, when domestic chaplain to the Archbishop, to deliver his letter, and forward his suit to his Grace, to dispense with him from eating fish, and keeping Lent, as was mentioned before. He was of great authority with Cranmer, and of his council in matters of divinity. We may judge of his great abilities by what Godwin speaks of him, *viz.* "That he had left divers writings in Latin and Eng-
" lish: and that, besides the Greek and Latin, he was well
" seen in the Italian and Dutch tongues. [Which last he
" learned probably in his exile.] That he was an excellent
" mathematician, and gave unto King Henry VIII. a dial of
" his own devise; shewing not only the hour of the day, but
" also the day of the month, the sign of the sun, the plane-
" tary hour; yea, the change of the moon, the ebbing and
" flowing of the sea, with divers other things as strange, to 423
" the great wonder of the King, and his no less commenda-
" tion." And he was as eminent for his gift in preaching as for his other qualifications, being preferred by King Edward for some excellent sermons preached before him. One of our historians writes, that he was with Sir Thomas Wyat Stow. in his insurrection: and, after his defeat, fled into Germany, where, in the city of Strasburgh, he died about the year 1556. But Bale speaks not a word of his being with Wyat; but that he died, being forty years of age, buried at Strasburgh, and attended honourably to his grave with abundance of learned men and citizens.

Tho. Becon. Thomas Becon, a Suffolk man, seems to have been his chaplain. To Cranmer Becon dedicated his treatise of Fasting: wherein he mentioned several benefits he had received from the Archbishop: one whereof was, his making him one of the six preachers of Canterbury. He was deprived in Queen Mary's reign, as all the other five were, for being married. He was a famous writer, as well as preacher, in the reigns of King Henry, King Edward, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth. So eminent, that he was one of the three (Vernon and Bradford being the other two) that were sent for by Queen Mary's council, and committed to the Tower in the beginning of her reign, *viz.* August 16, 1553: from whence he was not delivered till March 22. following. During which time, as he complained himself, he underwent a miserable imprisonment. To conceal himself in those dangerous times, he went by the name of Theodore Basil: and was one of those authors, whose names were specified in a severe proclamation put forth by King Philip and Queen Mary, 1555, as being writers of books, which, as contrary to the Pope and Roman catholick religion, were forbidden to be brought into England, or used, and commanded diligently to be searched for, and brought to the ordinary, upon penalty of the statute of Henry IV. against heresy. After his delivery from prison, skulking about for some time, at length he saved himself by exile.

He was a man mightily tossed about. For to look upon him, before this, in King Henry's reign; then, for his security, he was forced to leave his friends and country, wandering as far as Darbyshire, and the Peak: where he privately taught school for a subsistence. And, coming a mere stranger into Alsop in the Dale, one Mr. Alsop, a pious man in that barbarous country, shewed him great civility. Afterwards he travelled into Staffordshire, where he also educated children in good literature, and instilled into their minds the principles of Christian doctrine. After a year's tarrying there, and in Leicestershire, he flitted into Warwickshire, where he taught also divers gentlemen's sons, and where he met with old father Latimer, to his great joy, who had first made him acquainted with the Gospel, when he was a scholar in Cambridge, twenty years before. He wrote a great many books, forty in number, suited to the various occasions of Christians, both in the persecutions under Queen Mary, and the free profession and restoration of the Gospel under King Edward and Queen Elizabeth: and many more against the religion of the Roman church. All these did this learned and painful author compose for the benefit of the professors of religion: whereby he did such service to the enlightening of men's minds in the knowledge of the truth, and for the exposing the corruptions of Popery, 424 that it was thought convenient that some of that communion should be employed to write against him. And so Richard Smith, sometime reader of divinity in Oxon, and one that had subscribed to the reformed religion, and after fled into Brabant, and became a zealous asserter of Popery, writ in a bitter style against some of Becon's books, as he had done against the Archbishop himself before.

I find this Becon put up to preach one of the Lent sermons at St. Paul's Cross, in the year 1566. And such then was his fame for a preacher, and such his favour with the greatest prelates, that the Lord Mayor for that year sent a message to Archbishop Parker, that his Grace would prevail with him to preach one of the sermons at the Spittle that Easter.

In the year 1564. he revised and reprinted all his former books in three volumes; dedicating the whole to all the Archbishops and Bishops of the realm. And, in commendation thereof, Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, wrote these verses to him:

Vidi et perlegi doctos, Bæcone, Libellos,
Quos tua non pridem Sancta Minerva dedit.
Dispeream, siquid legi unquam sanctius, aut si
Quid potuit populo tradier utilius.
Auspice perge Deo tales vulgare Libellos:
Vaniloquax sed nec lingua timenda tibi est.
Sic Christum possis avido inculcare popello,
Sic possis nomen condecorare tuum.

Besides these, there was his Postil, being godly and learned sermons on all the Sunday-Gospels in the year: printed in quarto in the year 1567.

Richard Harman.

I shall say no more of his chaplains, after I shall have mentioned Richard Harman. Who seems to have been one of his first chaplains; being once of King's College, but went away scholar, (probably for religion;) afterwards lived in Jesus College, and commenced master of arts with

Cranmer: whom he also preferred to be his domestic afterwards. This man was one of those Cambridge men that were elected into St. Frideswide's College in Oxon; and suffered much there for religion. He was afterwards a Canon of Windsor; but fell back to Popery.

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CHAP. XXIX.

Archbishop Cranmer's Officers.

I SHALL now add a few words of two of his civil officers: his steward and his secretary. One Nevyl was his steward in King Henry's reign; who conducted Sir Thomas Seimour, coming with a message from the King, through the hall, when the tables were sumptuously set, unto the Archbishop 425 at dinner: him I have nothing to say of. But he had another afterwards, named Robert Watson, born in Norwich, of whom I have a word or two to say. He was a great civilian, and an exile for religion in Queen Mary's reign. But, before his escape beyond sea, he lay in prison in Norwich a year and four months, saith Bale; almost two years, saith Fox: and then was most fortunately delivered, without doing any violence to his conscience, by the subscription which he made. Being abroad, he wrote a piece, intituled, *Ætiologia, to all that sincerely professed Christ, wheresoever dispersed, especially his Countrymen, the English, banished with him.* In this tract he gave a relation of himself, and his imprisonment, and escape; and of the disputes that happened between him and his adversaries concerning transubstantiation, and the real presence of Christ in the sacrament; and by what means he escaped safe in body and conscience: which was a rare matter to do from such inquisitors. It was propounded to him to set his hand to these words; *viz.* "That he believed and confessed that the "bread and wine in the Eucharist, through the omnipotency "of God's Word, pronounced by the priest, were turned "into the body and blood of Christ; and after consecration, "under the forms of bread and wine, remained the true

Robert Watson, the Archbishop's steward.

" body and blood of Christ, and no other substance." To which he made this subscription; *His omnibus eatenus assentior et subscribo, quatenus Verbo Dei nituntur, eoque sensu, quo sunt ab Ecclesia Catholica et a sanctis Patribus intellecta.* By the means of one Dr. Barret, a learned friar of Norwich, he was upon this favourable subscription dismissed. But Christopherson, Dean of Norwich, when he understood it, was much incensed, and laid out to take him again. But he, by the help of friends, escaped over the seas.

His secretary, Ralph Morice.

Now, lastly, of Ralph Morice his secretary, so much employed, and so greatly entrusted by our Archbishop, it may not be amiss to set down a few memorials. He was his secretary, not so much for ordinary matters incident to his archiepiscopal office, as his amanuensis for learned treatises and discourses which he composed. In this place he remained for twenty years; that is, from the Archbishop's first entrance upon his see, to the death of King Edward VI. his good master. He was a very considerable person, and of good birth, being the son of James Morice of Royden in the county of Essex, Esq. Which James was sometime servant unto the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, and clerk of her kitchen, and master of her works; and particularly of Christ's College and St. John's in Cambridge, both which she founded. He also and his son William were joint receivers of the lands, called Richmond Lands; and other lands, called the Recovered Lands.

His parentage.

Well known to divers eminent bishops.

Our Ralph, by reason of his service about the Archbishop, was well known to Bishop Heth, Bishop Thirlby, Bishop Cox, Bishop Barlow, and Bishop Scory; men that were much about the Archbishop, and his friends: and who were privy to those volumes that the secretary writ out for his master. He dwelt sometime in Chartham, not far from Canterbury; and had the farm of that parsonage, and the nomination of the curate. And, being a man of conscience and integrity, endeavoured to procure here an honest and able preacher; and so presented to the church one Richard Turner, a man of an irreprehensible life, and well learned in the holy Scriptures: who, for his doctrine against the popish superstition, and the Pope's supremacy, met with great troubles. But his patron very stiffly stood by him, and procured the

Presents Turner to Chartham.

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Archbishop to favour him: and, having an interest with Sir Anthony Denny and Sir William Butts, courtiers, he wrote Mr. Turner's case at large to them, and got them to read his letter before the King. Who, though before he had been by sinister reports so incensed against him, as to command him to be whipped out of the country, now by this means he conceived better thoughts of him, and commanded him to be cherished as a good subject; as I have before more at large related.

And stands by him in his troubles for his faithful preaching.

An instance of the Archbishop's kindness to this his Secretary.

Another passage I meet with of this man relates to the kindness of the Archbishop his master to him: who, in token of his good will he bore him, and of his readiness to reward his diligence and faithfulness in his service, did procure him a lease of the parsonage of Ospring in Kent, being an impropriation belonging unto St. John's College in Cambridge, worth better than forty marks by the year *de claro*, when wheat was but a noble the quarter. This the Archbishop got a grant of from the said college for him. But, when the lease was prepared, and ready to be sealed, one Hawkins of the guard, by his importunate suit, got King Henry VIII. to obtain it of the college to be sealed for the use of him the said Hawkins. The Archbishop then solicited the King in his servant's behalf, and the King promised him, and also Dr. Day, the Master of the college, that he would otherwise recompense Morice for the same, with like value or better. Which was never done, the King dying before he did any thing for him.

Morice his suit to Queen Elizabeth for a pension.

This caused Morice to prefer a supplication unto Queen Elizabeth, setting forth his said case, and desiring therefore her liberality, aid, and succour; especially considering, that her royal father had in his will provided, that all such who had sustained any manner of damage or hinderance by him should be satisfied for the same: suing therefore to her Majesty for a pension, that had been allowed unto one Wilbore, late Prior of the monastery of St. Augustine's, lately deceased, that it might be conferred upon him during his life. And indeed he seemed now, in his old age, to have need of some such favour, his condition being but mean according to worldly things, and having four daughters all marriageable, and not wherewithal to bestow them according to their quality. This his poverty he urged to the Queen, and that the granting him this pension would be a good furtherance of his said daughters' marriage.

His second suit to the Queen to confirm certain lands descended to him from his father.

The same person had some lands descended to him from James his father out of two manors, the one called Royden Manor, and the other called the Temple, both situate and lying in the parish of Royden. His said father, upon some certain reasons and agreements, surrendered two long leases of both these manors into King Henry VIII. his hands. In consideration of which, and of long and true services, the said King did give, except, and reserve certain tenements, lands, pastures, and meadows, out of the said two lordships, to the use of the said James and his heirs and assigns for ever, as appeared by his letters patents. And James did enjoy them peaceably and quietly, without any molestation, **427** until his death; which was in the second year of Queen Mary. But of late the leases of the manors being sold away unto others, they laid claim and title unto the said reserved lands, upon the information of one Thurgood, steward of the courts there; pretending that there were not words sufficient in the said letters patents to justify the said exceptions. This occasioned Ralph Morice the son, who enjoyed some of the copyholds within the said exceptions, to sue unto the Queen for her Majesty's letters patents, to ratify and confirm the said exceptions, that the King's godly disposition, intent, and meaning might be in force to James Morice's heirs and assigns for ever.

What success he had in this and the former petition, I find not; but am ready to think the Queen gratified him in both, as well for his own merits, as out of that high respect she bore to the memory of our incomparable Prelate, whose servant he had so long been, and for whose sake he recommended himself and his suit to her. I have inserted the former of these supplications in the Appendix, being No. CIII. an original of Morice's own hand-writing, and containing some memorable passages in it.

He was Register to the commissioners in King Edward's visitation.

This man was, by the Archbishop's means, appointed a Register in King Edward VI. his visitation, which was in the second year of his reign; the articles whereof were drawn up by the Archbishop, and preserved to us in Bishop

Sparrow's Collections. And, being ready to depart with the King's commissioners, the Archbishop sent for him to Hampton Court, and willed him to make notes of certain matters in the said visitation, whereof he gave him particular instructions; and had large discourse with him of the good success that this course was like to have.

Suffered under Queen Mary.

In the beginning of Queen Mary he suffered much: being glad to fly from his own house; but afterwards taken by the justices, and committed to custody. Out of which he escaped by breaking prison. His house was often searched. But he outlived those hard times, and was alive in the year 1565; and then lived at Bekesborn.

Morice supplied Fox with many material notices in his book.

It was this Morice that supplied Mr. Fox, the writer of the Acts and Monuments, with those memorials concerning the Bishop of Winchester, which shewed how small a share he had in King Henry's affections, notwithstanding his boasting thereof, which he was very apt to do; and particularly how that King came to leave him out of his last will. All which Sir Anthony Denny related to our Archbishop, in the hearing of this his secretary: who was alive when Fox wrote this, and whom he asserts, towards the end of his eighth book, as a witness to the same. For it is to be noted here, that, among those persons that assisted this author with matter for the compiling his laborious books, this Morice was one, and to whom we are to reckon ourselves beholden for divers other material passages of our church-history, and especially those of his lord and master the Archbishop, which are preserved in the said books to posterity. To Day the printer he sent many papers of monuments for the furnishing Fox's History; and many more he had communicated, but that, in Queen
428 Mary's reign, his house in two years was thrice searched; by which means he lost a great sort of things worthy perpetual memory; and especially divers letters of King Edward to the Archbishop, and of the Archbishop to him.

Morice a cordial friend to Latimer. Fox.

I meet with one Morice, a man of worship, that was much acquainted with, and very well affected towards, Mr. Hugh Latimer, whom the said reverend father called "his trusty friend." When he was Parson of West-Kingston in Wiltshire, the priests at Bristol and thereabouts had combined against him; and, accusing him in several articles, which they had maliciously and falsely collected out of his sermons, got him convented before Warham Archbishop of Canterbury, and Stokesly Bishop of London. By them he was detained a great while, and underwent many an examination. While he was in these his troubles, Morice, whom I suspect to be either this Ralph or his father, wrote a kind letter to him to comfort him. To which Latimer gives an answer; wherein he explains at large to him the reasons of his troubles, thanking him for this kindness, as well as for others heretofore shewn him; and for which he prayed God to reward him.

CHAP. XXX.

A Prospect of the Archbishop's Qualities.

Morice's declaration concerning the Archbishop.

THERE is an original writing of this Morice's hand, preserved in the Benet-library, entitled, *A Declaration, &c.* which he drew out for the use, and by the command, of Archbishop Parker. Wherein divers remarkable passages of this Archbishop, not yet mentioned, are set down: and particularly, he is herein vindicated from one thing, which to this day he is by some blamed for; namely, for alienations, and long leases of the revenues of the see, granted to the King, and others. A great part therefore of this I shall here transcribe.

His temperance of nature.

" He was of such temperance of nature, or rather so
" mortified, that no manner of prosperity or adversity could
" alter or change his accustomed conditions: for were the
" storms never so terrible, or odious, or the prosperous
" state of the times never so pleasant, joyous, or acceptable;
" to the face of the world his countenance, diet, or sleep,
" commonly never altered or changed. So that they which
" were most near and conversant about him, never or seldom
" perceived, by any sign or token of countenance, how the
" affairs of the Prince or realm went. Notwithstanding

" privately, with his secret and special friends, he would " shed forth many bitter tears; lamenting the miseries and " calamities of the world.

His carriage towards his enemies.

" Again, he so behaved himself to the whole world, that " in no manner of condition he would seem to have any " enemy; although in very deed he had both many great " and secret enemies, whom he always bare with such countenance and benevolence, that they could never take good " opportunity to practise their malice against him, but to 429 " their great displeasure and hinderance in the end. And as " concerning his own regard towards slanders and reproach, " by any man to him imputed or impinged, such as entirely " knew him can testify, that very little he esteemed or " regarded the bruit thereof; because he altogether travailed evermore from giving of just occasion of detraction. " Whereupon grew and proceeded that notable quality or " virtue he had, to be beneficial unto his enemies. So that " in that respect he would not be acknown to have any " enemy at all. For whosoever he had been that had " reported evil of him, or otherwise wrought to do him " displeasure, were the reconciliation never so mean or " simple on the behalf of his adversary, if he had any thing " at all relented, the matter was both pardoned and clearly " forgotten; and so voluntarily cast into the satchel of " oblivion behind the back parts; that it was more clear " now out of his memory, than it was in his mind, before " it was either commenced or committed. Insomuch that, " if any such person should have had any suit unto him " afterward, he might well reckon, and be as sure to obtain, " (if by any means he might lawfully do it,) as any other " of his special friends. So that on a time I do remember, " that Dr. Hethe, late Archbishop of York, partly misliking " this his over-much lenity, by him used, said unto him, " My Lord, I now know how to win all things at your " hand well enough. How so? quoth my Lord. Marry, " saith Dr. Hethe, I perceive that I must first attempt to " do unto you some notable displeasure; and then, by a " little relenting, obtain of you what I can desire. Whereat " my Lord bit his lip, as his manner was when he was " moved, and said, *You say well; but yet you may be*

" *deceived. Howbeit, having some consideration so to do,* " *I may not alter my mind and accustomed condition, as* " *some would have me to do.*

Severe in his behaviour towards offending Protestants.

" Again, one thing he commonly used, wherein many did " discommend him; which was this: he always bare a good " face and countenance unto the Papists, and would, both " in word and deed, do very much for them; pardoning " their offences: and, on the other side, somewhat over-" severe against the Protestants. Which being perceived " not to be done but upon some purpose, on a time a " friend of his declared unto him, that he therein did very " much harm; encouraging thereby the Papists, and also " thereby discouraging the Protestants. Whereunto he " made this answer, and said, What will ye have a man do " to him that is not yet come to the knowledge of the truth " of the Gospel, nor perchance as yet called, and whose " vocation is to me uncertain? Shall we perhaps in his " journey coming towards us, by severity and cruel behaviour, overthrow him, and, as it were in his voyage, stop " him? I take not this the way to allure men to embrace " the doctrine of the Gospel. And if it be a true rule " of our Saviour Christ, to do good for evil; then let " such as are not yet come to favour our religion learn to " follow the doctrine of the Gospel by our example, in " using them friendly and charitably. On the other side, " such as have tasted of sincere religion, and as it were " taken hold of the Gospel, and seem in words to maintain " the true doctrine thereof, and then, by the evil example " of their lives, most perniciously become stumbling-blocks 430 " unto such as are weak, and not at all as yet entered into " the viage; what would you have me do with them? Bear " with them, and wink at their faults; and so willingly " suffer the Gospel, by their outrageous doings, to be " trodden under feet? Using herewith another notable " saying of our Saviour out of our memory: which saith, " The servant, knowing his lord and master's pleasure and " commandment, if he regardeth not the same, is, as a " man might say, of all others worthy of many plagues. " And thus with these two Scriptures, or doctrines of our " Saviour Christ, he answered mine eldest brother, who was "earnest with him for his amendment of this quality. "Mr. Isaac, yet living, is a witness of the same.

Stout in God's or the King's cause.

"Again, if there were any matter of weight, (besides his "own cause, wherein evermore, with all kinds of persons, "he was ready to relent and give place, according to the "quality of the matter, more than became his state,) "which touched God percase, or his Prince, there was no "man more stout or more inexorable. So far forth, that "neither fear of losing of promotion, nor hope of gain, or "winning of favour, could move him to relent, or give place "unto the truth of his conscience. As experience thereof "well appeared, as well in defence of the true religion "against the six Articles in the parliament, as in that he "offered to combat with the Duke of Northumberland in "King Edward's time; speaking then on behalf of his "Prince, for the staying of the chauntries, until his "Highness had come unto lawful age: and that especially "for the maintenance of his better state then. But if at "his Prince's pleasure, in case of religion, at any time he "was forced to give place, that was done with such humble "protestation, and so knit up for the safeguard of his "faith and conscience, that it had been better his good-"will had never been requested, than so to relent or give "over as he did. Which most dangerously (besides sundry "times else) he especially attempted, when the six Articles "passed by parliament; and when my Lord Crumwel was "in the Tower: at what time the book of Articles of our "Religion[a] was new penned. For even at that season the "whole rabblement (which he took to be his friends, being "commissioners with him) forsook him, and his opinion "and doctrine: and so, leaving him *post* alone, revolted "altogether on the part of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of "Winchester. As by name, Bishop Hethe, Shaxton, Day, "and all other of the meaner sort. By whom these so "named were chiefly advanced and preferred unto dignities. "And yet this sudden inversion notwithstanding, God gave "him such favour with his Prince, that book altogether "passed by his assertion, against all their minds: more "to be marcelled at, the time considered, than by any

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[a] Viz. *The Erudition of a Christen Man.*

"reason to compass how it should come to pass. For "then would there have been laid thousands of pounds to "hundreds in London, that he should, before that synod "had been ended, have been shut up in the Tower, beside "his friend the Lord Crumwel. Howbeit the King's "Majesty, having an assured and approved affiance of "his both deep knowledge in religion, and fidelity both "to God and him, suspected in that time other men in "their judgments not to walk uprightly, nor sincerely; "for that some of them swerved from their former opinions "in doctrine: and, having great experience of the constancy of the Lord Cranmer, it drave him all along to "join with the said Lord Cranmer in the confirmation of "his opinion and doctrine against all the rest, to their "great admiration.

The King sides with Cranmer against all the bishops.

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"For at all times, when the King's Majesty would be "resolved in any doubt or question, he would but send "word to my Lord over night; and by the next day "the King would have in writing brief notes of the "doctors' minds, as well divines as lawyers, both old and "new; with a conclusion of his own mind: which he "could never get in such a readiness of any; no, not "of all his chaplains and clergy about him, in so short "a time. For, being thoroughly seen in all kinds of "expositors, he could incontinently lay open thirty, forty, "sixty or more, some whiles, of authors. And so, reducing "the notes of them altogether, would advertise the King "more in one day, than all his learned men could do in a "month.

His great ability in answering the King's doubts.

"And it was no mervail; for it was well known, that "commonly, if he had not business of the Prince's, or "special urgent causes before him, he spent three parts of "the day in study as effectually as he had done at Cambridge. And therefore it was that the King said on a "time to the Bishop of Winchester, the King and my said "Lord of Winchester defending together, that the canons "of the Apostles were of as good authority as the four "Evangelists, contrary to my Lord Cranmer's assertion; "*My Lord of Canterbury*, said the King, *is too old a truant* "*for us twain.*

Cranmer studied three parts of the day.

Would speak to the King when none else durst.

"Again, his estimation was such with his Prince, that in "matters of great importance, wherein no creature durst "once move the King for fear of displeasure, or moving the "King's patience, or otherwise for troubling his mind, then "was my Lord Cranmer most violently, by the whole council, "obtruded and thrust out to undertake that danger and "peril in hand. As, beside many other times, I remember "twice he served the council's expectation. The first time "was, when he staid the King's determinate mind and "sentence; in that he fully purposed to send the Lady "Mary, his daughter, unto the Tower, and there to suffer "as a subject; because she would not obey the laws of the "realm, in refusing the Bishop of Rome's authority and "religion. Whose stay in that behalf, the King then said "unto the Lord Cranmer, would be to his utter confusion "at the length. The other dangerous attempt was, in the "disclosing the unlawful behaviour of Queen Katharine "Howard towards the King, in keeping unlawful company "with Durrant, her servant. For the King's affection was "so marvellously set upon that gentlewoman, as it was "never known that he had the like to any woman. So that "no man durst take in hand to open to him that wound, "being in great perplexity how he would take it. And "then the council had no other refuge but unto my Lord "Cranmer: who with overmuch importunity gave the 432 "charge; which was done with such circumspection, that "the King gave over his affections unto reason, and "wrought marvellous colourably for the trial of the same.

Lady Mary.

Queen Katharine Howard.

His hospitality.

"Now as concerning the manner and order of his hospitality and housekeeping. As he was a man abandoned "from all kind of avarice, so was he content to maintain "hospitality, both liberally and honourably, and yet not "surmounting the limits of his revenues: having more "respect and foresight unto the iniquity of the times, "being inclined to pull and spoil from the clergy, than to "his own private commodity. For else, if he had not so "done, he was right sure that his successors should have "had as much revenues left unto them, as were left unto "the late abbeys: especially considering, that the lands "and revenues of the said abbeys, being now utterly

" consumed and spread abroad; and for that there " remained no more exercise to set on work, or no officers " but surveyors, auditors, and receivers; it was high time " to shew an example of liberal hospitality. For although " these said workmen, only brought up and practised in " subverting of monastical possessions, had brought that " kind of hospitality unto utter confusion, yet ceased they " not to undermine the Prince, by divers persuasions, for " him also to overthrow the honourable state of the clergy.

Falsely accused of ill housekeeping.

" And, because they would lay a sure foundation to build " their purpose upon, they found the means to put into the " King's head, that the Archbishop of Canterbury kept no " hospitality, or house, correspondent unto his revenues and " dignity; but sold his woods, and, by great incomes and " fines, made money, to purchase lands for his wife and " children. And to the intent that the King should with " the more facility believe this information, Sir Thomas " Seymor, the Duke of Somerset's brother, being one of the " privy-chamber, was procured to take this matter in hand. " And, before he informed the King thereof, he blasted it " abroad in the court. Insomuch that the gentlemen and " he fell out for the same: they declare, that his report was " manifestly false, as well for the keeping of his house, as " for the purchasing lands for his wife and children. This " notwithstanding, Mr. Seymor went through with his " information, and declared unto the King, as is before " declared. The King, hearing this tale with the sequel, " (that was, That it was meet for the bishops not to be " troubled, ne vexed with temporal affairs, in ruling their " honours, lordships, and manors; but rather, they having " an honest pension of money yearly allowed unto them " for their hospitality, should surrender unto the King's " Majesty all their royalties and temporalties,) said, I do " marvel that it is said my Lord of Canterbury should keep " no good hospitality; for I have heard the contrary. And " so, with a few more commendations of my Lord, as one " that little regarded the suit; but yet, as it appeared " afterward, something smelling what they went about, " left off any further to talk of that matter, and converted " his communication to another purpose.

“ Notwithstanding, within a month after, whether it was “ of chance, or of purpose, it is unknown; the King, 433 “ going to dinner, called Mr. Seymour unto him, and said, “ Go ye straightways unto Lambeth, and bid my Lord of “ Canterbury come and speak with me at two of the clock “ at afternoon. Incontinently Mr. Seymor came to Lambeth, and, being brought into the hall by the porter, it “ chanced the hall was set to dinner. And when he was at “ the skreen, and perceived the hall furnished with three “ principal messes, beside the rest of the tables thorowly “ set, having a guilty conscience of his untrue report made “ to the King, recoiled back, and would have gone in to my “ Lord by the chapel-way. Mr. Nevyl, being steward, perceiving that, rose up and went after him, and declared “ unto him, that he could not go that way; and so brought “ him back unto my Lord through the hall. And when he “ came to my Lord, and had done his message, my Lord “ caused him to sit down and dine with him. But making “ a short dinner, because he would bring the King word “ again of his message, he departed and came to the King, “ before he was risen from the table. When he came to “ the King's presence, said the King, Will my Lord of “ Canterbury come to us? He will wait on your Majesty, “ said Mr. Seymor, at two of the clock. Then said the “ King, Had my Lord dined before you came? No forsooth, “ said Mr. Seymor, for I found him at dinner. Well, said “ the King, what cheer made he you? With these words “ Mr. Seymor kneeled down, and besought the King's “ Majesty of pardon. What is the matter? said the King. “ I do remember, said Mr. Seymor, that I told your “ Highness that my Lord of Canterbury kept no hospitality “ correspondent unto his dignity: and now I perceive that “ I did abuse your Highness with an untruth. For, besides “ your Grace's house, I think he be not in the realm, of “ none estate or degree, that hath such a hall furnished, “ or that fareth more honourably at his own table. Ah, said “ the King, have you spied your own fault now? I assure “ your Highness, said Mr. Seymor, it is not so much my “ fault as other men's; who seemed to be honest men, “ that informed me hereof. But I shall henceforth the

" worse trust them while they live. Then said the King, " I knew your purpose well enough; you have had among " you the commodities of the abbeys, which you have consumed: some with superfluous apparel, some at dice and " cards, and other ungracious rule. And now you would " have the bishops' lands and revenues to abuse likewise. If " my Lord of Canterbury keep such a hall as you say, being " neither term nor parliament, he is metely well visited at " those times, I warrant you. And if the other bishops kept " the like for their degree, they had not need to have any " thing taken from them, but rather to be added and " holpen. And therefore set your hearts at rest; there shall " no such alteration be made while I live, said the King. " So that in very deed, where some had penned certain " books for the altering that state in the next parliament, " they durst never bring them forth to be read. Whereupon it also came to pass, that, when the King understood, " that, contrary unto the report, my Lord of Canterbury " had purchased no lands, his Highness was content upon " the only motion of Dr. Butts, without my Lord Cranmer's 434 " knowledge, that he should have the abbey in Nottinghamshire; which his wife now enjoyeth.

" Thus much I have declared concerning Mr. Seymor's " practice, to the intent men may understand that my " Lord Cranmer's hospitality was a mean to stay the " estate of the clergy in their possessions."

CHAP. XXXI.

Archbishop Cranmer preserved the Revenues of his See.

The preserving the bishops' revenues owing to the Archbishop.

" AND here I must answer for my Lord Cranmer against " certain objections, which are in divers men's heads, that " by his means all the preferments, offices, and farms, are " so given and let out, that his successors have nothing to " give or bestow upon their friends and servants; nor that " such hospitality can be kept by reason of his fault, in " letting go such things as should have maintained provi-

"sions of household. But to answer this in a few words, "before I descend to any particular declaration. It is most "true, that, if he had not well behaved himself towards his "Prince and the world, his successors should not been "cumbered with any piece of temporal revenues; either "lands, woods, or other revenues. And I pray God they "may maintain, in this mild and quiet time, that which he "in a most dangerous world did uphold, and left to his "successors. Yet for better declaration, in answering to "those objections, it is to be considered, that, when he "entered upon his dignity, every man about the King made "means to get some reversion of farms, or of other office "of him. Insomuch that the King himself made means to "him for one or two things, before he was consecrated: as "for the farm of Wingham-Barton. Which was granted "unto Sir Edward Bainton, Kt. for fourscore and nineteen "years. When my Lord perceived, that, in such suits as he "granted to the King and Queen, men would needs have "an hundred years save one, he wrote to the Chapter of "Christ-Church, and willed them, in any condition, not to "confirm any more of his grants of leases, which were "above one and twenty years. By this means much suit "was stopped. So that in very deed he gave out his leases "but for one and twenty years. Which would not satisfy "the greedy appetites of some men: and therefore they "found a provision for it. For when my Lord had let out "certain goodly farms at Pinner, Heyes, Harrow on the "Hill, Mortlake, &c. to the number of ten or twelve farms, "for one and twenty years, taking no manner of fine for "them; all these farms by and by were put into an "exchange for the King. And the King had them not in "possession six days, but they were my Lord North's and "other men's. And they were not past one year in "their possessions, but that the reversion of every of them "was sold for more years: some for an hundred pounds, 435 "and some for more, and some for less, making sweepstakes "of altogethers. And so was my Lord used in all things "almost that he did let out for one and twenty years.

The Archbishop vindicated about his leases.

"By means whereof Justice Hales, and other of his coun- "sel, learned in the laws, advised him to let out his farms

By long leases he saved the revenues.

"for many years, which might be a mean that they should "not be so much desired in exchanges as they were: for "those farms, which came to my Lord, came with years "enough upon their backs. And so, upon this conclusion, "my Lord was fain to alter his purpose in letting of his "farms. Whereupon he did let St. Gregory's in Canter"bury to Mr. Nevyl, the priory of Dover, Chislet-Park, "and Curleswood-Park, with others, for so many years as "he did, on purpose to stay them; or else he had gone with"out them one time or other. And, as I heard say, since "your Grace was elect, Curleswood-Park was in exchange, "and the rent thereof paid for one half year unto the "Queen's use: but, so soon as they understood there were "so many years to come, it was reversed to the archbi"shoprick again. So that hereby partly may be perceived "in what state my Lord Cranmer stood with his lands.

Justified from diminishing the rents of the see.

"And as touching the diminishing of his rents, houses, "and other commodities, for the provision of his hospita"lity; if all things be well pondered, he had left the same "in better state than he found it. For, as touching his ex"changes, men ought to consider with whom he had to do: "especially with such a Prince as would not be bridled "nor be gainsaid in any of his requests, unless men would "danger altogethers. I was by when Otford and Knol "were given him. My Lord, minded to have retained Knol "unto himself, said, That it was too small an house for his "Majesty. Marry, said the King, I had rather have it than "this house, meaning Otford; for it standeth on a better "soil. This house standeth low, and is rheumatick, like "unto Croiden, where I could never be without sickness. "And as for Knol, it standeth on a sound, perfect, whole"some ground: and if I should make abode here, as I do "surely mind to do now and then, I will live at Knol, and "most of my house shall live at Otford. And so by this "means both those houses were delivered up into the King's "hands. And as for Otford, it is a notable great and ample "house: whose reparations yearly cost my Lord more than "men would think. And so likewise did Maidstone, which "had no manner of commodity to belong unto it. And I "am sure, that after certain exchanges passed between the

Otford and Knol.

"King and him, there were an hundred marks a year, or "thereabouts, allowed unto him in his last exchanges, for "recompense of parks and chases: and yet those parks "and chases, beside the provision of his venison, stood him "yearly in much more, by the reason of the patents and "fees belonging unto them, than he by any means else got "by them.

Curleswood.

"For as for Curleswood, it stood him in twenty nobles a "year fee. And yet there was no gain in it, but only co-"nies: which the keeper had also in his patent. So that the "Archbishop by suppressing of that, and raising that small "rent it payeth, may spend thereby seven pounds a year more "than it was accustomed to pay towards the archbishoprick.

Chislet-Park.

"And touching Chislet-Park, it came to my Lord in ex-"change for eight pounds a year. And the farmer payeth
436 "ten pounds: so that thereby is gained forty shillings a "year. Wherefore it cannot be indifferently gathered, that "my Lord, in preferring his friends unto these things, hath "any whit hindered the revenues of the bishoprick.

Pasture and meadow.

"And as touching pasture and meadow for the provision "of his house, both at Croyden, and about Canterbury, "Ford, and Chislet, there is thrice so much meadow, pas-"ture, and marsh, as was left unto him.

"And as for the sale of his woods, like as he was driven "to exchange them, and sell them for to maintain his hos-"pitality, especially having almost twenty years together "learned men continually sitting with him in commission; "for the trying out, and setting forth of the religion re-"ceived, and for the discussing of other matters in contro-"versy: some of them daily in diet with him, and some "evermore living in his house: so provided he again like "woods, more commodious for his houses; as the Blene-"woods, belonging to St. Austin's; and Pyne-wood, and "others which be known well enough.

Corn.

"And as touching provision for corn out of Chislet-Court, "and in other places, it is incredible what a business he had "and ado with Sir Christopher Hales, for that farm and "corn; who challenged it of the King by promise; and "so would have defeated my Lord thereof, had not the "King very benignly stood on his side. And it is no small

“ revenue to have yearly so much corn, both wheat, malt, “ and oats, at so mean a price.

“ And therefore let men leave off that report of him, that “ he was not beneficial to his successors. Other bishops, “ some of them, lost whole manors and lordships, without “ any exchange at all. Thus much my conscience hath “ compelled me to say, in defence of my lord and master “ his good name: whom I knew to take as much care for “ his successors in that bishoprick, as ever did Archbishop, “ or shall. And would have as much advanced the same, “ if the iniquity of the world would have permitted him

The best master towards his servants.

“ Now, finally, concerning his behaviour towards his family: I think there was never such a master among men “ both feared, and entirely beloved. For as he was a man “ of most gentle nature, void of all crabbed and churlish “ conditions, so he could abide no such quality in any of “ his servants. But, if any such outrageousness were in any “ of his men or family, the correction of those enormities “ he always left to the ordering of his officers: who weekly “ kept a counting-house. And if any thing universally were “ to be reformed or talked of; on that day, which commonly was Friday, the same was put to admonition. And “ if it were a fault of any particular man, he was called “ forth before the company: to whom warning was given, “ That if he so used himself after three monitions, he should “ lose his service.

An infamy that he was an hostler.

“ There was an infamy of him, that he should have been “ an hostler: which the ignorant popish priests, for very “ malice, had published against him. Saying, that he had “ no manner of learning at all, more than hostlers are wont 437 “ to have. And this rumour sprang of that, that when he “ had married his first wife, being reader then of Buckingham College, he did put his wife to board in an inn at “ Cambridge; and he resorting thither unto her in the inn, “ some ignorant priests named him to be the Hostler, and “ his wife the Tapster. This bruit then began, but it much “ more was quickened when he was Archbishop than before. “ Insomuch that a priest far north, about Scarborough, sitting among his neighbours at the ale-house, and talking “ of Archbishop Cranmer, divers men there commending

" him: What, said the priest, make ye so much of him? He " was but an hostler, and hath as much learning as the " goslings of the green that go yonder. Upon which " words, the honest men of the parish, which heard him, gave " information to my Lord Crumwel of those his slanderous " words. The priest was sent for before the council, and " cast into the Fleet; my Lord Cranmer not being that day " among the council, nor hearing no manner of word of the " priest's accusation. It chanced the priest to lie in the Fleet " eight or nine weeks, and nothing said unto him. He then " made suit by one, named Chersey, (a grocer dwelling " within Ludgate, now yet alive, and uncle, as I suppose, to " the priest,) unto my Lord Cranmer for his deliverance. " This Chersey brought the copy of the priest's accusation " from my Lord Crumwel's house. Whereby plainly appeared there was nothing laid unto the priest but those " words against my Lord Cranmer. And therefore he besought him to help him out of prison; for it had put him " to great charges living there, and he had a benefice which " was unserved in his absence; and said, that he was very " sorry he had so unhonestly abused himself towards his " Grace. Whereupon my Lord Cranmer sent to the Fleet " for the priest. When he came before my Lord, said my " Lord Cranmer to him, It is told me that you be prisoner " in the Fleet for calling me an hostler, and reporting that " I have no more learning than a gosling. Did you ever " see me before this day? No, forsooth, quoth the priest. " What meant you then to call me an hostler; and so to " deface me among your neigbours? The priest made his " excuse, and said, that he was overseen with drink. Well, " said my Lord's Grace, now ye be come, you may oppose " me to know what learning I have. Begin in grammar, " if you will, or else in philosophy, or other sciences, or divinity. I beseech your Grace pardon me, said the priest; " I have no manner of learning in the Latin tongue, but altogether in English. Well then, said my Lord, if you " will not oppose me, I will oppose you. Are you not wont " to read the Bible? quoth my Lord. Yes, that we do daily, " said the priest. I pray you tell me, quoth my Lord, then, " who was David's father? The priest stood still, and said, "I cannot surely tell your Lordship. Then said my Lord "again, If you cannot tell me that, yet declare unto me "who was Solomon's father? Surely, quoth the priest, I "am nothing at all seen in those genealogies. Then I per-"ceive, quoth my Lord, however you have reported of me, "that I had no learning, I can now bear you witness, that "you have none at all. There are such a sort of you in "this realm, that know nothing, nor will know nothing, 438 "but sit upon your ale-bench, and slander all honest and "learned men. If you had but common reason in your "heads, you that have named me an hostler, you might "well know that the King, having in hand one of the "hardest questions that was moved out of the Scripture this "many years, would not send an hostler unto the Bishop of "Rome, and the Emperor's council, and other Princes, to "answer and dispute in that so hard a question; even among "the whole college of Cardinals, and the rout of Rome. "By all likelihood the King lacked much the help of "learned men, that was thus driven to send an hostler on "such a voyage: or else the King hath many idle priests, "without wit or reason, that can so judge of the Prince and "his council, and of the weighty matters of the realm. "God amend you, said he, and get ye home to your cure, "and from henceforth learn to be an honest man, or at least "a reasonable man.

"The priest, lamenting his folly, went his way into his "country; and my Lord Cranmer discharged him out of "the Fleet, because there was no matter against him, but "that which only concerned my Lord. My Lord Crumwel, "within four days after, came to my Lord Cranmer, and "sware a great oath, That the popish knaves should pick "out his eyes, and cut his throat, before he would any "more rebuke them for slandering him. I had thought "that the knave priest, which you have discharged and "sent home, should have recanted at Paul's Cross on Sun-"day next. Yea, marry, quoth my Lord Cranmer, you "would have all the world know by that mean that I was "an hostler indeed. What manner of blockheads would "so think, quoth my Lord Crumwel. Too many Papists, "quoth my Lord Cranmer. Howbeit, quoth he, you have "caused the poor priest to spend all that he hath in prison; "and would you now put him to open shame too? He is "not the first, not by five hundred of them, that hath called "me so; and therefore I will not now begin to use extremity against this priest: I perceive he is sorry for it. "Well, quoth my Lord Crumwel, if you not care for it, no "more do I: but I warrant you one day, if they may, they "will make you and me both as vile as hostlers. This I "repeat to declare his lenity, and promptness to remit "notable offences; howbeit it should have been placed "before, if I had remembered it.

"Thus I have hastily penned such things as came to my "memory, since Saturday last: beseeching your Grace to "take it in good part, being certainly assured that I have "declared nothing of mine head, as concerning the very "matters."

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CHAP. XXXII.

Some Observations upon Archbishop Cranmer.

Observations upon the Archbishop.

BESIDES these observations, made to my hand by another, of this great Archbishop, I shall gather some further observations of his endowments and qualities, whether christian or moral: whereby we shall have occasion offered us of gathering up a few more memorials of him.

His learning very profound.

He was a most profound learned man in divinity, as also in the civil and canon laws. As appeared by those many voluminous writings and common-places, by him devised or collected out of all the Fathers and church-writings: which Peter Martyr reported he himself saw; and were indeed communicated to him by the Archbishop, while he harboured him at Lambeth. And there was no book, either of the ancient or modern writers, especially upon the point of the eucharist, which he had not noted with his own hand in the most remarkable places: no councils, canons, decrees of popes, which he had not read and well considered. And from this his indefatigable reading, and exact knowledge of authors, he ventured publickly, before the Pope's delegate, and Queen Mary's commissioners, to make this challenge; "That if it could be proved by any doctor above a thousand "years after Christ, that Christ's body is in the sacrament "of the altar really, he would give over."

His library.

So that his library was the storehouse of ecclesiastical writers of all ages: and which was open for the use of learned men. Here old Latimer spent many an hour; and found some books so remarkable, that once he thought fit to mention one in a sermon before the King. And when Ascham of Cambridge, a great student of politer learning, and of Greek authors, wanted Gregory Nyssen in Greek, (not the Latin translation of him,) and which it seems the University could not afford, he earnestly entreated Poynet, his Grace's chaplain, to borrow it in his name, and for his use, for some months of the Archbishop. For in those times it was rare to meet with those Greek Fathers in their own language, and not spoiled by some ill Latin translation. Another of his books I will mention, because it is now in the possession of a reverend friend of mine near Canterbury: in which book the Archbishop's name is yet to be seen, written thus with his own hand, *Thomas Cantuariensis;* and a remarkable book it is, which we may conclude the Archbishop often perused, *viz. Epistolæ et Historia Joannis Hus.* Printed at Wittemberg, 1537.

An excellent bishop.

And this learning happening in a mind possessed with piety, made him the more deeply sensible of the greatness of the charge that lay upon him. And as he well knew under what needs the church laboured, so he was very solicitous that nothing might be wanting on his part: shewing himself a most conscientious Bishop and tender Pastor of Christ's flock. He was not guided in his episcopal function by vainglory, or affectation of popular applause, or worldly ambi- 440 tion, or covetousness, but only by the holy and pious ends of discharging his duty, and promoting the honour of Christ, and the knowledge of his Gospel, and the good of his people: as he took God to witness in the preface of his book of the Sacrament. A paragraph whereof I think not unworthy to be here inserted, whereby it may appear of what a truly apostolical spirit our Archbishop was. "When I "see," said he, "Christ's vineyard overgrown with thorns, "brambles, and weeds, I know that everlasting woe apper-"taineth to me if I hold my peace, and put not to my hand "and tongue to labour in purging his vineyard. God I "take to witness, who seeth the hearts of all men tho-"roughly unto the bottom, that I take this labour for none "other consideration but for the glory of his name, and the "discharge of my duty, and the zeal I have toward the flock "of Christ. I know in what office God hath placed me, "and to what purpose. That is to say, to set forth his word "truly unto his people to the uttermost of my power, with-"out respect of persons, or regard of things in the world, "but of him alone. I know what account I shall make to "him hereof at the last day, when every man shall answer "for his vocation, and receive for the same, good or evil, ac-"cording as he hath done. I know how Antichrist hath "obscured the glory of God, and the true knowledge of his "Word, overcasting the same with mists and clouds of error "and ignorance, through false glosses and interpretations. "It pitieth me to see the simple and hungry flock of Christ "led into corrupt pastures, to be carried blindfold they "know not whither, and to be fed with poison, instead of "wholesome meats. And, moved by the duty, office, and "place, whereunto it hath pleased God to call me, I give "warning in his name unto all that profess Christ, that "they flee far from Babylon, if they will save their souls, "and to beware of that great harlot, that is to say, the "pestiferous see of Rome, that she make you not drunk "with her pleasant wine, &c."

His care of his own.

And as he had this care of the whole church of this land, as the high patriarch thereof, so he particularly had his eye upon his own diocese. He took care, even in King Henry's ticklish reign, to place such ministers in Kent as were learned, and dared to open their mouths to preach Gospel-doctrine, and to convince the people of the usurpations of the Bishop of Rome, and of the idolatry and superstitions, wherein they had been so long nursled up. And for the preventing whereof, for time to come, he ordered his Archdeacon, and other his officers, to take down images out of churches, and deface them. Which things created him much hatred among the popish clergy, whose gain depended so much therein. He had a peculiar regard of the greater towns of his diocese, that such places might be furnished with able men, where the inhabitants were numerous, and the salaries generally small. Whereby he saw it came to pass, that where there was most need of learned men, there the most ignorant were placed. Therefore he thought this worthy his redressing. I meet with this memorandum in one of his note-books: "These towns following are "especially to be remembered: that in them there be "placed learned men, with sufficient stipends."

In the Benet-library.

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Sandwich,
Dover,
Folkston,
Ashford,
Tenderden,
Crambroke,
Faversham,
Hearn,
Whitstable,
Marden,
Maydston,
Wye, and Wingham,

At the great towns he preached often.

In these great towns, as well as Canterbury, he often preached himself. And, for his sermons at Sandwich, he was once complained of openly in the parliament-house, to have brought him under the lash of the statute of the six Articles. And within seven or eight years, after his first entrance into the see, he had placed such store of good preachers about Kent, that, at another time, a long list of articles were drawn up against them, and given in to the justices of the county at a quarter-sessions of the peace; and they by a combination preferred the complaint to the King and council.

Affected not his high styles.

His high estate puffed him not up, nor made him forget the great work of his calling; which he very earnestly desired to prosecute above all things in the world. Nor did he care at all for the high titles that were attributed to him, as he was Archbishop of Canterbury, as may appear by this passage. Upon occasion of a question arising concerning his style of Primate of all England, for bearing which, in his summons for a provincial visitation, the Bishop of Winchester, out of malice, had complained to King Henry against him, as though it were an encroachment upon the King's supremacy; he protested to Crumwel, then Secretary, (who had sent him word of it,) "That, as God "should be merciful to him in the day of judgment, he set "not more by any title or style than he did by the paring "of an apple, further than it should be to the setting forth "God's word and will." His expression was, "That they "were the successors of Diotrephes that affected glorious "titles, styles, and pomps," he professed, "he could have "been willing that bishops should lay aside their lofty "styles, and only write themselves by the style of their "offices; *The Apostles of Jesus Christ.* And wished heartily, "that the christian conversation of the people were the "letters and seals of their offices, (as the Corinthians were "to St. Paul, who told them, that they were his letters, "and the signs of his apostleship,) and not paper, parchment, lead, or wax."

His diligence in reforming religion.

Great indeed and painful was his diligence in promoting God's truth, and reforming this church: insomuch that he raised up against himself the malice and hatred of very many thereby. These memorials, before related, do abundantly evince the same. The words of Thomas Becon, in an epistle dedicatory, deserve here to be transcribed: "In plucking up the enemy's tares, and in purging the "Lord's field, that nothing may grow therein but pure "wheat, your most godly and unrestful pains, most reverend "father, are well known in this church of England, and "thankfully accepted of all faithful christen hearts. Insomuch that very many do daily render unto God most "humble and hearty thanks for the singular and great "benefits which they have received of him, through your "vertuous travel, in attaining the true knowledge of "justification, and of the sacrament of Christ's body and "blood, [those two things especially he laboured to "retrieve and promote a true knowledge of,] and such "other holy mysteries of our profession. And albeit the "devil roar, the world rage, and the hypocrites swell, at "these your most christian labours, which you willingly "take for the glory of God, and the edifying of his "congregation, yet, as you have godly begun, so without "ceasing continue unto the end." And so he did, to the effusion of his blood not many years after.

Before his *Treatise of Fasting.*

Puts King Henry upon a purpose of reforming many things.

For he was very sensible of the gross abuses and corruptions into which the christian church had sunk: which made him labour much to get it purged and restored to its primitive constitution and beauty. And this he ceased not to make King Henry sensible of, putting him upon the reformation of the English church, as he could find occasion, and convenience serve him, to move him thereunto. Which found at last that good effect upon the King, that, towards the latter years of his reign, he was fully purposed to proceed to a regulating of many more things than he had done[a]. But the subtilty of Gardiner Bishop of Winton, and his own death, prevented his good designs. While the aforesaid Bishop was ambassador abroad, employed about the league between the Emperor and the English and French Kings, our Archbishop took the opportunity of his absence to urge the King much to a reformation; and the King was willing to enter into serious conference with him about it. And at last he prevailed with the King to resolve to have the roods in every church pulled down, and the accustomed ringing on Alhallow-night suppressed, and some other vain ceremonies. And it proceeded so far, that, upon the Archbishop's going into Kent, to visit his diocese, the King ordered him to cause two letters to be drawn up, prepared for him to sign: the one to be directed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the other to the Archbishop of York. Who were therein to be commanded to issue forth their precepts to all the bishops in their respective provinces, to see those enormities redressed without delay. Which our Archbishop accordingly appointed his secretary to do. And the letters, so drawn up, were sent by the Archbishop up to court. But the King, upon some reasons of state, suggested to him in a letter from Gardiner, his ambassador beyond sea, being by some made privy to these transactions, suspended the signing of them.

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[a] As long as Queen Ann, T. Crumwel, Bishop Cranmer, Mr. Denny, Dr. Butts, with such-like, were about him, and could prevail with him, what organ of Christ's glory did more good in the church than he? as is apparent by such monuments, instruments, and acts, set forth by him; in setting up the Bible in the church; in exploding the Pope with his vile pardons; in removing divers superstitious ceremonies; in bringing into order the inordinate orders of friars and sects; in putting chantrey priests to their pensions; in permitting white meats in Lent; in destroying pilgrimage-worship; in abrogating idle and superstitious holy-days; both by acts public, and by private letters to Boner. *Acts and Monum.* p. 1147. a. Edit. 1610.

The King again purposeth a reformation.

And that put a stop to this business for that time, till some time after the King, at the royal banquet made for Annebault the French King's ambassador, leaning upon him and the Archbishop, told them both his resolution of proceeding to a total reformation of religion: signifying that, within half a year, the mass both in his kingdom, and in that of France, should be changed into a communion; and the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome should be wholly rooted out of both; and that both Kings 443 intended to exhort the Emperor to do the same in his territories, or else they would break off the league with him. And at that time also he willed the Archbishop to draw up a form of this reformation, to be sent to the French King to consider of. This he spake in the month of August, a few months before his death. This his purpose he also signified to Dr. Bruno, ambassador here from John Frederick Duke of Saxony, some little time after, saying, "That if his master's quarrel with the Emperor "was only concerning religion, he advised him to stand to "it strongly, and he would take his part." But the King's death prevented all.

His influence upon King Edward.

And as for this King's next successor, King Edward, the Archbishop had a special care of his education. Whose towardliness, and zealous inclination to a reformation, was attributed to the said Archbishop, and three other bishops; *viz.* Ridley, Hoper, and Latimer, by Rodulph Gualter of Zurick: who, partly by his living some time in England, and partly by his long and intimate familiarity and correspondence with many of the best note here, was well acquainted with the matters relating to this kingdom. Of the great influence of one of these upon the King, *viz.* the Archbishop, the former memorials do sufficiently shew.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Archbishop Cranmer procures the Use of the Scriptures.

A great scripturist.

THE Archbishop was a great scripturist; and, in those darker times of Popery, was the chief repairer of the reputation of the holy Scriptures: urging them still for the great standard and measure in all controverted matters relating to religion and the church. By these he disentangled King Henry VIII. his great matrimonial cause, when all his other divines, who had the Pope's power and laws too much in their eyes, were so puzzled about it; shewing how no human dispensation could enervate or annul the Word of God. And in the course he took about the reforming of religion, the holy Scripture was the only rule he went by; casting by schoolmen, and the Pope's canons and decretals, and adhering only to the more sure word of prophecy, and divine inspiration. And so Roger Ascham, in a letter to Sturmius, in the year 1550, when they were very busy in the reformation, writes: [b]"That "such was the care of their Josiah, (meaning King "Edward,) the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the whole "privy-council, for true religion, that they laboured in "nothing more than that as well the doctrine as discipline "of religion might be most purely drawn out of the foun"tain of the sacred Scriptures; and that that Roman sink, "whence so many human corruptions abounded in the "church of Christ, might be wholly stopped up."

Procures the publishing the English Bible.

This his high value of the Scriptures made him at last 444
the happy instrument of restoring them to the common people, by getting them, after divers years opposition, printed in the English tongue, and set up in churches, for any to read that would for their edification and comfort;

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[b] Ea veræ religionis cura apud Josiam nostrum imprimis, et Cantauriensem, et universum concilium regium excubat, ut in nulla re æque laboratum sit, quam ut religionis, tum doctrina tum disciplina, ex Sacrarum Literarum fonte, purissime hauriatur: et ut sentina illa Romana, qua tot humanæ sordes in ecclesiam Christi redundârunt, funditus obstruatur.

when, for some hundred years before, those treasures had, for the most part, been locked up and concealed from them.

The bishops oppose it.

But, first, great was the labour of our Archbishop, before he could get this good work effected, being so disliked and repugned by the patrons of popery. For he had almost all the bishops against him; as may appear by what I am going to relate. The King being by the Archbishop brought to incline to the publishing thereof, the translation done by Coverdale was, by Crumwel or the Archbishop, presented into the King's hands; and by him committed to divers bishops of that time to peruse, whereof Stephen Gardiner was one. After they had kept it long in their hands, and the King had been divers times sued unto for the publication thereof, at last, being called for by the King himself, they redelivered the book. And being demanded by the King, what their judgment was of the translation? they answered, That there were many faults therein. Well, said the King, but are there any heresies maintained thereby? They answered, There were no heresies that they could find maintained in it. If there be no heresies, said the King, then, in God's name, let it go abroad among our people. This circumstance I thought fit to mention, being the substance of what Coverdale himself afterwards, at a Paul's Cross sermon, spake in his own vindication, against some slanderous reports that were then raised against his translation; declaring his faithful purpose in doing the same: confessing withal, "That he did then himself espy some "faults; which, if he might review it once again, as he had "done twice before, he doubted not (he said) but to amend." This is related by Dr. Fulk, who was then one of Coverdale's auditors, and heard him speak and declare all this.

Defence of the English Translat. ch. 1. p. 4. edit. 1583.

The first edition of the Bible.

The first edition of the Bible was finished by Grafton, in the year 1537, or 1538. That year our Archbishop procured a proclamation from the King, allowing private persons to buy Bibles, and keep them in their houses. And about two or three years after they were reprinted, and backed with the King's authority, the former translation having been revised and corrected, whether by certain learned men of both universities, or by some members of the convocation that were then sitting, it is uncertain. But to this translation

Antiq.Brit. in Vit. Cranm.

the Archbishop added the last hand, mending it in divers places with his own pen, and fixing a very excellent Preface before it. In which he divided his discourse between two sorts of men: the one, such as would not read the Scripture themselves, and laboured to stifle it from others. The other, such as read the Scripture indeed, but read it inordinately, and turned it into matter of dispute and contention, rather than to direct their lives. And thereby, while they pretended to be furtherers thereof, proved but hinderers, as the others were; these being as blameless almost as those.

The Preface to the Bible made by the Archbishop.

As to the former sort; he marvelled at them that they "should take offence at publishing the Word of God. For "it shewed them to be as much guilty of madness, as those "would be, who, being in darkness, hunger, and cold, "should obstinately refuse light, food, and fire. Unto "which three God's word is compared. But he attributed "it to the prejudice of custom: which was so prevalent, "that, supposing there were any people that never saw the "sun, such as the Cimmerii were fancied to be; and that "God should so order it, that that glorious light should in "process of time break in upon them, at the first some "would be offended at it. And when tillage was first "found out, according to the proverb, many delighted "notwithstanding to feed on mast and acorns, rather than "to eat bread made of good corn. Upon this reason he "was ready to excuse those, who, when the Scripture first "came forth, doubted and drew back: but he was of "another opinion concerning such as still persisted in "disparaging the publishing of the Scripture, judging "them not only foolish and froward, but peevish, perverse, "and indurate. And yet, if the matter were to be tried by "custom, we might allege custom for reading the Scripture "in the vulgar tongue, and prescribe more ancient custom "than for the contrary. Shewing that it was not above an "hundred years since the reading it in English was laid "aside within this realm: and that many hundred years "before it had been translated and read in the Saxon "tongue, being then the mother tongue; and that there "remained divers copies of it in old abbeys. And when "that language became old, and out of common usage, it

The contents thereof.

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"was translated into the newer tongue: and of this many "copies then still remained, and were daily found."

Then, from custom, he proceeded to consider the thing in its own nature; shewing how available it was that the Scripture should be read of the laity. For which he takes a large quotation out of St. Chrysostom, in his third sermon *De Lazaro;* wherein that father exhorted the people "to "read by themselves at home, between sermon and sermon; "that what he had said before in his sermons upon such "and such texts, might be the more fixed in their minds "and memories: and that their minds might be the more "prepared to receive what he should say in his sermons "which he was to preach to them. And that he ever had, "and would exhort them, not only to give ear to what was "said by the preacher in the church, but to apply them-"selves to reading the Scriptures at home in their own "houses." And a great deal more upon the same argument.

And then, as to the other sort, our Archbishop shewed, "how there is nothing so good in the world, but might be "abused and turned from unhurtful and wholesome, to "hurtful and noisome. As above in the heavens, the sun, "moon, and stars, were abused by idolatry; and here on "earth, fire, water, meat, drink, gold, silver, iron, steel, are "things of great benefit and use, and yet we see much harm "and mischief done by each of these, as well by reason of the "lack of wisdom and providence in them that suffer evil by "them, as by the malice of them that work the evil by them. "Advising therefore all that came to read the Bible, which
446 "he called *the most precious jewel, and most holy relick that* "*remained upon earth*, to bring with them the fear of God; "and that they read it with all due reverence, and used "their knowledge thereof, not to the vainglory of frivolous "disputation, but to the honour of God, increase of virtue, "and edification of themselves and others."

And then he backed this his counsel with a large passage out of Gregory Nazianzen; which was levelled against such as only talked and babbled of the Scripture out of season, but were little the better for it. And, lastly, he concluded his Preface, by directing to such qualifications as were proper for such as came to read these sacred volumes.

Namely, "That he ought to bring with him a fear of Almighty God, and a firm purpose to conform himself thereunto; and so continue to proceed from time to time, shewing himself a sober and fruitful hearer and learner." This whole Preface, for the antiquity and usefulness of it, and to preserve as much as we can of the writings of this most reverend man, I have transcribed and placed in the Appendix. No. CIV.

The frontispiece of Cranmer's edition of the Bible.

The edition in the year 1540 had a remarkable frontispiece before it: which, because it is somewhat rare, both in regard of the antiquity and device of it, I will relate. In the upper part thereof you see King Henry VIII. sitting in state, guarded on each hand of him with the lords spiritual and temporal; holding in his right hand a Bible closed, which he delivered unto Archbishop Cranmer, being on his knee, in the name of the rest of the bishops; all which stood at his right hand bare-headed, their mitres lying upon the ground, in token of their acknowledgment of the King's supremacy; and this motto issuing out of the King's mouth, *Hæc præcipe et doce.* Holding also in his left hand another Bible, stretched towards the lords temporal, and delivered to one (whom I suppose to be intended for the Lord Crumwel) at the head of them, standing on the left side, and this word coming out of the King's mouth towards them; *Quod justum est, judicate:* and this; *Ita parvum audietis, ut magnum:* and this; *A me constitutum est, et decretum, ut in universo imperio et regno meo homines revereantur et paveant Deum viventem.* Among these nobles is the figure of one on his knees, and these words issuing out of his mouth; *Verbum tuum lucerna pedibus meis.* Over the King's head is the figure of God Almighty sitting in the clouds, with these words coming out of his mouth in a scroll towards the right hand; *Verbum quod egredietur de me, non revertetur ad me vacuum, sed faciet quæcunque volui.* And in another scroll towards the left, with his hand pointing to the King, *Ecce servum, qui faciet omnes voluntates meas.* Underneath the bishops there is another figure, representing Archbishop Cranmer, his coat of arms by him, with the distinction of a crescent. He stood with his mitre on his head, and dressed in his *pontificalibus*, his chaplain behind him, and a priest

with a tonsure kneeling before him, in the posture of a candidate for priest's orders, and having his hand stretched out to receive the Bible offered him by the Archbishop, and out of his mouth this scroll; *Pascite, qui in vobis est, gregem Christi.* On the other side, opposite to the Archbishop, and underneath the lords temporal, stood another person, whom
447 I conjecture to be the Lord Crumwel, with his shield by him blank, without any bearing; and out of his mouth came, *Diverte a malo, sequere pacem et persequere.* In the lowest part of this frontispiece you have the resemblance of a priest, preaching out of a pulpit before a great auditory of persons of all ranks, qualities, orders, sexes, ages; men, women, children, nobles, priests, soldiers, tradesmen, countrymen. Out of the mouth of the preacher went this verse; *Obsecro igitur primum omnium fieri obsecrationes, orationes, postulationes, gratiarum actiones, pro omnibus hominibus, pro regibus*, &c. Implying the benefit accruing to princes by the people's knowledge of the Scriptures, namely, that it taught them to obey and pray for them. And out of the mouths of these hearers of all sorts issued, *Vivat Rex, Vivat Rex;* and out of the mouths of the children, *God save the King:* denoting the great joy the people conceived for the enjoyment of God's Word, and the preaching thereof, and their thankfulness to the King for his permission of the same. In the middle stood the title of the Bible: which was this; "The Bible in English; that is to say, The Con-"tents of all the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Tes-"tament, with a Prologue thereunto made by the Reverend "Father in God Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury. This "is the Bible appointed to the Use of the Churches. "Printed by Richard Grafton, *cum privilegio ad imprimen-"dum solum. An. Dom.* MDXL."

CHAP. XXXIV.

Archbishop Cranmer compassionate towards sufferers for Religion.

His affection and compassion towards professors of the Gospel. Particularly for Sir John Cheke, a prisoner;

AS he had a great love and value for the eminent professors and patrons of the Gospel, so he bare a most compassionate spirit towards those that suffered for the sake of it. It made a very great impression upon him when he heard that Sir John Cheke had been taken up and indicted, soon after Queen Mary's access to the crown; namely, in the month of August, which was the next month after. And not knowing wherefore he was indicted, whether for his meddling in the Lady Jane's business, or for his zeal in promoting religion, he earnestly desired Sir William Cecyl to inform him whether. If for the former, "considering (as "he said) he had been none of the chief doers in that mat-"ter, he hoped he should have been one of them that "should have partaken of the Queen's favour. But if it "were for the latter, *viz.* his earnestness in religion, if he "suffer for that, (said he,) *Blessed is he of God that suf-"fereth for his sake, howsoever the world judge of him. For "what ought we to care for the judgment of the world, when "God absolves us?*" But wishing most passionately withal that some means might be used for the relief of him and the Lord Russel, who it seems was clapped up for the same cause.

And the Lord Russel.

A patron to such as preached the Gospel in King Henry's days.

And indeed as our Archbishop was in the time of King Edward, he was the same under King Henry; that is, the common patron, as far as he might, or dared, of such priests who were drawn into trouble for professing or preaching the Gospel. So he shewed himself to Turner before mentioned: and in the year 1533, or 1534, I find him in a commission 448 for the relieving of another that had been most straitly and rigorously handled by Stokesly, then Bishop of London, and his Chancellor: his name was Thomas Patmore, Parson of Hadham in Hertfordshire, a learned and godly man, who had by them been condemned to imprisonment for life, together with the loss of his benefice and goods, because he had persuaded his curate to marry a wife; and, being privy to his marriage, did nevertheless suffer him to officiate in his church: and because he had preached certain doctrines at Cambridge, as laying little stress upon the Pope's curse, and that we are saved only by God's mercy; and that all that are saved, are saved by faith; and that it is against God's law to burn hereticks. This poor man, after three years close imprisonment in Lollards Tower, by the means of his friends, who put up frequent petitions to the King and the Lady Ann Bolen, was at last released, and obtained of the King a commission to our Archbishop, to whom were joined Audley, Lord Chancellor, and Crumwel, Secretary of State, to inquire into his injuries and unjust handling, and to determine thereof according to equity and justice.

Fox.

Thus favourable he was to religion and good men in the two former kings' reigns: but when Queen Mary succeeded, he could no longer be a sanctuary or succour unto them, unless it were to comfort them by words, and to pray for them, as was said before.

The Archbishop added, "that he was for his part now "utterly unable either to help or counsel, being in the "same condemnation that they were. But that the only "thing that he could do, he would not omit; and that was, "to pray for them, and all others then in adversity." But he entreated Cecyl, who by this time seemed to have gotten his pardon, or at least to be in good assurance of it, and so in a better capacity to raise up friends to those honest men, to use what means possible he could for them.

His succour of afflicted strangers in King Edward's days.

This was all he could do now for the prisoners of Christ. But while he was in place and capacity of succouring such distressed persons, as he was in King Edward's days, he gave them countenance, entertainment at his house and table, preferment, recommendation to the King and Protector. And indeed there was great need of some such patrons of poor Protestants, the persecutions in Italy, in Spain, in France, in Germany, and other places, being about this time extremely hot: which occasioned the flight of great numbers into this nation; which some of them styled *Christi*

Asylum, " A sanctuary for Christ[a]." In the year 1549 the persecution in France grew very warm: which was partly occasioned upon the inauguration of King Henry II. and his entrance into Paris for that purpose. For the burning of martyrs in several streets of the city, where and when the King was to pass by, made a barbarous part of the solemnity. In this year many French protestants, who had been imprisoned for religion in their own country, were either banished, or secretly made their escape into this kingdom. These applied to some French ministers, entertained, as it seems, in the Archbishop's family, with Bucer, Peter Martyr, 449 and others: which ministers delivered the condition of these poor men to the Archbishop. And having a petition to present to the Lord Protector, declaring their miserable state, and requiring relief, he appointed the French ministers to apply themselves to Cecyl, then Master of Requests to the Lord Protector: and, that he might be the more ready to recommend and forward the petition, to render it the more effectual, he advised Bucer, Martyr, Alexander, and Fagius, to write their letters jointly unto the said Cecyl, for the French ministers to carry along with them as their letter of credence. For the Archbishop well knew that Cecyl had a great esteem for those learned men, and that their letters would go a great way with him. Such was the particular care and diligence our Prelate piously used for relief of these poor French exiles. The copy of this letter I have thought well worthy to be put in the Appendix. No. CV.

England harbourous of strangers.

Indeed it was noted at this time, as a quality of the nation, that it was φιλόξενος, "addicted to shew favour to stran-" gers;" nay, " to admire them." And surely it was not without the providence of God, that when, in these difficult times, so many honest, pious, learned men, were forced from their own countries, friends, and estates, they found such hospitable entertainment here. Care was taken for their sufficient livelihoods; and for those of them that were towards learning, places were assigned them in the colleges

Anglos φιλοξένους esse non nego, et peregrinorum habiti sunt admiratores. Humfrid. de Nobilit.

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[a] Ad vos, ceu in asylum et portum tutissimum sub sanctissimi Regis alas confluebant Germani, Galli, Hispani, Itali, Poloni, Scoti, ut illic Deo suo in fidei libertate servirent, quam ipsis patria ingrata negabat. Gualt. Præf. ante Hom. in prior. D. Paul. Ep. ad Cor.

of the universities, and yearly stipends settled on them. Of those that were most forward and exemplary in these Christian offices, Dr. Laurence Humfrey (one who lived in those times, and was well acquainted with these matters) names King Edward in the first place: who, as he asserts of his own knowledge, was extraordinarily bountiful to them, both in London, and in the universities. Among the noblemen he mentions Henry earl of Dorset and Duke of Suffolk: and among the bishops, Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, of whom he bestowed this character; "that "he was worthy to succeed William Warham in his see, "whom he so well imitated, both in courteous behaviour "and hospitality."

In lib. de Nobilitat. p. 253.

The Archbishop's favour to foreigners.

And as he was in King Edward's days of such an hospitable disposition towards strangers, so he was noted for it in the reign of his father King Henry, being wont then to shew himself very kind and humane to such as travelled into these parts for learning, as well as for shelter. Gualter, the great divine of Zurick, being but a young man, came into England about the year 1537; and was so affected with the civilities he received here, that he let it stand upon record, in the Preface to his Homilies upon the first epistle to the Corinthians, how humanely he was received at Oxford, not only by the students, but by the public professors, and by divers at court. But among them he particularly mentioned "how Archbishop Cranmer, whom he styled *The immortal "Glory of England*, received him, though a young man "then, and a stranger, and had no experience of things, "nor any mark or excellency to recommend him."

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Unjustly charged with covetousness.

And as he was compassionate and hospitable, so he was of a free and liberal disposition; and, as became a Christian bishop, and an English peer, kept great hospitality. Yet however he could not escape the imputation of niggardice and closeness. He had been once accused of it to his master King Henry, but came off with honour, the King himself clearing him of that injurious scandal, and giving him a character of a quite contrary nature.

His words to Cecyl upon this charge.

And again in King Edward's reign, in the year 1552, some taking the advantage of his absence from the court, slandered him as though he were covetous. Which coming to his ear, by the cordial friendship of Cecyl, the King's secretary, he wrote that courtier a letter in vindication of himself; professing, "that he was not so doted to set his "mind upon things here, which neither he could carry "away with him, nor tarry long with them. And that he "took not half so much care for his living when he was "a scholar at Cambridge, as he did at that present, when he "was Archbishop of Canterbury; for as he had now much "more revenue than he had then, so he had much more to "do withal. And, that he rather feared stark beggary at "last."

This, and other things to the same purpose, he signified in that letter; that Cecyl thereby might the better understand his condition, and know how and what to plead at court in his behalf, as occasion served, as hath been more at large related before.

Reduced, as he feared, to stark beggary before his death.

By the way, I cannot but reflect upon one of the Archbishop's expressions, which seemed to have been uttered prophetically; so exactly did the event answer to his words: for to stark beggary he was indeed at last reduced: when, in his imprisonment at Oxon, he had not a penny in his purse. And, which was more, his enemies were so barbarously severe, that it would not be allowed any well-disposed person to relieve his necessity, nor to give him an alms; a privilege allowed any beggar beside. And when a gentleman of Gloucestershire, sensible of the Archbishop's need, and withal knowing how dangerous it was to give the poor Archbishop any money, had conveyed somewhat to the bailiffs, to be by their hands bestowed on him, Boner and Thirleby, the two bishops that degraded him, staid this gentleman, intending to send him up to the council, had he not gotten off by the intercession of some friends.

BOOK III.

CHAP. XXXV.

Some Account of Archbishop Cranmer's Housekeeping.

Some account of his housekeeping.

BUT the more fully to confute this calumny, it will not be amiss to look more narrowly into his housekeeping. His daily custom at Lambeth was, to dine in a room above, where all noblemen, and persons of better quality, that came to dine with him, were entertained. Here he was very honourably served, both with dishes and attendants. In the hall the table was every day very plentifully furnished, both for household servants and strangers, with three or four principal head-messes of officers: besides the relief of the poor at his gates. And, which is a very observable charity, as well as hospitality, he appropriated his mansion-house at Bekesborn in Kent, and his parsonage-barn, for harbour and lodgings for the poor, sick, and maimed soldiers, that came from the wars of Bulloign, and other parts beyond seas. For these he also appointed an almoner, a physician, and a chirurgeon, to attend on them, and to dress and administer physic to such of them as were not able to resort to their own countries; having also daily from his kitchen hot broth and meat: besides the common alms of his household, that were bestowed upon the poor people of the country. And when any of these were recovered, and were able to travel, they had money given them to bear their charges, according to the number of miles they were to pass before they got home.

Retrenches the clergy's superfluous housekeeping.

I do not know whether some might have taken advantage thus to slander him, from a laudable endeavour of his to reduce within some bounds the provisions of clergymen's tables, which in the latter times of King Henry the Eighth grew to great excess and extravagancy, so unbecoming spiritual men. For in the year 1541 the Archbishop, with the consent of the other Archbishop, and most of the bishops, and divers other deans and archdeacons, made a constitution for moderating the fare of their tables; *viz.*

"That archbishops should not exceed six divers kinds of

" flesh, or as many dishes of fish on fish-days. A bishop not " above five. A dean or archdeacon, four; and all under " that degree, three. But an archbishop was allowed at " second course to have four dishes, a bishop three, and all " others two; as custards, tarts, fritters, cheese, apples, " pears, &c. But if any of the inferior clergy should entertain any archbishop, bishop, dean, or archdeacon, or any of " the laity of like degree, as duke, marquis, earl, viscount, " baron, lord, knight, they might have such provision as " were meet for their degree: nor was their diet to be " limited when they should receive an ambassador, [to " recommend, I suppose, to foreigners the English hospitality."] 452 It was ordered also, " That of the greater fish " or fowl, as cranes, swans, turkeys, haddocks, pike, tench, " there should be but one in a dish: of lesser sorts than they, " as capons, pheasants, conies, woodcocks, but two: of less " sorts still, as of partridges, an archbishop, three; a bishop, " and other degrees under him, two. The number of the " black-birds were also stinted to six at an archbishop's " table, and to four for a bishop. And of little birds, as " larks, snytes, &c. the number was not to exceed twelve."

But so strongly bent were the clergy in those days to this sort of sensuality, that these injunctions of our Archbishop were observed but two or three months, and so they returned to their old superfluity again.

His pious design therein.

The Archbishop's pious design hereby was only to curb intemperance and unnecessary prodigality in such, upon whose office those vices cast such just reflections: but it could not reasonably argue any covetous temper in him; for, that the poor might not fare the worse for this intrenchment of exorbitant hospitality, but rather the better, the Archbishop in these aforesaid orders provided, " That " whatsoever was spared out of the old housekeeping, " should not be pocketed up, but laid out and spent in " plain meats for the relief of poor people."

Others charged him with prodigality.

And that this charge may still appear to be nothing but a mere detraction, proceeding from envy, or some other ill principle, others there were that would blame him for the contrary vice, of too much lavishing and unprofitable expence. So hard a matter is it for the best men to escape the spiteful and venomous insinuations of the world. But he patiently and with an even mind bore all.

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CHAP. XXXVI.

Archbishop Cranmer humble; peaceable; bold in a good cause.

Humble and condescending.

FOR, which is another thing to be remarked in him, he was very humble and condescending, and did not only bear to be reproved, but was thankful for it; and that even when the reproof was undeserved: which was the more to be valued in him, considering the height and dignity of his calling. To give an instance or two of this.

When, in the year 1552, Cecyl had charged him with the imputation of covetousness, as a report that went of him in the court, and which himself seemed partly to believe, begging withal pardon of his Grace for his freedom with him: our Archbishop told him, " That as for the " admonition, he took it very thankfully; and that he had " ever been most glad to be admonished by his friends; " accounting no man so foolish, as he that would not hear " friendly admonishment." And when, at another time, the same Cecyl (who would always take the liberty to speak his mind to his friends, whensoever he thought they wanted counsel) had signified to him the hazard he incurred in not shewing more compliance towards the Duke of Northumberland, who now swayed all; and then apologizing for his boldness; Cranmer was so far from taking this ill, that " he returned him his very hearty thanks for his friendly " letter and advertisements; desiring him to be assured " that he took the same in such good part, and to proceed " of such a friendly mind, as he ever looked for at his " hands, and whereof he would not be unmindful, if " occasion hereafter served, to requite the same."

And this good temper led him also to gentleness and lenity. He was no huffer nor contender, but of an exceeding peaceable and amicable spirit. Whereunto he was moved by the reason of policy, as well as religion: because he well saw how a contentious quarrelsome disposition in great men would be apt to give an ill example unto inferiors. There happened once, in the year 1552, a contest between him and the Lord Warden of the Cinque-ports, who lived not far from him; and so probably it might be about some worldly matters. It was Sir Thomas Cheyny; who, in the year 1549, was one of those that met with Warwick in London, and published a proclamation against the Archbishop's friend, the Duke of Somerset, as a traitor: which might be an occasion that the Archbishop did not much affect Cheyny, nor Cheyny the Archbishop. Concerning this difference between them, which it seems was taken notice of at court, when his true friend Cecyl had wrote to him, advising a reconciliation, he gave this Christian and meek answer from his house at Ford; "That there was no man more loth to 454 "be in contention with any man than he was; especially "with him who was his near neighbour, dwelling both in "one county, and whose familiar and entire friendship he "most desired, and that for the quietness of the whole "county." Adding, "That the examples of the rulers and "heads would the people and members follow."

Peaceable and mild.

His peaceableness also appeared in his hearty desires of the public peace, as well as private. When, upon occasion of hearing of the wars that were about the year 1552, eagerly followed both in Christendom and out of it, he used these words; "The Sophy and the Turk, the Emperor "and the French King, not much better in religion than "they," [such it seems was his censure of them, by reason of the cruelty and persecution they exercised, and the disturbances they made in the world,] "rolling the stone, "or turning the wheel of fortune up and down; I pray "God send us peace and quietness with all realms, as well "as among ourselves."

His speech upon the news of wars abroad.

But though he were of so quiet and mild a spirit, yet, being a plain downright man, he would never learn the arts of flattery and base compliances with them that were uppermost: which had like to have created him much trouble

Unacquainted with the arts of court-flattery.

Would never crouch to Northumberland.

from Northumberland; to whom he carried not himself with that deference and pleasingness as he expected. For Cranmer knew the bad heart of this haughty man, and could not forget the ill measure his friend, the Duke of Somerset, had found at his hands. He did not care to make any application to him, nor to be an instrument in forwarding any of his designing business. When he was to write up to some of the court concerning Reiner Wolf, I suppose for license to print the Articles of Religion, anno 1552, he desired to take Cecyl's advice, to whom he should write; "For I know not," saith he, "to whom to write but my "Lord of Northumberland;" to whom to make any address he would fain have avoided if he could. There was, about the year 1552, a commission issued out for a strict inquiry to be made after all such as had defrauded the King of any goods or treasure, accruing to him by the suppression of chauntries, or that belonged to churches. Now this was done by Northumberland and his creatures on purpose that it might light heavy upon Somerset's friends, who had been the chief visitors in those affairs, and had many of them been supposed to have enriched themselves thereby. Commissioners were appointed in each county. In Kent the commission was directed to the Archbishop, and to several other gentlemen and justices of peace. The Archbishop, perceiving well the spite and malice of this commission, acted very slowly in it: insomuch that Northumberland began to be highly angry with him. Cecyl observing it, and having ever a great veneration for that good man, and fearing he might feel the effects of his fury, writ to him, signifying Northumberland's displeasure, and giving him advice to take heed of him: for which the Archbishop thanked him, and prudently writ his excusatory letter to that Duke, dated November 20, signifying, "that
455 "the cause of his stay of the commission was, because he "was alone, and that the gentlemen and justices of peace, "who were in commission with him, were then at London, "[probably because of the Term,] before whose coming "home, if he should proceed without them, he might," as he said, "travel in vain, and take more pains than he "should do good." And by such soft but honest words

mollifying him for the procrastination of that which he had no mind to meddle in.

He and Ridley fall under the Duke's displeasure.

But not long after he, and Ridley Bishop of London with him, fell under great displeasure with this Duke, and the rest of the great men of his party; who in the latter end of King Edward's reign governed all. The reason whereof was, for opposing, as much as they could, though to no effect, the spoil of the church-goods; which were taken away only by a commandment of the higher powers, without request or consent of them to whom they did belong; as Ridley himself relates in his treatise, wherein he lamented the change of religion in England: which indeed was more than ever Henry VIII. had done.

Ridley's lamentation.

Bold and undaunted in God's cause.

Add to the rest, that our Bishop was of a bold and undaunted courage in the cause of God and his church. It was a brave and generous act, and worthy the chief Bishop of the English church; I mean that public challenge which he made to maintain the Common Prayer-Book, and the other parts of the reformation, by the Scripture and Fathers, in open disputation, against whomsoever, if the Queen so pleased to permit it: which was done by him soon after the Queen's coming to the throne. And had he not been prevented by others, who dispersed copies of this challenge without his knowledge, it had been made very solemnly, as he freely told the Queen's council, by fixing this his declaration on the doors of St. Paul's, and other churches, with his hand and seal to it. And his courage herein appeared the greater, because he was at this very time under a cloud, and in great danger; having some time before now been convented before the council, and confined to Lambeth.

Falsely charged with cowardice, and too much flexibility.

And whosoever shall consider that good progress that by his means was made in religion, not only in King Edward's reign, but even in that of King Henry, under the discouragements of an anciently-riveted superstition and idolatry; and withal shall ponder the haughty nature of that Prince, of so difficult address, and so addicted to the old religion; and how dangerous it was to dissent from him, or to attempt to draw him off from his own persuasions; cannot but judge Cranmer to have been of a very bold spirit, to venture so far as he did. And undoubtedly his courage went an equal pace with his wisdom and discretion, and was no whit inferior to his other excellent qualifications. And this I say the rather, to vindicate the memory of this most reverend Prelate from an unworthy reflection, made upon him in a trifling account of his life: wherein he is charged to be "of too easy and flexible a disposition, which made him "cowardly to comply with the church of Rome. And, "that though he never did any harm to the Protestants, "yet he did not unto them so much good as he might or "ought." For the confutation of which, I appeal to numberless passages which I have written of him. But it is easy to see from whence this author had this character of our Archbishop; namely, from Parsons and Saunders, two malicious calumniating jesuits. The former hath these words of him; "That to the King's will and liking he resolved to "conform himself, as well in religion as in other things. "And, that when King Henry was large towards the "Protestants, Cranmer was so also; but when the King "became more strict and rigorous, especially after the six "Articles, Cranmer was ready to prosecute the same." And therefore Saunders framed a name for the Archbishop, calling him *Henricianus;* in the same sense as Herod's creatures in the Scriptures were called *Herodiani.* A very false character of this good Archbishop, to say no worse of it.

Abel Redivivus.

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Three Conversions.

I must here make a note of one quality more of our Archbishop: which was this; that he was a man of ardent affections, and of an open and generous temper; and where he loved, he thought he could never enough express it. An instance of this I will give in Bishop Thirleby: to whom, for the good qualities he supposed were in him, he had a most earnest love. An account of this I will lay down in the words of Morice, the Archbishop's secretary, who well knew it.

Of ardent affections.

Inter Foxii MSS.

"Besides his special favour to him," saith he, "that "way, [in recommending him to the King,] there was no "man living could more friendly esteem any man of him"self, as my Lord Cranmer did this Thirleby; for there "was no kind of pleasure which my Lord Cranmer was "liable to do, that was not at this man's commandment: "whether it were jewel, plate, instrument, map, horse, or "any thing else, though he had it from the King's Majesty; "but if this man did once like or commend it, the gentle "Archbishop would forthwith give it unto him. And many "times Dr. Thirleby, for civility-sake, would instantly refuse "the same, yet would he send it unto him the next day "after to his house. Insomuch that it came into a common "proverb, *That Dr. Thirleby's commendation of any thing of* "*my Lord's, was a plain winning or obtaining thereof.* So "that some men thought, that if he would have demanded "any finger, or other member of his, he would have cut it "off to have gratified him therewith; such was his ardent "affection towards him. This no small sort of honest men, "now living, can testify;" that is, about the year 1565, when this was written.

Cranmer compared with Cardinal Wolsey.

It may deserve also a remark, that our good Prelate rose upon the fall of another great churchman, *viz.* the Cardinal of York. For about that very time the King rejected Wolsey from his favour and employment, Cranmer succeeded into them. It may be also observed, that, as the King's great matter of the divorce was first moved and managed by Wolsey; so it was taken up, and vigorously 457 carried on, and successfully ended, by Cranmer. And as the former started it upon an unjust policy, and so in the issue, by God's secret judgment, prospered no better by it, it finally proving his ruin; so the latter, acting in it out of a better and more honest principle of conscience and religion, became thereby advanced to the greatest honour in the church: which he held for twenty years together. Though at last indeed it had the same fatal issue to him, by the secret malice of Queen Mary, as it had to the Cardinal before, by the secret displeasure of Queen Ann. But as they were thus parallel in the cause of their falls, so their demeanors under their calamities were very different. The Cardinal under his shewed a most abject and desponding mind; but our Archbishop's carriage was much more decent under his, remaining undaunted and magnanimous: having a soul well fortified by the principles of solid virtue and religion, which the other had not. And this appeared in him, when, being brought forth to be baited before Brooks, the Pope's subdelegate; and Martin and Story, the King's and Queen's commissioners at Oxford; he gravely, and with an unmoved spirit, used these words: "That he acknowledged God's "goodness to him in all his gifts; and thanked him as "heartily for that state wherein he found himself then, as "ever he did in the time of his prosperity; and that it was "not the loss of his promotions that grieved him at all."

CHAP. XXXVII.

Osiander's and Peter Martyr's Character of the Archbishop.

THE last thing I shall observe of him is, that he always remained the same man; not altered by his honours and high advancements. As he was a person of great piety, goodness, affability, and benignity, before he was Archbishop, and the sunshine of royal favour, so he continued at all times after. For a witness of this, I will set down two characters given him by two foreign learned men, both which knew him well.

Osiander's character of the Archbishop.

The one shall be of Osiander; from whom we may take this account of what he was before he was Bishop, while he remained abroad in Germany. Osiander, that great divine of Norinberg, professed to love him for some excellent endowments that were common to him with some other good men, but especially for others more extraordinary and peculiar to himself: of the former sort was, "that he was a "gentleman of good birth and quality; that he had an "aspect and presence that carried dignity with it, an incredible sweetness of manners; that he had learning beyond "the common degrees of it; was benign and liberal towards "all, and especially to those that were studious and of good "literature. Of the latter, were those more abstruse and
458 "heroical virtues of his mind, rare to be found in the "age wherein he lived, *viz.* his wisdom, prudence, for-

Epist. Dedicat. ante Harmon. Evangelic.

"titude, temperance, justice; a singular love towards his "country, the highest faithfulness towards the King; a contempt of earthly things, a love of heavenly; a most burning study towards the evangelick truth, sincere religion, "and Christ's glory." And this was Cranmer before he was placed in his high and honourable station.

And Peter Martyr's.

The other character of Cranmer is that of Peter Martyr; who thus speaks of him, when he was at the top of all his earthly honour, in the middle of King Edward's reign: "That his godliness, prudence, faithfulness, and his singular "virtues, were known to all the kingdom. That he was so "adorned with the grace and favour of Christ, as that, "though all others are the children of wrath, yet in him "piety, and divine knowledge, and other virtues, might "seem to be naturally born and bred; such deep root had "they taken in him. So that Martyr often wished and professed, he should esteem it as a great benefit vouchsafed "him of God, that he might come as near as might be to "his virtues, which he admired in him as the wonderful "gifts of God. And, as to himself and others, fled into "these quarters for religion, that Cranmer's kindness and "humanity, merits and benefits towards them, were such, "that if he should render just thanks, and speak of them as "they deserved, he must do nothing but tell of them; and "how much soever he should extol them, the greatness of "the matter would overreach his speech. And that it was "well known to all how humanely he received not him "only, but many other strangers of his order, and how "kindly he treated them."

Ep. Dedicat. ante librum de Eucharist.

Bale's character of the Archbishop.

To both these I will subjoin the judgment of another, who, I cannot but conclude, was well acquainted with the Archbishop, and a long and diligent observer of his demeanor in his superintendency over the church; and that was John Bale, sometime Bishop of Ossory. "He never placed," said he, "the function of a bishop in the administration of secular "things, but in a most faithful dispensation of God's Word.

In Centur.

"In the midst of wicked Babylon he always performed "the part of a good guide of Israel. And among Papists, "that tyrannized against the truth of Christ, he governed "the people of God with an admirable prudence.

"No man ever so happily and steadily persisted, with "Christ himself, in the defence of the truth, in the midst of "falsely learned men, in such imminent hazard of his life, "and yet without receiving any harm.

"No man did more prudently bear with some false apostles for a time, although, with St. Paul, he knew what "most pestilent men they were, that so they might not be "provoked to run into greater rage and madness."

The difficult times wherein Cranmer lived.

All this that I have before written concerning this our venerable Prelate cannot but redound to his high praise and commendation: and it is very fit such virtues and accom-459 plishments should be celebrated and recorded to posterity. Yet I do not intend these my collections for such a panegyrick of him, as to make the world believe him void of all faults or frailties, the condition of human nature. He lived in such critical times, and under such Princes, and was necessarily involved in such affairs, as exposed him to greater temptations than ordinary. And if any blemishes shall, by curious observers, be espied in him, he may therefore seem the more pardonable; and his great exemplary goodness and usefulness in the church of God may make ample amends for some errors.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The Archbishop vindicated from Slanders of Papists.

A lying character of this Archbishop by a late French author.

I HAVE given, I hope, a just, though imperfect, account, from undoubted records and authentic manuscripts, as well as the best published books, of the excellent endowments of this great Prelate, and of his innocent, prudential, and useful behaviour in his high place and station. So that none, who impartially weighs the premisses, can conclude otherwise of him, than that he was a very rare person, and one that deserves to be reckoned among the brightest lights that ever shone in this English church. And this all the sober unprejudiced part of posterity will believe, notwithstanding the unjust calumnies some hot-spirited Papists have cast upon his memory.

I shall pass over the unhandsome name that Feckenham gave him, calling him *Dolt;* as he did also his two other brethren in tribulation, Ridley and Latimer, prisoners then in Oxford, (men by far more learned than himself,) upon occasion of Mr. Hawks esteeming them deservedly "godly "and learned men."

I shall also pass by what Bishop Boner then said of him, *viz.* "That he dared to say, that Cranmer would recant so "he might have his living;" as though he were a man of a prostituted conscience, and would do any thing upon worldly considerations.

But there is a late French writer, whom I cannot but take notice of with some indignation; who, to shew his bigoted zeal to the Roman church, hath bestowed this most defamatory character upon this our Archbishop; "That he was one of the profligatest men of England; "that had nothing of Christianity in him, but the outward "appearances; being ambitious, voluptuous, turbulent, and "capable of all sorts of intrigues." Of which all that I have written is an abundant confutation; besides the severe chastisements the right reverend the Bishop of Sarum hath lately bestowed upon this author: who questionless was well versed in those famous Popish calumniators of our reformation, and of this our Archbishop, the great instaurator thereof, and had a mind to outdo them in their talent of throwing dirt. Those, I mean, who, living in the 460 age past, did most bitterly and virulently, as it fell in their way, fly upon Cranmer's memory and fame, to eclipse it to posterity if they could; namely, Saunders, Allen, and Parsons, and some others. But those who read these Memorials will be able easily to confute them, and will perceive that these men sought not so much to say what was true, as what might serve the ends of their anger and spite; their reports being made up for the most part of nothing but lies and slanders illy patched together.

Varillas his History of Hereticks.

Allen, if he were the answerer of the *Execution of English Justice*, saith, "that Cranmer was a notorious perjured, "and often relapsed Apostata, recanting, swearing and

Allen's calumny of the Archbishop.

Sincere and modest Defence of English Catholicks, p. 45.

"forswearing at every turn." A heavy charge; but we are left to guess what these perjuries, these so often swearings and forswearings, these relapses and recantations be. But it is enough for them to roar out "notorious perjuries, &c." But let us see what oaths Cranmer took, that might occasion his perjuries. He swore, at his consecration, the usual oath to the Pope; and, in his future doings, laboured to restore the King's supremacy against the Pope's usurpations, and to promote a reformation against the Pope's superstitions. Was this one of his "notorious perjuries?" It is pity the doing so good a thing should fall under so bad a name. But, at the taking of that oath, did he not make a solemn protestation openly before public notaries, and that entered down into record, that he intended not by the said oath to do any thing against the law of God, the King, or the realm, and their laws and prerogatives; nor to be abridged thereby from consulting for the reformation of religion? In which way the best civilians then put him, and assured him, that by this means he might safely, without any guilt, take the oath to the Pope: which otherwise he would not have done. And truly, for my part, I think there was no other way to escape that perjury, that all other bishops elect in those times were entangled in, by swearing two contrary oaths, one to the Pope, and another to the King. Cranmer sware also, at receiving orders, to live chastely; but he afterwards married a wife. Surely hereby he brake not his oath, but rather kept it. He did likewise swear to the succession of Queen Ann: but would Allen have all that submitted to that act of parliament to be perjured? That would reflect upon the wisdom of the three estates at that time, in making such an ensnaring law; and involve all sorts of people, both clergy, nobility, and gentry, and all other persons of age, in perjury, as well as the Archbishop, excepting only two persons, More and Fisher, who would not submit to this act. And even they themselves offered to swear to the succession itself, and refused only to swear to the preamble of the said act. There was indeed an act made, which seemed contrary to this act, namely, that which in the year 1536 put by the succession of Queen Ann, and carried it to the King's children by

Wiped off.

another Queen; and to this act the subjects were to swear also. And we will suppose that the Archbishop swore with the rest to this act. Neither was there any perjury here; for this oath in truth was not contrary to the former: for by reason of some lawful impediment of Queen Ann's marriage with the King, as was then pretended, it was declared by the parliament, that the issue of that Queen was illegitimate, and 461 not inheritable. And the first oath was only for the succession of lawful issue by Queen Ann. Therefore, there being no lawful issue of that Queen, as was then at least supposed, the oath to the lawful issue of another Queen might certainly be very innocently taken, without incurring the breach of the former. And where at length is this "notorious "perjury, and swearing and forswearing at every turn?"

Cleared from his charge of apostasy.

Allen again lets fly upon him, calling him *Apostata*. But surely it is not apostasy to leave error, superstition, and idolatry, for the true doctrine and profession of the Gospel. He chargeth him also with "often relapsing and recanting." He made no relapses nor recantations at all, as I know of, unless a little before his death, when he subscribed to a parcel of Popish articles, by the importunity of Papists, working upon his frailty and long-sufferings. But he soon revoked all again, and died most patiently in the profession of the true religion. And to this at last comes all this mighty clamour, that he was "notoriously perjured, an "often relapsed Apostata, recanting, swearing and for-"swearing at every turn."

Saunders's falsehoods of the Archbishop. *De Schism. Ang.*

Saunders his scurrilous and false accounts of Cranmer are numberless; I will only mention one or two. He saith, "That from Cambridge he went to the service of "Sir Thomas Bullen, and by his preferment was made "Archbishop of Canterbury." Whereas from Cambridge he was immediately made the King's chaplain, and wanted not the recommendation of any to his preferment, the King being so well acquainted with his merits. And though he abode some time with the Earl of Wiltshire, whom he styleth Sir Thomas Bullen, yet it was not in the quality of his chaplain, but of one whom the King recommended to him. He writeth, "that the Archbishop carried his wife "about with him in a chest, when he removed;" and addeth

BOOK III.

a ridiculous story relating thereunto. And his brother Parsons saith, "This was a most certain story, and testified "at that day by Cranmer's son's widow to divers gentlemen, "her friends," from whom Parsons saith he had it. Other Popish dignitaries in those days kept and conversed with their concubines and whores more publickly; and did the Archbishop keep his wife so close? But in case he had travelled with her more openly, who should examine the Archbishop, and call him to account, whether she was his wife or his concubine? and therefore the story is most improbable. The King himself knew he had a wife well enough. And when the Archbishop saw the danger of having her with him, he sent her away to her friends beyond sea for a time. And that silly story comes through too many hands, before it came to Parsons, to make it credible. Cranmer's son tells it to his wife, nobody knows where: she, being a widow, tells it to certain gentlemen, nobody knows who: and they tell it to Parsons, nobody knows when. No one place, person, or time, mentioned. And so all the faith of the matter lies upon a woman's evidence, and her's upon the credit of those two very honest men, Parsons and Saunders.

In his book of the *Three Conversions*.

Parsons his compliments to the Archbishop.

In Parsons his Three Conversions of England are these many favourable expressions of our Archbishop to be found: that "he was the first heretick in that order, [of Archbishops "of Canterbury.]" 462 Because he was the first that laboured a reformation of the horrible errors of the degenerate church of Rome. And, "that he was the first Archbishop "of Canterbury that ever brake from the Roman faith." And, that "this was the first change of religion in any "Archbishop, from the beginning unto his days." Designing thereby to fix a very black mark upon him, which rather redounds to his everlasting honour. That "he was an "unconstant man in his faith and belief: incontinent in his "life: variable in all his actions: accommodating himself "always to the times wherein he lived, and to the humours "of those who could do most; and this in matters even "against right and conscience." No, but quite contrary; he was constant in his faith and belief to the very last; except one fall, which he soon recovered: most chaste in his life, living in the holy state of marriage: steady in all his

In his Kalendar.

actions; accommodating himself always, neither to the times nor to the humours of any man, let him be as great as he would, any farther than he might do in right and conscience: and often opposing King, Parliament, Privy-council, and Synods, to his utmost danger, in defence of truth, and for the discharge of his own conscience.

Again, " That he was a [Roman] Catholick in most " points during King Henry's reign." Whereas he was so in no point, excepting in that of the corporeal presence. " That he applied himself to the religion which the state " and Prince liked best to allow of in that time [of King " Henry VIII.]" From which he was so far, that he often boldly and publickly declared against divers things which the King was bent upon; as in the act of the six Articles, and in composing the book called *The Necessary Erudition.* That " these three, the King, Queen Ann, and Archbishop " Cranmer, held the catholick faith, usages, and rites; and " went as devoutly to mass as ever, and so remained they, " in outward show, even to their deaths." Though some years before Cranmer's death, namely, from the first year of King Edward, the mass was wholly laid aside, and never used at all. That " Cranmer and Crumwel went to mass, " after the King married the Lady Ann Bolen, as before." What they did as to the going to mass, our histories tell us little of: if they did, it was with little approbation of it. " And as Crumwel on the scaffold protested, that he was a " good catholick man, (but there is difference between a " good catholick, and a Roman catholick,) and never doubted " of any of the church sacraments then used." Thereby intending, I suppose, to make a difference between them and the Gospel sacraments. But surely Crumwel in his lifetime was so utterly against four or five of them, that he brought Aless, a learned man, into a convocation to dispute there for two only. " And the like Cranmer had done no " doubt, if he had been brought to the scaffold in King " Henry's days: which had been a happy case for him." To a scaffold they of the Roman persuasion endeavoured many a year to bring him; and they would have thought it a happy case for them, if they could have brought it to pass. But I verily believe the quite contrary to this confident assertion, and that he would have owned the truth to the last, as he did afterwards in the reign of that King's daughter, Queen Mary.

463 That "he always fell jump with them that governed, and "could do most." No, he never fell in with Gardiner, who sometime had the ascendant over King Henry; nor with the Duke of Northumberland, who could do most, and did all for a time with King Edward. That "when King Henry "was large towards the Protestants, Cranmer was so also, "joining with Crumwel to protect them. But when the "King became more strait and rigorous, especially after "the six Articles, Cranmer was ready to prosecute the "same." He argued long and earnestly in the House against those six Articles; and, when he saw they would pass, he protested against it; and was so troubled about it, that the King sent the Duke of Norfolk and the Lord Crumwel, and divers other noble persons, to comfort him in the King's name. So that I hardly think he would after this be brought to prosecute that bloody act, the making of which he so utterly disliked. Nor is there the least footstep of it in history. Indeed Parsons bringeth in some persons, in whose deaths he would have the Archbishop to have a hand. "As may appear," saith he, "by the sentence of "death pronounced against Lambert, Thomas Gerard, "William Jerome, and Ann Ascue, and others, condemned "by him for denying the real presence." Though in King Henry's time the Archbishop believed the real presence, yet he was not for putting any to death that denied it. No; such extreme rigours, for an error, he utterly detested. Lambert suffered before the act of the six Articles. Nor did the Archbishop condemn him, but only, by the King's command, disputed against him. Gerard, [he means Garret,] and Jerome, and Ann Ascue, were condemned and burnt indeed; but he had no manner of hand either in their condemnation or death, as we can find in our histories. But Winchester, Boner, and Wriothesly, and others of that gang, shed those good people's blood. And it is an impudent falsehood to lay their condemnation to the Archbishop's charge.

He saith further, that "to the King's will and liking he

" resolved to conform himself, as well in religion, as in all " other things." If he had said this of Bishop Gardiner, the character would have better by far fitted him. He saith, that " he divorced the King of his own authority from Queen " Katherine." Whereas, in truth, what he and Winchester, and other bishops, did in this affair, was by commission from the King, and not by their own authority. That " he " married the King to Queen Ann." That " it was in " open parliament, under his hand-writing, yet extant in " public printed records, to his eternal shame, that the " Queen [that is, Queen Ann] was never true wife unto " the said King." Where was the eternal shame of this, when he set his hand to no more than what she herself confessed before him? See more of this before. That " after this he married the King to Jane Seymour, and " after to Queen Ann of Cleves, and after that to Katherine Howard, and after that to Katherine Parre." Which we must take upon his word: for I think it hard by any good history to know it. And what if Cranmer did all this? That " he joined with the Protector in overthrowing King " Henry's will; and with Dudley against the Protector." Palpable falsehoods! the contrary whereof is notoriously known to any ordinary historian. Of the same truth is, that " he joined with Dudley and the Duke of Suffolk for 464
" the overthrow of the King's two daughters: and after " that with Arundel, Pembroke, Paget, for the overthrow " of Northumberland and Suffolk." He joined with these for the setting the true heir in the throne, not for the overthrow of any particular persons.

Again, he saith, " Cranmer and Ridley followed King " Henry's religion and humour while he lived, and resolved " to enjoy the pleasures and sensualities of this time, " [of King Edward,] so far as any way they might " attain unto." No, they were men more mortified, and that made little account of the pleasures and vanities of this wretched world. " Getting authority into their hands " by the Protector, and others that were in most place, " began to lay lustily about them, and to pull down all " them, both of the clergy and others, whom they thought " to be able and likely to stand in their way, or resist their "inventions." Instancing in Gardiner and Boner, and speaking of their "unjust persecution and deprivation, by "such violent and calumnious manner as is proper to "hereticks to use: whereby a man may take a taste what "they meant to have done if they had had time." Here they are set forth as a couple of most worldly, ambitious, haughty men, contriving by all, however base and unlawful ways, to build up themselves and their fortunes upon the ruin of others, and to beat down all that opposed their designs. Whereas to any that shall read their histories, there was nothing in the world so contrary to their aims, tempers, and inclinations. And things were done towards the two Bishops before mentioned with great mildness and patience, under unsufferable provocations offered by them. Nor was it Cranmer's and Ridley's doings, but rather the King's council, who thought not fit to put up the affronts those Bishops had offered to the government.

He saith, that "in King Edward's time Cranmer played "the tyrant." That "he punished one Thomas Dobb, a "master of arts of Cambridge, casting him into the Counter, "where he died. And John Hume, imprisoned for the same "cause by Cranmer." Both these passages the author had from Fox. Dobbs indeed, in the very beginning of King Edward's reign, disturbed the mass that was saying in a chapel in St. Paul's: for which the Mayor complained of him to the Archbishop. And what could he do better than commit him to the Counter, both to punish him for making a public disturbance in the church, and also to deliver him from the rage of the multitude, till his pardon could be gotten him? which was obtained soon after from the Duke of Somerset: but he suddenly died in prison, before his deliverance. And as for Hume, he was a servant to a very stiff Papist, who sent him up to the Archbishop, with a grievous complaint against him for speaking against the mass; but whether the Archbishop imprisoned him, or what followed, Fox mentioneth not, and leaves it uncertain what was done with him.

He saith, "that Cranmer stood resolutely for the carnal "presence in the sacrament in King Edward's first parlia- "ment: wherein a disputation about it was continued for the

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“ space of four months; that is, from November 4. to March “ 14.” Which was the full time of the second session of that first parliament, and was in the year 1548. What he means by this long disputation in that parliament, for so many months, I cannot tell. Does he mean, that the parliament did nothing else all that session? Indeed there was once a notable dispute of the sacrament, in order to an uniformity of prayer to be established. Or does he mean that this four months disputation was the work of the convocation sitting that parliament-time? Before it indeed lay now the matter of the priests' marriage; which they agreed to, almost three against one: and likewise of receiving the sacrament in both kinds; which was also agreed to *nemine contradicente*. But not a word of any disputation then about the real presence. And yet it is strange that he should with such confidence put this story upon the world, of four months disputation in the parliament concerning the real presence; and that the Archbishop then was so resolute for it. Which cannot be true neither on this account, that Cranmer was a year or two before this come off from that opinion. He adds, “that Cranmer stood resolutely in that “ first parliament for a real presence against Zuinglianism.” But there was neither in that parliament, nor in that convocation, a word of the real presence. “ And that Cran-“ mer and Ridley did allow a real presence, and would not “ endure the sacrament should be contemptibly spoken of, “ as some now began to do.” The real presence that Parsons here means is, the gross corporal presence, flesh, blood, and bone, as they used to say. This real presence Cranmer and Ridley did not allow of at this time of day: now they were better enlightened. But most true it is notwithstanding, that they could not endure to have the sacrament contemptibly spoken of.

King Edward's Journal.

He tells us romanticly on the same argument, that “ many posts went to and fro, between Peter Martyr and “ Cranmer, while the imaginary disputation before menti-“ oned lasted, whether Lutheranism or Zuinglianism should “ be taken up for the doctrine of the church of England. “ For that he was come, in his reading upon the eleventh “ of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, to those words, *This* “ *is my body*, and did not know how to determine it, till it

"was resolved about. The message returned him was, that "he should stay, and entertain himself in his readings upon "other matters for a while. And so the poor Friar did, [as "Parsons calls that learned man,] with admiration and "laughter of all his scholars." Surely some of them had more esteem and reverence for him. "Standing upon those "precedent words; *Accepit panem, &c.* And, *Gratias dedit,* "*&c. Fregit. Et dixit, Accipite et manducate, &c.* Discoursing largely of every one of these points." And surely they were words of sufficient weight to be stood upon, and points to be discoursed largely of. "And bearing one from "the other that ensued, *Hoc est corpus meum.* But when "the post at length came, that Zuinglianism must be defended, then stepped up Peter Martyr boldly the next day, "and treated of *This is my body:* adding moreover, that he "wondered how any man could be of any other opinion." The reporters of this story Parsons makes to be Saunders, Allen, and Stapleton, and others that were present: excellent witnesses! Peter Martyr is here represented as a man of no conscience or honesty, but ready to say and teach what-
466 soever others bade him, be the doctrine right or wrong; and, at the beck of the state, to be a Lutheran or a Zuinglian. But if he were of such a versatile mind, why did he leave his country, his relations, his substance, his honour, that he had there? which he did because he could not comply with the errors of the church in which he lived. But all this fine pleasant tale is spoiled, in case Martyr were not yet come to Oxford to be reader there: for he came over into England but in the end of November 1548, and was then sometime with the Archbishop before he went to Oxford. Which we may well conjecture was till the winter was pretty well over; so that he could not well be there before the 14th of March was passed. The author of the *Athenæ Oxonienses* conjectures, that he came to Oxon in February, or the beginning of March; but that it was the beginning of the next year that the King appointed him to read his lecture. So that either he was not yet at Oxon, or, if he were, he had not yet begun his reading till the parliament was over. And thus we have traced this story till it is quite vanished.

Simleri Orat. in Obit. P. Mart.

P. 107.

Further still, he writes, "That Cranmer wrote a book for "the real presence, and another against it afterwards: "which two books Boner brought forth, and would have "read them, when he was deposed by Cranmer and Ridley; "or at leastwise certain sentences thereof, that were contrary one to the other." If Cranmer wrote any book for the real presence, it was in Luther's, not in the Popish sense; and against that sense indeed he wrote in his book of the Sacrament. Nor did Boner bring any such books forth at his deposition, or deprivation, nor offered to read them, nor any sentences out of them, for ought I can find in any historians that speak of Boner's business: and I think none do, but Fox, who hath not a word of it, though he hath given a large narration of that whole affair. Indeed Boner at his first appearance told the Archbishop, "That he had written well on the sacrament, and won"dered that he did not more honour it." To which the Archbishop replied, (seeing him commend that which was against his own opinion,) "That if he thought well of it, "it was because he understood it not." Thus we may see how Parsons writ he cared not what; and took up any lying, flying reports from his own party, that might but serve his turn. But observe how this writer goes on with his tale; "But Cranmer blushing, suffered it not to "be shewed; but said, he made no book contrary to "another." Then he needed not to have blushed. But if he did, it must be at the impudence of Boner, who carried himself in such a tumultuous bold manner throughout his whole process, as though he had no shame left. And lastly, (to extract no more passages out of this author,) to prove that our Archbishop was for a corporal presence in the beginning of King Edward, he saith, that "in the first "year of that reign he was a principal cause of that first "statute, intituled, An Act against such persons as shall "unreverently speak against the Sacrament of the Body "and Blood of Christ, commonly called, The Sacrament "of the Altar." And a very good act it was: but it does not follow, that because the Archbishop was the cause of this act, that therefore he believed a gross carnal presence; the plain design of the act being occasioned by certain persons, "who had contemned the whole thing, for cer- 467 "tain abuses heretofore committed therein, (I use the "very words of the act,) and had called it by vile and "unseemly words. And it was levelled against such as "should deprave, despise, or contemn the blessed sacra-"ment." Nor is there any word in that act used in favour of the carnal presence.

Fox in behalf of Cranmer. *Jo. Fox against Hierom. Osorius.* p. 338.

For a conclusion, let the reader not hear me, but another speak for our Archbishop against one of these calumniators, and he a Portugal bishop: "After Cranmer, by hearing of "the Gospel, began to savour of Christian profession, what "wickedness was ever reported of him? With what out-"rage of lust was he enflamed? What murders, what "seditious tumults, what secret conspiracies, were ever "seen or suspected so much to proceed from him? unless "ye account him blameworthy for this, that when King "Henry, father to Mary, upon great displeasure conceived, "was for some secret causes determined to strike off her "head, this reverend Archbishop did pacify the wrath of "the father, and with mild continual intercession pre-"served the life of the daughter: who, for life preserved, "acquitted her patron with death.

"As concerning his marriage, if you reproachfully "impute that to lust, which Paul doth dignify with so "honourable a title; I do answer, that he was the husband "of one wife, with whom he continued many years more "chastely and holily than Osorius in that his stinking, sole, "and single life, peradventure one month, though he flee "never so often to his catholick confessions. And I see "no cause why the name of a wife shall not be accounted "in each respect as holy, with the true professors of the "Gospel, as the name of a concubine with the Papists." Thus Fox.

The conclusion.

And so I have at last, by God's favourable concurrence, finished this my work; and have compiled an imperfect history, yet with the best diligence I could, of this singular Archbishop and blessed martyr; and, in the conclusion, have briefly vindicated him from those many false surmises and imputations, that his implacable enemies of the

Roman faction have reported and published abroad against him: not contented with the shedding of his blood, unless they stigmatized his name and memory, and formed the world into a belief, that he was one of the vilest wretches that lived, who in reality and truth appeareth to have been one of the holiest Bishops, and one of the best men that age produced.

END OF VOL. I.

Cranmer 5560. HEcclE.B.
Author Strype, John. C.
Title Memorials of Abp. Cranmer. Vol. 1.

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